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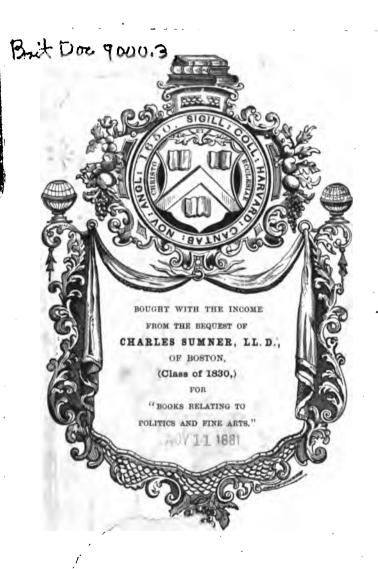
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2. A Letter to the King on the treat-

ment of the Oneen.

- 3. A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool on the approaching Trial of the Queen, &c.
- 4. A Letter to the Queen, on the state of the King's Dominions, &c. &c.
- 5. A letter to the Middle Classes of People, on the Trial of the Queen.
- 6. To the Clergy of the Church of England, on their conduct towards the Queen.
- 7. A Letter to the Queen, tendering
- S. A Letter to the Reformers on the Cause of the Persecutions carried on against the Queon, on the manner of spending public money, and on Lord John Russel and the Whigs.
- 9. An Answer to the Solicitor-General's Speech against her Majesty.
- 10. To the Weaver Boys of Lancashire: things to laugh at and things to remember.
- 1L A Letter to Parson Cunningham on his letter to Mr Whitbread.
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CORRETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTES

A LETTER

CASTLEREAGH,

On the Refusal of the Plate to the 'Queen : and on other matters connected with the present crisis of Public Affairs.

London, July 20, 1820.

CASTLEREAGH.

since I addressed my last letter to merly flourishing, happy, and vou. You were then what is vul- free country. The Queen's argarly called cock-a-hoop with rival has produced a great deal vour triumphs on the Continent of agitation and of turmoil; but You had just then been received it has operated, also, as a grand in the Honourable House with diversion, in favour of you and even clapping of hands. The your colleagues; and though Boroughmen were then in high your other troubles will return glee. They thought that all by and bye with redoubled sous settled for ever! Miserable force, the diversion accords with miscalculation! Little did they your system, which is a system expect that which has since built upon the maxim, that, come to pass; little did they sufficient unto the day is the Imagine that five years of that " evil thereof," a system which glorious peace, which had been never looks beyond its nose; a atchieved by twenty-two years system of shifts, expedients, and of glorious war, would open to blunders. Such a system gains them a dismal abyse instead of a by every thing, which, though paradise. They were fools, in-only for a moment, turns the

deed, for not thinking this; for. if they had not sense enough to foresee it. I told it them; and. they ought to have believed me. However, let them receive the consequences.

I am now about to address you upon the subject of the Queen's plate; but, by way of preface, let me talk to you a little about the state, to which you and your colleagues and pre-It is now about five years decessors have brought this for-

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public attention shide from the saves which produce such effects! causes of the public suffering.

Before the arrival of her Majesty, the tables of parliament were loaded with the bitter complaints of farmers, merchants, manufacturers and every class of people, save and except those who live and thrive on taxation. Projects were on foot and openly avowed for dividing the real property of the country between fund-holders. The distress was so great in many parts as to be approaching to starvation. Capital was, as it still is, removing from the country, in all directions. All was misery and wretchedness; and all is still misery and wretchedness.

To this state the country has come under measures adopted by you and your colleagues. You have never been thwarted. You have done just what you pleased with the persons and purses of the nation. There has and those who have remonstrate miserable situation. ed strongly with you have been . It becomes you indeed to risecuted with the atmost rigour Lyon, who have brought yourand ruin has been their mildest selves into such difficulties that Surely it is meant that you know not which way to there should be some real re- turn! You are a pretty person moneibility attached to mea- to support the dignity of the

You and your colleagues have said much about the bad advice, which the Queen has received, and of this I will speak more fully by and bye; but what sort of advice is it that has brought the nation into this state? You are not to tell us, that you did not wish it, that you did not intend it, and the like. These excuses avail men nothing when the present owners and the they are arraigned for what are called radical offences. in such cases told, that we are to judge of the intention from the act. And we are to judge you in the same way to be sure. But, at any rate, such is the state into which you have brought this nation; and, it seems to me, that, under such circumstances, you ought to be cautious how you throw out jeers and taunts on the advisers of the Queen, those, I mean who have advised her to pursue that line of conduct, which has placed you and seen no power to controll you; your colleagues in your present

minster Abbey; can you' look at the scaffolding, the lodges, the innumerable benches, the temporary kitchens in and about Westminster Hall; can you look you, who, after this, approved of at these, and not feel some little doubt, whother you be the wisest man, and the best supporter of the dignity of the Crown that ever existed in the mote the interests of the coun-The sight of these world? would be quite enough as a lesson of modest behaviour to any other man in the world in your situation. I should make but a very poor minister; for nothing apon earth would have kept me in my place long enough to advise the king to issue the proclamation that was issued on Saturday last. If I had said, on the Monday night, that it was absolutely necessary to have the Coronation on the first of August, no earthly power should have made me avoid a motion, three days afterwards, for putting it off, by saying that I had advised the King to do precisely the contrary of that which I had said it was absolutely necossary to do.

You, truly, are a fit person to talk about mean and foolish ad-

Crown truly! Can you look at | youd with your majority, that, Westminster Hall and West- to open the green bags, be the result tohat it might, must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the country; the opening of these same bags! This is a pretty specimen of your ability to support the dignity of the Crown and to protry! This is a fine specimen of your " statesman-like" wisdom! It makes one sick to think of such a man being in any public office at all; much more of his being the principal advisor of a king, that king being the sovereign of a great country.

But, look at the whole of the pickle that you are got into. Look at the fact of fifty thousand pounds a-year, a yacht; dr a ship of war to go abroad with, an official introduction as Queen of England to a foreign court, all offered to a person, who is now preclaimed to the world by you and your colleagues; as a licentious woman and an adulteress, though only a few days before a deputation from the Honoutable House had kine**cle**d down before her, and had been graciously permitted to kiss her royal hand! Look at this and learn modesty when you are talking of the want of wisdom in the advisers of the Queen. You may, for a little while, onwhere! You, who, after having desvour to brave the matter

and that day may not be distant, when you will be called upon to give an account of having advised the opening of the Green Bags after you had voted. that to open them must be derogatory from the dignity of the Crown and injurious to the best interests of the country.

You are a pretty person indeed to affect the Statesman; to put on the airs of acknowledged superiority of judgment; to flout at the understanding of the Queen's advisers, and to hold forth the notion that you are the Prince of wisdom, prudence, and correctness; you, who flounder and blunder at every step; and who, in your struggles to make yourself understood, only expose your plentiful lack of every thing, to the possession of which you put forward such pretensions.

As to Dr. Lushington, he is as much your superior in point of understanding and talent as he is in another requisite, which I shall not, because I need not, mention. The public, of which you speak, and long have snoken, in a sort of language, that that public pays you back with it to be delivered to her. interest, well know what value does this mend the matter? to set upon the assertions made We know very well that, if it use of, with regard to the plate, given by the late king for the not be the Princess's property, use of her Majesty, But, in the because, being a married wofirst place, what night had you man, that which was given to to complain of the conduct of her was, in law, given to her Dr. Lushington in bringing this husband, We, therefore, knew matter of the plate forward, very well, and nobody knew when you were not in the it better than Dr. Lushington, House! Just as if you were any that, in point of law, the promore than a member of Parlia- perty was the King's, in case it ment! Just as if no member was a present from the late

out; but there must come a day, were to open his lips upon any subject; or, at least; just as if he were to make no motion. without previously informing the ministers of it! This would be reducing members of Parliament to a pretty situation indeed. If gout or any thing else keep you away from your seat. what is that to other members? It is quite shocking to see here regularly they wait for your arrival, and to those who are not up to the heighth of the circumstances, the thing appears wholly unaccountable. Dr. Lushington brought the matter forward as he ought to bring it forward. It was nothing to him where you were; and to all the other indignities offered to the Queen, he did not suffer her to endure that of making a complaint of her Majesty wait upon your good pleasure.

> As to the merits of the case. what does your defence amount to? Why this; that the plate was not giren by the late King, but lent; that it was not the King's property to give; and that it had not been delivered to the Queen now merely because the King had not ordered had been a pure gift, it could

King, and in case it was some. thing that he had a right to give only tended to make the matter away. But, the situation of her worse. It only showed that Maiesty, by her becoming Queen, is very different from that of other married women, in respect of the possession of property; for a Queen, though married, can possess property of her own independent of her husband. A married Queen, her Majesty, for bringing the matter forward has instance, can purchase and hold lands; convey them away; and, in short, do all manner of things, with regard to property, that any other woman, unmarried, can do. And, here, I fancy, we are to find the true cause of the plate not being given up to her! For, if given up to her now, except with written conditions, it is her own! And why should it not be her own? Why should she not have plate given her by the public? You say that it did not belong to the King, because it was bought out of the Civil But how many List money. hundreds of thousands upon hundreds of thousands of pounds given away in have been plate and other things, out of the Civil List money? And why is this gift to the Queen, and "became her sex, and that digthis gift alone, to be called in question? You are become extremely economical and careful all of a sudden. If the plate was not the property of the last " which a Queen, under such King, it is not the property of this "circumstances, can King. If it be the property of "But when her Majesty condeneither, it is the property of the |" scends to listen to the meanest nation; and does the nation wish | " advisers, when she suffers herthat it should be kept locked "self to become an instrument up, or used by somebody else, "in the hands of the basest rather than that the Queen "populace of the country, who should have it?

In short, your explanation you were ready to seize hold of every little occasion of doing. those things which Dr. Lushington so justly described, and in describing which, he spoke precisely what every body, except the tax-eaters, think. His done a great deal of good; for it has shewn to what extent things are intended to be carried; and it has given a new and strong motive to the people, to be upon the watch.

However, there was one reason which you gave for not giving the plate, which I must particularly notice. I shall take the passage entire; and I shall take it from the Courser, who points it out, as worthy of par-He calls it ticular attention. Lord Castlereagh's manly, energetic, and unanswerable appeal to the couptry. Here it is then!

"I am sure the feeling and " good sense of the country will "bear me out, when I say, that " IF her Majesty had conducted " herself with that feeling which "nity which belonged to her " station, his Majesty's mini-" sters would be most anxious " to afford every consolation, expect. " have presumed to insult the

"her husband, as I had person-" ally an opportunity of witness-"ing, I have no hesitation to be made use of by a minister of the "declare, in defiance of every " taunt that the honourable and " learned gentleman may throw "out in this House, that I should " abandon the duty which I owe "to the dignity and honour of " the Crown, were I to advise "the Sovereign to become the "dape of such artifices. If her "Majesty's present residence in "Town is not suitable, I am per-" sudded that no difficulty will " be thrown in the way of an "tirrangement by which her "Majesty may find herself a " suitable residence."

This is an unanewerable appeal to the country, is it? This is your way; your " statesman " like" way of appealing to the country. This is your dignified manner of speaking of your Sovereign's wife, and of that industrious and laborious people that cheerfully maintain the splendom of that Sovereign! The Roman tyrant made a distinction between the people and the populace; but even he made no attempt to describe a set of creatures as being an inferior This was sort of populace. something left to be done by kim who is well known to the nation under the name of Castlereagh! "The basest popu-"lace of the country!" So, then, cheer her Majesty through the labour; those who have no-

" palace of her Sovereign and streets, are the basest of this populace!

This is very pretty language to King, and at a time, too, when he is saying that he is urged to speak in order to support the dignity of the crown! What do you mean by populace? You must mean the babouring classes; you must mean these; for of what else are namerous assemblies composed? You must mean these; and then let us see what they do. In the first place, out of the fruit of their labour comes. five parts out of six of the whole of the revenue of the country. I mean to say, that the labouring classes, actually pay five parts out of six of the whole of This is one mode of the taxes. upholding a state: another mode is the bearing of arms, and the fighting, if necessary, in defence of the state. And who do we find here again, who love fought the battles by sea and by land? Certainly amongst those who won the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo, there were some few men, that did not belong to those whom you call. the populace; but is it not notorious that Sailors and Soldiers necessaring, come from amongst those whom you stigmatise by bestowing on their this degrading appellation? Who is it that fill the ranks of the militia, the local militia? Who according to this description, all is it that is compelled to fill these the populace; that is to say, ranks? Why, for the far greater those whose labour feed the part, those who gain their daily Freasury, and whose arms de-bread by the daily sweat of fend the country; the whole of their brow; those who have no these are base, but those who property in any thing but their

but their mere bodies; those husband being in the palace obedience to the law, and a love that which you call insulting of the honour of their country, the paleed. The question naregular army now? Are they not the sons, and brothers of the palace?" And in the answer to labouring classes? Are they not a part, and essentially a part, of that same mass that you call populace? Does the putting a red or blue coat upon their back. change their nature? Does not the blood of their fathers and mothers still flow in their veins? If the fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters he worthy of the name of populace, where is the boundary to be drawn? We must all be populace, laborers and artisans, manufacturers and shopkeepers, soldiers and sailors: the whole mass of us must be populace, and base populace, too; or else, your definition of basest populace is purely a false assertion and an unwarrantable insult.

But, you say, that her Majesty suffers herself to become an instrument in the hands of this "basest populace." who have presumed to insult the palace of her Severeign and her husband. What do you mean by this? You mean, I suppose, the people having conducted her Majesty by the King's Palace, and having there given signs of their disapprobation. The word kusband you should have omitted above all things; for, it is so very natural, and make these out to be artifices? so perfectly proper that the They may be true or fathe, right wife should inhabit the same for wrong; but nobody but you place with the husband, that would have called them artis

thing of their own to defend the bare circumstines of the who can have no motive to take and the wife in Portman Street. up arms other than those of would, necessarily, call forth And, who fill the ranks of the turally arises in every mind. "Why is not the Queen in that. this question, and not in any baseness in the people, is to befound the cause of what you, in' your mack heroic style, call, insulting the palace of her 80vereign and her husband.

Yet, it seems, that her Majesty in to be punished for this ebullition of public feeling; for yen say, that, if she had conducted herself with that feeling, which became her sex, and that dignity which belonged to her station, then, you would be most anxious to afford every consola-. tion, which a Queen, under such circumstances, can expect; but that when she condescends to listen to the meanest advisors. and to become an instrument as before mentioned, then you would abandon your duty to the Crown if you were to advise the King to become the dune of such artifices.

Now, what do you mean by this? Who can make top or tail of it! What artifices are you talking about? You had been talking before about the Queen's listening to the meanest advisers, and about her suffering herself to become an instrument in the hands of the basest populace: But how can you your round-about harangues, the come her sex and station. dom any relation to the begin- judgment, and courage, as ever ning of it. words that we have before us. complaisance quiescent renowned assembly in which they are delivered, and which, ed the motion of Dr. Lushington. ·

But her Majesty has, it seems, according to your notion, not conducted herself with that feeling which belongs to her sex, and that dignity which belongs To hear you to her station. complain of any one for want of feeling presents so strong a temptation to laughter, that one cannot treat the matter seriously; but, to hear you, who have been one of the advisers who have heaped every species of indignity upon her Majesty; refused her a yacht to come over, who refused her a palace to reside in, who presented green bags against her, who have brought in a bill, stigmatising her as a licentious woman and an adulteress, and stripping her of her title and rights as Queen; for you to complain that she had not supported her dignity is something more than populace, attempted to

The truth is, that, in and with that dignity which beclose of a sentence has very sel- has shewn as much sensibility, It is a parcel of marked the character of woman: a great deal more than out of which we are to pick a Queen Elizabeth ever had an meaning, if we can; but your opportunity of evincing; and. speeches, if they do nothing indeed, the best commentary else, tend to give the world on your accusation, and the best a high opinion of the patience, answer to it, are, the love and adand the miration of this whole people, disposition of the with the exception, solely, of those who have an interest in the carrying on of measures even without a division, reject- hostile to the peace and happiness of the country.

" IF" she had conducted herself properly, then you would have afforded her every con-Yes; and I will solation. tell you, what you would have deemed proper conduct. In the first place, it would have been proper for her to be terrified at the threat at St. Omers, and to have fled away and not attempted to set her foot on English ground. But, having listened to the "meanest advisers," and actually come to London, it would have been proper you, who are one of those that for her to shut herself up, yield herself wholly to the advice of those who might have betrayed her; and skulk from the light like a guilty thing. The highblooded gentry not having visited her, it would have been proper for her to have drooped. down into a state of despondency; and if the mass of the people, whom you denominate could have been expected even proach her with congratulafrom you! The fact is, how-tions, condolence, and offers of ever, that her Majesty has con- friendship and support, it would ducted herself with that feeling have been proper for her to

reject them with disdain, to you are persuaded that no difspurn them from her presence, ficulty will be thrown in the to condemn their sentiments and way of an arrangement by which their language, as was done in she may find herself a suitable the answers which absolute wis- residence. What is all this pardom gave, in her injured name, cel of words about? By the to the people of Nottingham "IF" you would seem to and the people of Preston doubt whether the house tien's going to her, the Courier informed us, was actually come round into the River!

This is what you would have deemed proper conduct, I dare say. Such conduct would doubtless have received the " high approbation" of all the Scotch Pedlars that ever tramped north-about till they got into the sum-shine of the South. Her Majesty, however, has chosen a line of conduct precisely the opposite of this, and in so doing, she has insured her own. safety and her own honour, from being plunged into everlasting disgrace; disgrace which must have fallen upon it if she had been driven out of the country, after which event no subject of the King would have any country in the world.

When the deputation went to Portman-street is suitable or her from the great House of not; a doubt, by the expres-Commons, it would have been sion of which you get no addiproper for her to have dressed tion to your popularity, though herself in a penitent's sheet, to it is very possible that it will have kissed the resolution as a not cause any change in the whipped child kisses the rod, public opinion with regard to and to have prepared herself you. But, what the public ask for being packed off to the Con- is this; " Why is not her Matinent in that yacht which, on jesty in a palace?" This is the the very day of the deputa- question that the public ask. If plate be not the King's property, palaces are not his property. If they be not the property of the King; they are the property of the nation; and. then, the nation has, the palace at Windsor, the palace at Hampton, the palace at Kew, the palace of Kensington, the palace of Buckingham House, the palace of St. James's, and the palace of Carlton House. Besides these, there are the royal mansions in Bushv Park and in Richmond Park, the latter of which, be it observed, was and has prevented this nation built for one of his late Majesty's sisters, and is now, and long has been, occupied by that every-way-worthy colleague of yours, SIDMOUTH. then, there are three palaces in town; one no further off dared to own himself as such in than Kensington; three palaces and two royal mansions in There remains to be noticed the country; and out of all only one part of this harangue. these no corner can be found for You say, if her Majesty's pre- the wife of the King, though sent residence is not suitable, one of them is occupied by a

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person who was in' a very a palace you have no such bar. humble capacity not many years until you have actually dissolved Kew, at Buckingham House, Until then she has the rights of (all most suitable palaces for the a wife, and, if you do not know Queen), all amply provided it, it is time you should know with every thing requisite to it, that, amongst those rights, Royalty, there is absolutely nobody belonging to the Royal Family residing.

This being the case, and the country being in the most distressed situation, why are the people to be called upon to pay for a place of residence for the Queen? Why are they to be taxed merely to gratify the desire of the Queen's enemies. to see her Majesty living out of a palace; and how is it to be expected that the Queen will consent to be a party to throwing this additional burthen upon the people, whose sufferings she must be well acquainted with, and whose purses, we are all well assured, she is desirous to spare, since we remember, that she so generously declined afteen thousand pounds a-year upon her quitting the comtry?

In spite of all that can be said and done, we shall, I am convinced, see this courageous and injured Queen in a palace. And now I beg the public, if not you, and, particularly, I humbly beseech her Majesty, to bestow attention upon what I am going to say.

You and your colleagues are always prepared with some legal bar to whatever is asked by Her Majesty. Some law, some prededent, some usage, is always conjured up in bar against

At Hampton Court, at her marriage with the King. is the right of COHABITA-TION. Mark this; that, let a wife's conduct be what it may: let her be proved to be all that the bill asserts her Majesty to be; still, until the marriage be. actually dissolved, the wife has at all times a right to go to and to live in the same building with her busband, and, if she choose, to sit at the same board, and sleep in the same bed! This right is perfectly INDEFEASI-: RLE, except solely by a disselution of the marriage. No mattor that there has been a sewaretion; even if there exist articles of separation; the wife can, during the existence of those articles; demand admit-, tance into, and a constant residence in the same house or place of her husband, be that house where it will, and belong to whomsoever it may; except the house be a prison. in which the husband is confined by sentence according to the due course of law, or except it be a mad-house, where he is put under the superintendance of legal guardians; and all this is perfeetly well known to Dr. Lushington, though it may possibly be excluded from your surprising mass of "statesman-like" knowledge.

Here lies the real remedy of her Majesty. Buckingham House for the town, and Kiew or Hampher. But, against her living in I ton Palace for the country, would

if these be not given up to her, her short remedy is, GOING TO CARLTON HOUSE: or to the Pavilion; in short, to all or any of the places where his Majesty resides; and, if you ask me my opinion about the fact, my opinion is, that this is the remedy that will be applied; and, if it should, we shall then have an opportunity of withessing the consequences of your " statesman-like" mode ocupled being the dignity of the Crown.

· Nothing short of palaces ought to satisfy her Majesty. While she is out of a palace she is out of ker pluce; she is in a state of abasement; for, though you might live in Portman-street without complaining, or even in Shoe-lane, without degradation from the circumstance of residence: the Queen cannot live banished from the palaces, without complaining; she cannot thus live without seeming to admit that there are some grands for the accusations against her; to which I will add, that it is the universal wish that her Majesty would take the short course of redressing her wrongs; that she would make no more applications about last? The Civil List is an implaces of residence; but go at mense grant of money for the lowances for incompatibility of grant of this description.

be sufficient for the Queen; and | tempers; they have no desire that her Majesty should do any thing wantonly to hart the feelings, or cast reflections on the character of the King: but they are resolved that, as far as they can legally prevent it, as far, at any rate, as their supplications. prayers, and legal interference can go, the Queen shall not be oppressed by the measures of his Malesty's advisers. are not desirous of seeing a strict cohabitation, after all that has transpired: but they do desire to see the wife of the King in a Royal palace, and holding her Court as a Queen: and to this it will come, sooner or later; in spite of every thing that can be done to prevent it.

We want to know, too, why we hear any talk about grants' of money for the Queen; and I thought it singularly improper that any one should propose a grant of money for the use of her Majesty: The means of maintaining the splendour and dignity of the Queen are amply provided for in the Civil List. Was it ever thought of in the late reign, to vote money for the separate maintenance of the Queen? God! What are we come to, at once to the palace of her hus support of the splendour and band, and claim and enjoy her dignity of the Throne; and was rights as his wife. The public it ever contemplated as possible, wish that her Majesty, and the that a provision for the Queen King too, should be happy, could be regarded as not in-With their well-known and pro-tcluded in the grant? It never verbial good nature, they do was; and, in whatever view not with to see a ripping up of of the matter we take it, the eld grievairces; they make al- Queen is included in every

and favour another thing: but, learn now, if you did not know! before, that this distinction does thank God, no such thing as a wife by grace and favour. Wives are such by law, and by law only; and that law is not to be a dead letter with regard to the Queen. Civil List is granted for her as base enough to deny; and it is in her own good pleasure and power to consent or not consent to separate residence; and, of course, it depends upon her pleasure what portion of the Civil List shall be applied to her use. Her Majesty degrades herself by condescending to apply to any of you on the subject of residence, plate, or any thing else. Her husband's residence is her residence, and the short way of settling the matter is TO GO TO IT. This would settle the dispute at once, and would expose you and the honourable House to no more of that laceration of your tender feelings, of which you, tender soul, make such mournful complaint! It does not become a Queen, and particularly a Queen like her Majesty, to be carrying on a chaffering correspondence with a set of toad-eating clerks, her rights as wife. To forbear She has a husband; that hus- from that assertion, is tacitly to band is a King; she is descend-admit a doubt of acquittal; and ed from a family in every way to admit such a doubt to exist equal to that of his own: ap- in her mind is what I am sure pealing to his clerks for the her Majesty does not mean. I

may talk as long as you please beneath her, that I wonder her about a Queen in law being one Majesty has not disdained it, thing, and a Queen by grace long enough ago. This is the only error that the Queen has committed; and, when her Majesty perceives, as she very soon not belong to wives. There is, will, that she will get nothing by such humiliating means, I am persuaded, that she will lose not a moment in abandoning the error. She is no Queen of She is a grace and favour. The Queen in law: and, what is a great deal more, she is a WIFE, well as for the King; her right in which word is combined every. of cohabitation no man will be thing that her Majesty stands in need of to secure her all the means of upholding the dignity. and splendour belonging to her rank. Against this word you have no power. You fall nerveless before it. You are unmanned in a moment. All your talk about law, and grace, and favour; all your quibbles wanish in a twinkling. That all powerful name places her in the same palace with the King, at any moment when she pleases; and being once there, she quits it. if she quit it at all, on the terms that her own good pleasure shall dictate.

Thus, you see, there are those who think very differently from you about this matter; and who understand it, too, rather better than you and your colleagues. It is earnestly hoped that her Majesty will wait for no trial. as it is called, before she assert means of existence is so much must repeat, however, that the

point. They are indignant at the effect with regard to them, seeing her not in a palace. There of such popularity must be. is no need of a trial to convince There is nothing in this world them that she is a wife; or to remind them of the great dower that she brought to her husband. It was not to pay the debts of her Majesty the Queen, that nearly seven hundred thousand pounds were paid by the people of this country. To pay that sum, how many of those whom of whom has lately observed. you denominate the " base po-" pulace" had to part with a portion of their comforts! yet. they parted with it cheerfully; but FOR WHAT! Why, because his late Majesty asked for it, as being necessary to the happy establishment of his then Royal Highness and his Spouse! It was upon this ground that the money was asked for, and cheer-And is this wife. fully given. the wife who brought this dower, to be treated by the servants of her husband as a sort of beggar, to be relieved, if relieved at all, from motives of compassion, grace, and favour!

Away with all your pretences about feeling for the Queen; about delicacy; about wishing tionable rights, in the manner not to distress her! Such pro- that I have described, and in the fessions are an insult, a cool and cutting insult, to her Majesty; and as such they are received by

the public.

Before I conclude, I cannot help observing on the tone which has been taken by some have been insulted by the pert of those, who hate, much more observations of this subtle and than they hate the devil, the silky slave, who is not even bare possibility of there being now fit for any thing higher in this country, any single soul than that of handing her plate of the Royal Family popular, at table. whether as to character or deeds. I Instead of endeavouring to

public are all alive as to this! These men know very well what which they so much dread. To make the Royal Family suspect the people, and to make the people entertain towards the Royal Family feelings, which I will not describe, is the ruling principle of the policy of this base, cruel. and cowardly set of men; one that her Majesty took measures as it were for the purpose of inflaming the country. If you had called this a mean and base adviser, your words would have been appropriate enough. What has her Majesty done to inflame any body? She has, as I have just shewn, greatly erred on the side of condescension and humility; and if she had not, should we have heard from the lips of the silky gentleman, who has risen from the very lowest state since the marriage of her Majesty, and whose wife as well as himself are fastened upon us as pensioners for life: if the Queen had not condescended too fat. if she had asserted her unquesmanner that I now most strenuously recommend, and which in so recommending, I only join in the universal voice; if her Majesty had asserted her rights in this manner, she never would

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inflame the public mind, her Ma-|" and loyal subjects, Inhabitants jesty seems to have been seeking, almost up to this moment, to prevent every thing like inflammation. Insulted at St. Omers: threatened there with prosecution if she dared put her f" foot on the shore of England; .accused the moment she arrived; attempted to be weedled out of the country, and when that had failed, silified, abused, and pointed out that she ought to be made to yield as a martyr, if no crime could be made out against her: in the midst of all this she kept her patience. She answered coolly to the warmest addresses, lest she should be instrumental in causing agitation. But, there is a point beyond which to exercise forbearance would be criminal, or would, at least, argue a consciousness of -guilt. And, accordingly, when the bill of pains and penalties proclaimed her to the world, as an abandoned adulteress, she assumed the tone that became Of that tone her answer to the Newbury Address is a specimen; and that specimen, together with the Address that called it forth, I here insert, for the edification of the mean and base man, to whose charge against her Majesty, I have above alluded

ME TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCEPTENT 'YAJBOTY.

"" The humble Address of the "Inhabitants of the Borough of "Newbury, in the County of "Berks, in Common Hall as-" sembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, "We, his Majesty's dutiful | " your character.

" of the Borough of Newbury, " in Public Hall assembled, beg " leave to approach your, Majes-"ty, not in the language of unmeaning adulation, which would be as disgusting to the dignified mind of your Majes ty to accept as it would be degrading and disgraceful in us to offer, but with our warmest congratulations upon your Majesty's safe return to this kingdom, after an absence " of six eventful years, during "which period so many illustri-" ous personages of your Royal "House have been removed " from this transitory world. "And we feel ourselves called " upon in a particular manner " to offer our sincere condolence to your Majesty, in the great loss you sustained by the death of your Majesty's guar-" dian and protector, our late vir-" tuous and revered Sovereign, " King George the Third, and " your amiable and beloved " daughter, the Princess Char-"lotte, upon whom the hopes " of the nation had fondly rest-

"We have never ceased to " feel regret for the unrelenting persecutions and indignities your, Majesty experienced " while Princess of Wales, from "some of the highest authori-"ties in this country; but as " your Majesty completely triumphed over a foul conspiracy "in 1807, formed against your " life and honour, so do we sip-" cerely trust your Majesty will " prove equally triumphant over "renewed attempts to vilify

"We admire the prompt re-|" nerosity. Those obligations " fusal of your Majesty to com-" promise your honour for a pe-" ceniary consideration; nor can "we forbear expressing equal "admiration at the magnani-"knous and decisive conduct "your Majesty has displayed, "by your unhesitating confi-" desce in the loyalty and ho-" neur of the British nation, as " well as the courage you have "evinced in boldly meeting " your protesting accusers. "against all secret investiga-" tions, and demanding an open " and Constitutional Tribunal

"We sincerely hope that "your Majesty will be estab-" lished in all your just rights " and privileges; that you will " triumph over all your enemies, "whomsoever they may be, " and wherever to be found: " and that you will reside "amongst a people zealously: "attacked to the House of "Brunawick, and who feel " deeply interested in the wel-" fare and happiness of your " Majesty."

(Signed, on behalf of the meeting,)

JOHN HASKER, Mayor, Chairman.

Her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer: "1806 and 1807, again reared " His Majesty's dutiful and "leval subjects, inhabitants of " the Borough of Newbury, me- !! grade ime in rank, and to sink " rit my grateful acknowledge- " me in infamy, by a procedure, "ments for this frank and affec- ", which is at once an outrage "tippate Address. During my "upon all law, and wholly in-"long absence from this coun- "compatible with the spirit of try, I mover ceased to remem- "the British Constitution. But "ber the obligations which I " my honour and my rights are, "" essed to its high-minded ger!" in fact, those of the country;

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" have been greatly increased " since my return; and I should " be insensible to all right feel-" ing, if I did not, hereafter, " consider England as my only " home.

" I have shed many tears over " the early grave of the Princess "Charlotte; and I am, at this "moment, sensibly affected by "the tribute of affection which " you have paid to her memory, " and by that tender recollection " of her worth which is so uni-" versally cherished.

"When death removed his " late revered Majesty to a hap-" pier scene, I instantly felt the " magnitude of the loss I had "austrined; while his sacred " life was spared, it operated "like a barrier against the " wengernee of my persecutors. "But his dear remains were " hardly cold, when my enemies " began to renew their persecu-"tions, and to load me with aggravated indignities. I was "almost instantly held up to " the people as a criminal, un-"worthy of having my name "inserted in their devotional " formularies. The Conspiracy, "which had been defeated. " though only by a partial in-" vestigation of my conduct, in " its vindictive head; and an " attempt is now making to de" and every one is interested in our security! What becomes of " ranny, which destroys me to-" day, makes every man's liberty " less secure to morrow.-In the " present alarming crisis, when "I am attacked by the strong " arm of overwhelming power, " I rely first, as an innocent " woman, upon the favour of a " protecting Providence; and " next, as an insulted and a per-" secuted Queen, upon the sym-" pathies of the People; and "upon that potent agency of " public opinion, which now "forms the best safeguard " against the aggressions of ty-" ranny, and the enormities of " injustice."

Nothing that ever fell from the pen of man; and, what is a great deal better, nothing that ever proceeded from the heart of woman, was more proper than this. Her Majesty does not at all over-state the matter when she says that we are all interested, equally with herself, in the preservation of her rights. That which is her lot to day. may be the lot of any of us tomorrow. If her rights can be taken away, by a process, no matter what, our rights can be taken away by that same pro-Indeed, if this were not the case, the injustice of proceeding against her in this manner thought of. It would then be must close up her lips, and go a thing invented for her alone. like a lamb to the slaughter; or Well, then, every one of us is she must make common cause liable to such a mode of pro- with the people: to which I ceeding. taken out of the ordinary tri- be a subject of lamentation with bunals, and tried and condemned you, you have the consolation to

"their preservation.—The ty- the security of any man who is hated by the ministers of the day? Can any man hope to plead successfully against that species of jurisdiction, to which the wife of the King has been compelled to submit!

The case of her Majesty, then, is the case of us all; and there naturally and necessarily arises a fellow feeling; a community of sentiment and of interest between her Majesty and the people; and especially any part of the people that may have been marked out as objects of oppression. And who has been the cause of this community of sentiment and of interest? Why, those persons who have placed her Majesty in her present situation, and with regard to whom, her Majesty must feel precisely as others feel. who have been persecuted by the same men; and, for the greater part, by precisely similar means.

Therefore, the mean and base man, to whose words I have alluded above, may, as they say in Yorkshire, keep his breath to cool his porridge. The Queen can say nothing to defend herself; she can say nothing in reprobation of her persecutors; she can make no complaint, no remonstrance: she can make no movement in order to parry the would be too horrible to be blow that is aimed at her: slie Any man may be have only to add, that, if this by bill. What then becomes of know that it is altogether of

your own seeking and your own would look like hatching at creating.

One word at parting upon the subject of the intended trial, the passing of the Alien Bill. Notwithstanding the petitions against it; the passing of the Alien Bill, giving you, and your colleagues, such fearful powers; placing all the Queen's witnesses so completely at your mercy: the passing of this bill, without any clause to protect those witnesses from being sent out of the country by you, or by Sidmouth; the refusal of this clause, upon the ground, that if it passed it would reflect discredit upon you by implying a syspicion that you were capable of not acting fairly towards the Queen! The passing of this bill has not been everlooked by the public; and it has by no means tended to assuage the feelings that before existed.

The refusing the Queen the names of the witnesses to be brought against her, is another thing to be added to the catalogue. It is observed upon what ground this refusal was made; and the public has stood in need of no commentary to lead them to a just conclusion. But, it having been thrown out, in the House of Commons by Mr. Denman, that it might be thought proper to advise her Majesty to decline to defend herself in the House of Lords, on account of such list of names being refused; I must express my opinion, that such a step would be greatly injurious to her Majesty's cause. It would seem to say, that she wished to avoid that trial.

something to get out of that trial. There are many persons who would say that the names of the witnesset were asked for knowing that they would be refused. for the sole purpose of ... baving an excuse for declining the trial. But the most dangerous thing of all would be that as her Majesty would go to the trial in the House of Commons. it would - seem . to say ; nay, it would amount to a declaration that her Majesty acknowledged before-hand, that the decision of the House of Commons, be it what it might. WOULD BE just !

I hope her Majesty will think twice and even a thousand times, upon a step like this het fore she take it? I hope she will reflect well and long before she give her; consent to the adoption of a measure like this. Nothing can be more unnecessary, to say the least of it, than to prime one's judges before hand. Some gentlemen have recently found to their cost that nothing is more aumecessery. and, indeed, more impredent. than this. It is quite time enough to praise one's judges. after the proceedings are all over. Her Majesty has had as little experience herself of the effects of probing the House of . Commons: When her Majesty had, in the famous negociation. papers, so frequently declared. her readiness to submit to the, "declared sense of the House. " of Cummone." When she had done this, she pretty quickly found, a deputation of that It House at her feet with an hungi

tionate resolution, that she Lords, do all possible good for might safely give up her righte, and depart in peace to foreign lands, without the smallest spot or stain upon her character!

Taught by this experience I trust that her Majesty will give no preference to the House of Commons, who, I am fully persuaded, WILL PASS THE BILL IF THAT BILL COME TO THEM FROM DOWN THE LORDS, As I believe that the House of Lords is as full of wisdom, of justice, of fair-play, of integrity, and of every other good quality as the House of Commons is; so I believe that if the bill pass the Upper House | House of Commons! Amen. it will also pass the Lower House.

Oh! no! This is not the way to go to work. Let the Lords ro on, and let her Majesty, as it is said to be her determination, go and face her accusers in person, and she need fear nothing. Her Majesty will have much better opportunities in the House of Lords than she would have in the House of Commons of suggesting questions to the accusers' witnesses. Her undenstanding the language of the Italians is a great advantage. In the House of Lords her Majesty will be better situated for this purpose; and, what is a great advantage, she will be present at the opening of the Court. She will hear her ac-There will be cusation read. no mummery going on. will see the witnesses at their first appearance, before they n short, she will, by meet-

ble and deliful and most affec-ling them at once and before the herself, without risking the smallest danger; but once more, I say, that, in giving a PRE-FERENCE to the House of Commons, she would actually be appealing to them from the Lords, and by this appeal she would make before-hand, an acknowledgment of the justice of their decision, whatever might be the nature of that decision! And again, I say, that, so help me God, I believe that the House of Lords is full as upright, full as impartial, full as independent, and full as much friends of her Majesty as the

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. I have just room to congratulate you on the Glorious Revolution in Naples. A second Revolution, effected by Soldiers! and not a life lost!

POLITICAL REGISTER.

The present number contains the Table of Contents and Index to Volume 36, of which the last number was the close. By those who think it worth while to put those numbers into volumes this table of contents and index must be taken out of the present number and put to the beginning of the last Volume.

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

The unexpected torrents of elequence which have been poured fourth in consequence of the arrival of her Majesty the Queen, have made it necessary for us to alter our plan a little. and to bring out more than one number in a week. The remaining numbers will now be

got out as fast as possible, and the Volume will be completed. with all the possible aids of indexes and references, so that it may be ready for use before the Houses meet to proceed to the trial. We shall then start fairly with them again; and by the time that we get through the next Volume, we shall, think, be able to present to our readers such a mass of materials for present amusement and information and for future history, as the world never before saw in so small a compass. We are thankful to Providence for casting our lot to live in these days. Every day now is a month of common days. Every year is a century. Events and not hours are the measure of life. To have enjoyed long life while one is yet young, is certainly a very great blessing; and for this blessing we of the present day have to thank, as the immediate sublunary causes of that blessing. Pitt. Addington, Grenville. Perceval, Jenkinson and Castlereagh; and we hereby beg those of these persons who happen to be still alive, to accept of our grateful thanks, while we entertain, though an inferior, yet a considerable degree of gratitude, towards the Cannings, the Hunns, the Huskissons, the Longs, the Roses, the Steels, the Bankes's, the Wilberforces, and many others too tedious to mention, who are all equally entitled to our good will, and to perpetuate whose deeds, along with those of the superior class above mentioned, has been the occupation of no inconsiderable portion of our lives.

DOCUMENTS

Relating to her Majesty the QUEEN.

Lord W. Russell and Mr. Whitbread presented the following Address to her Majesty, on Tuesday last:

TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY CA-MOLINE AMELIA ELIZABETH; QUEEN GF ENGLAND.

The dutiful and loyal Address of the householders and inhabitants of the ancient town and borough of Bedford:

"We his Majesty's faithfff and loyal subjects of the town and borough of Bedford, begleave, with every assurance of loyalty and attachment, to offer to your Majesty our most sincere and cordial congratulations on your Majesty's accession to your royal title, and on your Majesty's safe return to the British empire.

"In offering our congratulations, we cannot refrain from expressing our sincere and heartfelt condolence on the irreparable losses which your Majesty. as well as the whole nation, have sustained, by the death of your late beloved and amiable daughter, the Princess Charlotte. on whom the hopes and expectations of the country had so fondly and so affectionately rested; as well as on the death of our late most gracious sovereigns. King George the Third, who ever proved himself your Majesty's most warm and stedfact friend.

painful, and with the most genuine emotions of sympathy and grief, that we advert to the circumstances which, at present, so unhappily exist, and that we express our abhorrence of the proceedings that have hitherto been adopted against your Majesty's peace and honour, as well as of the indignities, to which your Majesty has been so peculiarly and so unwarrantably exposed; by which the whole nation has been insulted, in the person of their Queen.

"The only consolation we sel on this occasion, is derived from the dignified, open, and magnanimous conduct, which your Majesty has adopted, which is at once the strongest refutation against your accusers, (although backed by a combination of secret spins and informors) at well as the strongest presumption of your Majesty's

nnewhae. " Your Majesty's against a secret tribunal, and a demand for a full, free, and open inquiry—your Majesty's refusal. of a bribe so basely offered, as well as those concessions on the pers of your accusers, (because they were inconsistent with either your innocence or honour) is a conduct well worths of the Queen of England.

"Elia just; administration. of the laws of our country is a subject of such vast importance to the whole nation, that we cannot but view with the strongout, feelings of jealousy and and inhabitants of the ancient all mu the result of the present nincendings.

"It is with feelings the most committee, composed of your Majesty's accusers, companier themselves to a Grand Jury, by presenting a Report, and introstoducing upon it a Bill of Pains and Penalties, before either witnesses have been examined or allegations preved, is a measure derogratory to the best interests of the whole nation.

> " Notwithstanding these almost insurmeuntable obstacles to truth and justice, and the measures that have been adopted to prejudge the question, by the most unjustifiable reports being circulated, before your Majesty is able to repel them, we sinoerely trust, your Majesty may be enabled to prove your sunocence to the confusion of your accusers.

" We therefore bobe, shortly to hail the day, when your Majesty: will be established, in full possession of all your just rights, and sincerely trust that the henour, welfare, and happiness, protest of your Majesty may long continue.

> "Signed, on behalf of the meeting,

" JOHN GREEN, Mayora "Bedford, July 11,, 1820."

Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:-

"I receive, with the most cordial satisfaction and gratitude; the assurance of the affectionate attachment of the Mayor town and berough of Bedfeed.

"The condolence and sym-"The appointment of a secret pathy expressed for the irrepaed during my absence from England, in the persons of my beloved daughter, and his late revered Majesty, is most valuable to me, and offers the only alleviation to my feelings of which the circumstances admit.

" It is no slight aggravation of the pain occasioned by these severe losses, that those enemies, who for years have been seeking my destruction, no sooner perceived that I am destitute of that protection which before shielded me, than their attacks were renewed in a form scarpely admitting resistance; boundless as are the means of overawing and corrupting possessed by these implacable foes, no less of his Majesty than of myself; But, however well calculated may have been their measures to effect my destruction, by secret machinations, followed by the most audacious and industrious circulation of slander of their own creation. I yet feel confident that that justice which has hitherto been the brightest characteristic of the British nation, will not be sacrificed or tarnished in my person. At the same time I cannot but be astonished and grieved that these slanders should have been in any respect sanctioned before I have been heard in my defence, fernished with any specific charge, or suffered to know who are the witnesses by whom I have thus been reviled.

ever, I may be exposed, from sation of Divine Providence, by the power and malice of my the loss of your justly beloved enemies, I never can regret that daughter, in whom our hopes

rable loss which I have sustain-| security, and become party to my own degradation, by consenting to continue absent from the kingdom, under a compromise which must have equally affected the honour of all concerned. I thank you for year manly and generous expression that the insults offered to your Queen you feel as offered to the nation; and be assured, that while my honour is identified with the nation's, (from which it never can be really separated), with God's help, I will maintain it in the face of every danger, and to the last moment of my life; feeling at the same time, that no sacrifice but that of the honour of the country, can be too great to promote the prosperity and happiness of a nation to which I already owe so much."

> The following Address was also presented to her Majesty on Tuesday last:

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Inhabitants of the Town Neighbourhood of Shaftesbury, in the County of Dorset.

" May it please your Majesty,

With emotions of the deepest regret at the afflictive situation in which your Majesty has "To whatever dangers, how- been placed, under the dispen-I did not submit to purchase were so fondly centred, and of

late highly respected Sovereign, and with a just degree of indignation at the various injuries which your Majesty has received both in this country and on the ' continent of Europe, we humbly request permission to present our congratulations on your safe return to these realms, and on the firmness which your Majesty has evinced in the trying circumstances which have attended your progress through life, from the time of your first landing on the British shore, down to the present moment.

" In thus communicating our heartfelt sentiments on the present loccasion, our attachment to the illustrious House of Brunswick, together with our unwillingness to revive your feelings of sorrow or of just indignation, we restrain our expressions respecting the deprivations your Majesty has suffered, or the provocations which you have received on various hands. Let * suffice to say, that viewing your Majesty as a branch of that illustrious House, we feel every attack on your Majesty's person or character as an attack upon the British nation; and we regret that the offenders, on various occasions, have not been made to incur the penalties which their base slander and truly disloyal conduct have deserved. That your Majesty's character may be delivered from the machinations of your enethies, and rise, as we trust it will, above every malignant insinuation, or open attempts to detract from its merits, is our

your venerable protector, our late highly respected Sovereign, and with a just degree of indignation at the various injuries which your Majesty has received both in this country and on the

Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:—

"I cordially thank the Mayor of Shaftesbury, and the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood for this loyal and affectionate address. The sympathy which they evince for the melancholy losses and the reiterated persecutions which I have endured, cannot but be gratifying to the best feelings of my heart.

"To whatever trials I may have been exposed since I first set my foot on the English shore, I shall never forget that in those trials I was consoled by the tenderness, and supported by the magnanimity, of the English nation.

" Though I am well acquainted with the activity and the malignity of my adversaries. I place a firm reliance upon the protection of that great Being, from whom no secrets are hid: and while those who are no less the enemies of his Majesty than of myself, are endeavouring to ruin me by their wiles, and to crush me by their power, I am cheered by the consciousness that I possess a strong rampart of security in the good sense. good feelings, and good principles, of this enlightened people."

An address from Newcastle | hand, or caused to be distributupon Tyne, signed by 6,900 persons, was likewise presented to the Queen, when her Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious answer :-

"With great satisfaction I receive this address from his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Type and the vicinitv.

"I accept with thanks, and return with sincerity, the affectionate expressions of your wishes towards myself, and towards that illustrious House from which I am descended; and the true honour of which, as it never has been, so it never shall be, tarnished by me.

"Whatever I possess of wisdom, courage, and magnanimity, has been fostered and strengthened by the example of this discerning, generous, and gallant nation; on whose unalterable attachment to the principles of justice I firmly rely, under Divine Providence, for support under all my unmerited afflictions, and for protection against the machinations and violence of all my enemies."

During her Majesty's long and wearisome, but interesting journey, her conduct was such as to excite the respect and veneration of the nations which she visited, in some of which she left lesting make of her benevolent epirit. At Argossa, in Sicily, she distributed with her own resources of her own mind, and

ed; large sums of money to the poor. At Tunis she obtained the liberty of several slaves; among whom were two females -one the daughter of the Governor of St. Pierre, the other a Genoese lady. This was before the arrival of Lord Exmonth. Several Roman slaves were also released on the application of her Royal Highness. She gave to the New Academy at Athens 500 pieces (colonnats), and authorised the governors to draw annually on the banker Scaramemza, at Constantinople, for 200 more. She also released all the prisoners for debt at Athens. and deposited in the hands of the governor 700 pieces, to be applied to a similar purpose after her departure. To a poor Roman Catholic family, whom she found in the same place, she gave 200 pieces. At Constantinople her benefactions were To the still more numerous. conventical fathers at Jerusalem she gave 600 pieces; in fact, at every place where she stopped her benevolence was on the alert to seek and relieve the distress of her fellow creatures.

Her Majesty, on her return to Europe, took up her residence at an agreeable villa on the shore of Lake Como, at a small distance from that town. The situation of this house, which she purchased of the Counters Pino, was particularly beautiful, surpounded on all sides by the most enchanting and romantic scenery. Her Majesty here sought amusement rather in the

among 'a firstied number of atrocious description. triends than from an indiscriminate intercourse with the inhabitants of Como: but still she was always hospitable as well as affable to those by whom she was visited.

- It was through the recommendation of the Marquis Gliisglieri that the Countess of Oldi became maid of honour to her

Maiesty.

· We now/go back to that peried when suspicions were first excited as to the conduct of her Majesty, and awhich led to the persecutions to which she has been since exposed. We stated on a former occasion, that all her Majosty's English attendants gradually quitted her previous to her departure from Europea circumstance, we believe, mainly attributable to their disinclination to accompany her Majesty bh the long and fatigue ing journey which she contemplated. Dr. Holland loft her in June: 1815. and came to Lonthor to publish his travels: Among our countrymen whom het Majesty met at Milan was Mr. Wm. Burrell. He proposed to remain with her some months, and accompanied her Majesty on her journey to Mantue, Bologna, Ferrata, and Venicet from thence they returned to Como. and here Mr. Burrell took his departure, leaving her Majesty an the house of the Marquis Villani, in the Borgo Vico. ..

Middin this bown one of the do-" =: mestick/who had accompanied charged) withous supplier is this film in the travels with her Ma- fidelity, for wome love intrigue fest y self sulated suports with re- with a country woman of his.

These stories reached England in a still more exaggerated shape, and in the end Lord Charles Stewart was sent to Milan to inquire into At Milan Lord their truth. Stewart became intimate with Baron d'Ompteda. Knight of Hanover, and formerly ambassador of Jerome Buonaparte, King of Westphalia, to the Court of Vienna, and engaged him to become a watch on the conduct of her Majesty. This was in September, 1815, and the Baron exerted all his ingenuity to promote the object of his employers, and to enlist persons in a more humble situation in his disgraceful commission.

When her Majesty returned to Milan, in 1816, she received nationation that she was surrounded by spies in her own house. Endeavours had been made during her absence to-corrupt her servants, and to engage them in plots destructive of the honour and reputation of their

mistress.

Several of her Majesty's Italian domestics resisted the temptations which were held out to estrange them from their duty. One man, however, a German, of the name of Maurice Credi. was not equally virtuous. suffered himself to be seduced, and, for weighty considerations. agreed to introduce the Baron d'Ompteda to the apartments of her Majesty by false keys. ' Fortunately this happy contrivance was frastrated. Credi was disgard to her Majesty of the most named Annette, who was cham-

bermaid to her Majesty; and, me I should be ruined if I did in order to obtain re-admittance not listen to him, and the moto her Majesty's favour, he confessed the infamous scheme in which he had been engaged. and his confession was made in the form of a letter to the Chevalier Tomassia, an intimate friend of her Majesty, and Prefect of Como, and was in the -following tetms:--

" Monsieurde Chevalier-It is to you that I address myself. Sir. to obtain the greatest of favours. tor which I shall be eternally grateful to you. Yesterday I was dismissed from the service of her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, for having paid my court to the chambermaid Annetic. This event, which gives me great concern, has awakened in my mind a remorse which has long agitated me, and with which I felt the necessity of making you acquainted, that you may interest yourself for me, and be the means of restoring me to the service of the Princess.

"I must then acknowledge that I deserve my disgrace, since - 1 have suffered myself to be seduced by a certain Baron, M. d'Ompteda, to betray the best of mistresses and the most generous of Princesses.

"It is a year ago, or about a month before the departure of the Princess, that this Baron was using all possible diligence, by means of a certain Ambrose Cesoti, who went to Como, to discever the place where my munication of this declaration. mistress slept, and to obtain false of course, felt extremely indigkeys. I persisted some time in lant, and her private secretary. my refusal; but at last the Lieut. Hannam, sent a personal threats of the Baron, who told challenge to the Baron.

nev which he offered me from time to time, succeeded in corrupting me, and I have been weak enough to accept this commission, though persuaded there was no foundation for the infamous suspicions of the Baron. I should, however, say, with the same sincerity, that the fault in my conduct in this respect only consists in answering the questions of Ompteda, in conferences which I had with him, and in which I was interrogated as to the situation of the rooms of the palace, as well as to the persons who often visited the Princess.

"This is my confession, Chevalier, by means of which my heart has been relieved from a burden which oppressed it. I address myself to a man already respectable by his virtues, and who must feel commisseration for human weakness; and I beg him to obtain my pardon from the Princess, and hot to abandon me in this melancholy coninncture.

" Take pity, Sir, on a wretch who, knowing his fault, will seek to repair it by repentance. hoping thus to return by your means into the path of honour. I put all my trust in you, Monsieur le Chevalier. I am vour very humble servant,

"MAURICE CREDI.

" Como, November 3, 1816."

Her Majesty, upon the com-

ness but too much in accordance and Mr. Powell set out on their sumed, declined the combat. and rendered himself still more contemptible by attempting to treat the serious call which had been made upon him, as a man of honour, with ridicule—sometimes proposing to meet his brave antagonist in Africa, at other times in Asia, and again in America. He was at length removed from the seat of his own degradation by the Governor, Count Sauran, to whom her Majesty communicated the discovery she had made.

Other persons, equally well qualified with the Baron d'Ompteda, were found to succeed him, and it was pretty well understood that every motion of Majesty was narrowly watched, and reported with such colouring as best suited the interests of the persons who were employed. The agents of this system of espionage cared not from what class they selected their evidence. and thus they took the depositions of, and retained in their employment, the very dregs of society. Boatmen, lacqueys. mechanics, and the humblest domestics, were all received with favour, and handsomely rewarded for every story they had impudence or ingenuity enough to invent.

The ground-work for inquiry having been thus laid, and the reputation of her Majesty having been by such means assailed, the Milan commission, ther. to which such frequent refe-

Baron, however, with a base-| termined upon, and Mr. Cook with the character he had as- important investigation, which was not confined to occurrences in Milan alone, but was extended to every place where her Majesty had resided, and in which subordinate instruments had previously been at work.

> CORRESPONDENCE RELATIVE TO HER MAJESTY'S DEPAR-TURE FROM ENGLAND, IN 1814.

LETTER PROM HER ROYAL HIGHWESS TO LORD LIVERPOOL, PIRST MINIS-TER TO THE PRINCE REGENT, DATED JULY 25, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to lay before the Prince Regent the contents of this letter.

" Actuated by the most urgent motive—that of restoring tranquillity to the Prince Regent, as well as to secure the peace of mind of which she has been for so many years deprived -the Princess of Wales, after mature reflection, has resolved to return to the Continent. This resolution ought not to surprise the ministers of the Prince Regent, considering the trouble and disagreeable experience of the Princess for so long a time; and still more after the indignity and mortification to which she has been exposed by being withheld from receiving her nearest relations, and the most intimate friends of the late Duke of Brunswick, her illustrious fa-

"The Princess is extremely rence has been made, was de-lanxious that the Prince Regent tives, and clearly comprehend ther. her past conduct as politically hopes the Prince Regent will exhibited. fication from this noble nation, her sole protection since the unas solicitous only to maintain her rights and her honour, which are dearer to her than life it-

"The Princess of Wales would bave undertaken her projected tour long before, if she had not been prevented by the breaking off the projected marriage of the Princes Charlotte with the Prince of Orange. She could resolve to leave her daughter without protection. at a period so critical. The Prince Regent having planned to establish the new-married couple at the Hague, the Princess Charlotte, on that account principally, declined the match. Unwilling to prove any obstacle to future arrangement favourable to the happiness of her daughter, the Princess of Wales has at length resolved to return to Brunswick, her native coun-She may afterwards travel into Italy and Greece, where she may probably be able to select an agreeable abode, and live in it for some years. The Princess flatters herself that the Prince Regent will have no objection to this design.

"The Princess of Wales requests Lord Liverpool to represent to the Prince Regent that she resigns Montague-house, and the title of the Ranger of

should be informed of the mo-| bequeathed to her by her mo-The Princess of Wales In exacting a justi-grant this favour—the last she will solicit.

" The Princess embraces this fortunate indisposition of the opportunity to explain the mo-King, she is to be understood tives which have induced her to decline the grant of 50,000%. voted to her by the nation in Parliament. She expresses her most lively acknowledgment to this liberal and generous nation for its willingness to grant her such a pension during life; but she has only taken 35,000k, hecause, as the gift was intended to support her in her proper rank, and to enable her to held a court as became the wife of the Prince Regent, the receipt of it would interfere with her views of travelling, and her purpose to quit England for a season. Such is the substance of her present communication to Lord Liverpool, which the Princess would have made before. but for the fear of producing new debates in Parliament. She has therefore waited the rising of Parliament, and is now. about to depart for Worthing, to embark, not intending previously to return to London.

> " The Princess of Wales is happy to assure Lord Liverpool that she will ever be ardently solicitous for the prosperity and glory of this most generous nation."

LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO MR. WHITBREAD AND TO HIS PRIENDS, DATED 35TH JULY, 1814.

"The Princess of Wales has Greenwich Park, in favour of the pleasure to inform, and her daughter, as also the house frankly to avow to Mr. Whitbread that she is about to take too long for explanation, have the most important step in her prevented her. life. She has embraced the resolution of quitting this country for a time; and has written to Lord Liverpool to immediately inform the Prince of her intention. The Princess incloses a copy of this letter to Mr. Whitbread to inform himself and friends of the plan of conduct which she has adopted.

The Princess is so persuaded of the well-known integrity of Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Brougham, that she cannot doubt that they would have proposed such a step, if motives of delicacy had not prevented them. The Princess is deeply penetrated with gratitude for the attentions which they have shewn her at all times and on all occasions. This kindness on their part has withheld her from asking their advice on the present occasion: in every other instance she assures them she has always followed the suggestions of her advisers and friends, and confermed to their superior intelligence.

"Her conscience tells her that her conduct is worthy of her character and of her sentiments, and will always remain She has had sofficient leisure to reflect maturely before she adopted her present resolution. People who know not the character of the Princess may be disposed to believe that she has been induced to adopt interest in her misfortunes and this measure in a moment of ill humour, but she takes the Al-they are unjust, so willingly mighty to witness that she has been intending to travel ever peaceably in future. She hopes since 1803, although reasons, that her gratitude, which will

No person possessed of pride and feeling could endure to be degraded below. her rank in this kingdom, as Princess of Wales, or even, as a simple individual, bear to be so hated by the Sovereign as to be debarred from his presence both in public and in private. The Princess of Wales knows not how to support so much debasement and mortification. cannot allow herself to be treated as a culprit by the Prince and his family, when her innocence has been acknowledged by ministers and by Parliament, after an investigation which has done away the accusations of traitors, and enemies.

"The Princess, having obtained this public satisfaction, cannot in conscience remain a burden to her friends any longer. Events are continually occurring, which oblige her zealous and generous advocates to step forward in her defence, and this devotion has even proved a source of disagreement tween Mr. Whitbread and part of his family. He cannot but remember that the Princess had been the cause of this difference, and it is with a view to its removal that she takes the part which she announces.

"The Princess of Wales is deeply penetrated with the generosity of this brave nation. which, after taking so lively an in her sufferings, as cruel as affords her the means of living

only cease with her existence, acquainted with the character will be one day renewed in the of the most dissinguished per-Princess Charlotte, and that her sons of the nation, of which daghter will give proofs of it by her zeal for the glory and happiness of this kingdom; by defending the rights of her people; and proving by her conduct, that, great and powerful as she may be, she will not tyrannize over any one merely because they have not the good

fortune to please her.

"The Princess of Wales would probably have not departed so soon had not the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the Prince of Orange been broken off at her own instance. Dear as her daughter is to her, she could not resolve to leave her without protection in a situation so critical. The Princess, aware that the match was ardently desired by the people, wished neither to impede the happiness of the nation nor that of her daughter. On this account she is solicitous to depart at once, for it is pitiable to see a child rendered on all occasions a source of dispute between her parents. The Princess of Wales is assured that in fature the Princess Charlotte will be more happy and tranquil: and she is led to make this sactifiee, that, if she remains some time longer unmarried, there may be fewer obstacles to her appearance in public. Her ends this long letter, is solicifather, the Prince Regent, may thus choose the most suitable of the most urgent reason for her her nearest relations to intro- quitting England, and to show duce her into society, that she them that delicacy has obliged may enjoy the pleasures be- her to put herself under the prolonging to her age, and become tection of this great and gene-

knowledge she has hitherto been deprived by means which I proceed to detail. The Princess Charlotte will the less feel the privation of her mother's society, as she has been deprived of it for the last two years. During that time five or six months in succession have passed away without the mother being allowed to see her daugh-She has even been refosed the consolation of receiving any of her letters, and thus her regret at leaving her is lessened; for, although living in the same capital, they were not allowed to speak, even when they met in their airings. Her daughter's coachman was forbidden to stop, and directed to act as if he knew not the carriage of the Princess of Wales. Thus to quit her will be but the grief of a day, whilst to remain is to plant daggers in the bosom of both mother and child. The Princess cannot rest in a situation so unfortunate for herself. and so uneasy to others, and is sure that Mr. Whitbread and his friends will be affected by these considerations; that their sentiments will accord with her own. and that they will approve of her resolution.

"The Princess, before she tous to explain to her advisers fuge since the indisposition of tion.

the King.

"That which renders her situation still more embarrassing is, that this generous nation has shown more devotion towards herself than to its ruler, who ought to be the blessing and The Pringlory of his people. cess hopes that, when she has quitted England, the Prince Regent will make public his conviction that her conduct and character have not merited reproach; and thereby regain that popularity which is due to him on the part of this noble nation.

"The Princess cannot end this letter without assuring Mr. Whitbread and his friends of the malterable sentiments of lively gratitude and perfect esteem, that can end only with her life."

LETTER OF MR. WHITBREAD TO THE PRINCESS OF WALES, DATED IST OF AUGUST, 1814.

" Mr. Whitbread assures her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, that he has not been at all surprised at the resolution with which she has been pleased to acquaint him; it cannot but give him much pain to think that he will not be able to enjoy the amiable society of the Princess for some time. In her absence his utmost zeal shall be exerted for her future happiness; and his unalterable attachment shall be evinced by his efforts to promote the wellbeing of the Princess Charlotte, the integrity of whose character would of itself suffice to com-

rous nation, having no other re- | mand his esteem and venera-

"In concluding this letter, Mr. Whitbread only wishes to reiterate his sentiments of devotion to her Royal Highness, and of zeal for her re-establishment in all the rights of the empire over which she is one day to reign. "S. WHITBREAD."

LETTER OF LORD LIVERPOOL TO THE PRINCESS OF WALRS, DATED THE 28TH OF JULY, 1814.

" Lord Liverpool has had the honour to receive the letter of her Royal Highness. Having communicated it to the Prince Regent, he has ordered him to inform her Royal Highness that he can have no objection to the intentions of her Royal Highness to effect the design which she announces to the Prince Regent, of returning to her native country, to visit her brother, the Duke of Brunswick, assuring her that the Prince Regent will never throw any obstacle in the way of her present or future intentions as to the place where she may wish to reside.

"The Prince Regent leaves her Royal Highness at liberty to exercise her own discretion as to her abode in this country or on the continent, as it may be convenient to her.

" Lord Liverpool is also commanded, on the part of the Prince Regent, to inform her Royal Highness, that he will not throw any obstacles in the way of the arrangements of her Royal Highness, whatever they may be, respecting the House

at Blackheath, which belonged to the late Duchess of Brunswick, or the rest of the private property of her Royal Highness; but that, for reasons rather too long to explain, the Prince Regent will not permit the Princess Charlotte to be Ranger of Greenwich-park, nor to occupy any of the houses at Blackheath which her Royal Highness has

hitherto occupied. Lord Liverpool has also been enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, before he closes the letter which he has the ho**nour to se**nd to her Royal Highness, to tell her, in relation to the two articles which her Royal Highness has put in her letter concerning the rupture of the marriage of the Princess Charlotte with the hereditary Prince of Orange, as well as to the reason for which the allied Sovereigns did not, previously to their departure from England, pay their visit to her Royal Highness, that, as to the first article. Lord Liverpool is commanded by the Prince Regent to inform her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent is not persuaded that the private considerations of the circumstances in which the Princess is placed can have been an obstacle to the marriage of the Princess As to the second Charlotte. article, Lord Liverpool is also enjoined, on the part of the Prince Regent, to signify to her Royal Highness, that the Prince Regent never opposed himself to the allied Sovereigns making a visit to her Royal Highness during their stay in London.

"Lord kiverpool has the honour to be with all esteem and the highest consideration.

"P. S.—The Prince Regent can make no difficulties on the subject of the directions which the Princess has the intention of giving as to the house at Blackheath; neither will the Prince Regent oppose her Royal Highness's retaining the apartments in the palace of Kensington, in the same manner as she possessed them while in London, for the convenience of herself and suite."

By the KING. A PROCLAMATION.

For adjourning the Solemnity of the Coronation of his Majesty.

GEORGE R.

Whereas by our royal proclamation, bearing date the 6th day of May last, we did (amongst other things) publish and declare our royal intention to celebrate the solemnity of our royal coronation upon Tuesday the 1st day of August next, at our palace at West-minster; and whereas, for divers weighty reasons us thereunto moving we have thought fit to adjourn the said solemnity until our royal will and pleasure shall be further signified thereon, we do by this our royal proclamation give notice thereof; and we do hereby further signify to all our loving subjects whom it may concern, that all persons, of what quality or rank seever they be, who either upon our letters to them directed, or by reason of their offices or tenures, or otherwise, are to do any service at the time of such coronation, are discharged from their attendance on Tuesday the 1st day of August next.

Given at our Court at Cariton-house, this 12th day of July, 1820, and in the

first year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING,

10 prove M. Olive Serres to be Wilmot Serres's birth during the the legitimate daughter of Henry King's life. Frederick, the late Duke of Cumharland :--

GEORGE R .- Whereas it is our royal command that the birth of Olive, the Duke of Cumberland's daughter, is not to be made known to the nation during our reign: but from a sense of religious duty, we will that she be ac-knowledged by the Royal Family after our death, should she survive ourselves, in return for confidential services rendered ourselves by Dr. Wilmot in the year 1789.

Dated Kew Palace, May 2, 1773. Witness, CHATHAM.

This is to certify that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Olive Wilmot was duly solemnized according to the established laws of the Church of England, by myself,

J. WILHOT.

March 4; 1767.

Present at the marriage of the above BROOKE. parties, J. ADDEE.

This is to certify that Olive, the only child of the above parties, was born April 3, 1772.

J. WILMOT, R. WILMOT. Warwick.

London, March 4, 1816. I solemnly declare Mrs. Olive Serres to be the daughter of the late Duke of tized by her two Christian names only, WARWICK. Cumberland.

I consider it just to state, that the marriage of the Duke of Cumberland and Ofive Wilmot was solemnized in my presence by bans: WARWICK. London, May 2, 1815.

I consider it proper that I should Serres. declare, that a sacred obligation, pre-

Documents recently published, | vented the late Dr. James Wilmot and during the WARWICK.

Green-street, April 2, 1816.

I solemnly promise my protection to my consin, Olivia Serrei, should the Earl of Warwick depart this life bufore the King, EDWARD WARWICK.

June 3, 1815.

London, May 5, 1777. MEMORANDUM.-That Ford Chatham hereby promises his future protection to Olive, the infant daughter of the Duke of Cumberland, and Olive, his wife; and also undertakes to see paid to the said Olive 500t, yearly, until a suftable provision is served upon her, in consideration of my premising to observe a sacred secreey as to her birth during the King's life.

J. WILMOT, CHATHAM.

MENORANDUM.—That the Earl of Warwick hereby acknowledges having received from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland the sum of 2000/. on account of Olive his daughter, which sum the Earl of Warwick holds himself answerable for to myself.—Witness the signature of his Lordship,

J. WILMOT, WARWICK.

OLIVE WILMOT. The only child of H. F. Duke of Cumberland, by Olive Wilmot, his lawful wife, begotten on her body 1771; born April 2, 1772, but bapto ensure privacy, as the supposed infant of my brother Robert.

J. WILMOT.

December 1, 1819. At my return from Devonshire, I solemnly promise to acquaint the Regent with the birth of Mrs. Olivia. LOWARD.

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[Price, 6d

A LETTER

TO

HIS MAJESTY THE KING,

On the Treatment of his Royal
Consort; with a Preface,
taking a View of the Revolutionary Prospects of the Continent.

London, July 27, 1820.

May it please your Majesty,

At last the times are growing so serious, as to make even power begin to think. It is my intention to address your Majesty on the subject of the treatment of your Royal Consort. But, before I do that, let me beseech your attention to some observations on the revolutionary prospects on the Continent, leaving you to judge of the time and manner, when and how that which is now taking place abroad may affect your Majesty and your dominions.

" How vain!" some one will

" How silly! to supexclaim. " pose that the King will ever "even see, much less attend to. " what you are writing !" True. if it were a sealed packet, sent through SIDMOUTH. But, it is not: and, if you never see it, half a million of people may. It is possible, too, that you may see it; and, in that case, the circumstance of its being addressed to yourself, may, perhaps, induce you to bestow a half a minute's attention upon it more than you otherwise would have done:

That kings, and even ministers, in a government like ours, very seldom hear any useful truth, until too late, is pretty certain. There is a very sufficient reason for this in the immediate interest of all those who surgound them, and whose chief object is to raise themselves in riches and in rank; an object which is to be attained only by the favour of the powerful, which favour was never yet secured by the relating of disagreeable truths. Your Majesty

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may be an exception; but But, in this age, it will not do. Israelites are reported to have said to their prophets; " prophecy to us smooth things: prophecy to us lies."

Those underlings seem to have constantly before them the example of Gil Blas, when confident of the Count-Duke of OLIVAREZ. "When." says he, "I perceived that the minister "thought and said of him, I " went out myself in the even-"ings, and mixed in conversa-" tion with the people. When " they talked about the govern-" attention; and when I heard " any thing worthy of being re-" peated to his Excellence, I " took care to let him know it. "But, it must be observed, that "I never reported any thing " that was not favourable to " him."

no talent: no industry: sim- world.

kings and ministers generally There must now be truth at the say to their underlings, as the tables of rulers; or their sway cannot last long.

In addressing your Majesty. upon the present occasion, I may appeal to past addresses with some degree of confidence. In 1812, I took great pains to dissuade you from suffering your ministers (though supported by both factions) to plunge us into a war with the American States. " liked to hear what the people I then, before the war began, clearly pointed out the impossibility of its succeeding; and I as clearly showed, that the war must be attended with enormous pecuniary loss, and with deep "ment. I listened with great disgrace to our fleets and armies. That war was, however, begun and persevered in. It cost this nation seventy millions of money; and, in its result as well as in its progress, it affixed such disgrace upon our arms, by sea as well as by land, as those arms had never before sustained: This is the grand secret of besides absolutely creating a rising at court! There needs navy to brave us upon the nothing more. No knowledge: ocean, in every part of the Nevertheless, all those ply to flatter, and to flatter, of us, who were not content to in this particular manner, is live and die slaves, were comall that is required. And, in pelled to pray for such a result! past ages, kings and ministers For, if that war had succeeded: went on yery well with this, if that last resort of freedom

had been destroyed, what hope ["tinent: that his vanity and could have remained to the then " ambition were a safe guaranoppressed millions of Europe! It was truly said, at that time, by the advocates of that war, that, while the example of America remained, there was no safety for what Castlereagh called the Social System. The does remain. glorious example lives. And there is no safety for Castlereagh's System.

your Majesty soon afterwards, I " Spain, would be sure to lead pointed out the delusiveness of "to new revolutions: it bethose hopes, which had been "ing impossible founded on the fall of Napoleon; and, when your grand Negociator. Castlereagh, came home from the Continent, flushed with success. I observed, that he and his associates of Austria and Prussia and Russia had really " over-reached themselves: that "their policy, even according " to their own views and wishes, " was the foolishest that could " be imagined: that, having a "desire to put a final stop to "revolutions, they ought, by " all means, to have left Napo- " they might, like SHIMEI, " leon on the throne of France: "that he was a protector of "would be able to do nothing " hings: that he was beloved " to prevent the second series "and admired by the most "of revolutions from " powerful nation on the Con- " crowned with success."

"tee against his ever attempt-" ing any thing for the freedom "of mankind; that his fame. "that his personal character " and his deeds, threw a splen-". dour round his throne, and " made his people in love with. " or, at least, not ashamed of. " their chains. Whereas, to " place the Old Bourbous " and their Old Noblesse, in In other letters, addressed to " France and in Naples and " people of these countries. "after having such men as "NAPOLEON at their head. " could ever submit patiently to " the Old Bourbon sway; and "that, therefore, new revolu-" tions would break out : and " that, too, without resistance; " seeing, that our government, " from its beggared state, would " be wholly unable to enter on " another crusade against free-"dom; and that, though the " boroughmongers might curse. "' curse on ;' for, that they

House of Commons with clapping of hands! I have not forgotten the empty boasts; the at once empty and malignant language of that day. I had a reliance on the Debt: and, that alone would now be sufficient; but, the new series is begun from without; all the schemes Corruption's press, been made of the Holy Alliance are blown into air, or, at least, they shortly will be; the time and manner of the close being a matter of curiosity rather than of interest. The Boroughmongers do ourse. I warrant them. But, they confine their curses within their teeth this time. Oh! that Burke were still alive! I dare say he would still bellow away. But Thus, this press (including that for this once, his bellowing would be unavailing. " Representative Government" is the order of the day; and it will prevail in spite of all that can be done to prevent its spread and its establishment.

It will be useless for me to attention to the influence, which

This was, Sir, addressed to parts of the world; for, if that you, not very distant from the influence be not already a subday, when the grand Negocia- ject of your constant meditation. tor, that "statesman-like" Cas- nothing that I can say will be tlereagh, was received in the of any avail with you or your advisers. Nevertheless, I cannot refrain from just stating the case of the Radicals to your Majesty. If you do not deign to read it, or, reading it, do not deign to pay attention to it, the fault will not be mine.

> The word Radical has, by use of to point out men, who ought not only to be held in abhorrence and to be punished with the utmost severity; but who ought to be considered as out of the protection of the law; as being upon a footing with mad dogs, or wild beasts, to destroy whom, no matter in what way, is a laudable act? of the Whigs the base Whigs!) give accounts of men taken up and committed to jail, on a charge of Radicalism; of others being apprehended on suspicion. of Radicalism; of others being shot or scabred as Radicals!

Who would not imagine, endeavour to turn your Majesty's then, that Radical and Traitor meant the same thing? The the glorious revolutions of Spain fact is, however, that the Radiand Naples may have in other cals ask for nothing that is not

strictly according to the laws and who thinks, therefore, that and constitution of their country. They are injured and oppressed men, who ask for legal redress. The laws of England say, that no man shall be taxed without his own consent: that no man shall be bound by laws. to which he, by his representative, does not give his assent. It is notorious, that comparatively very few of us have liberty to vote for representatives; and we wish to have that liberty. The law strictly forbids peers to interfere in elections. The law strictly forbids the selling of seats. We wish the law to be strictly observed. And. are we traiters for this? Shall we be out-lawed for this wish? Shall we be killed, or banished, because we wish for such a Reform as would insure the due execution of the laws?

A Radical is a man who thinks, that he ought not to be taxed without his own consent; who thinks that he ought to be amenable to no law to which he has not, by himself or his representative, given his assent; who knows that he gives a large

he is entitled to a vote in the choosing of those who make the laws: who thinks that the Duke of Richmond's Bill, giving. a vote to every man, including soldiers and sailors, was a just and wise proposition: who wishes for a Reform upon the principles of that Bill; and who has never proposed to trench upon any one of the privileges of the peers or prerogatives of the king. This is a Radical! And yet, this man is spoken of. as a monster! And we are coolly told, that such and such have been sent to jail on a charge of Radicalism!

Your Majesty may be assured. that these things; that what we have been beholding and feeling for three years and a half last past; that the Dungeon Bill. Sidmouth's Circular, the Imprisonments under the Dungeon Bill, the Manchester affair, the Oldham Inquest, the Six Acts. and numerous other things, will never be rooted out of our minds. And, if your Majesty had wise ministers, they would, with all possible dispatch, adpart of his earnings in taxes, vise you to adopt such measures: that he is liable to be forced to of conciliation as would tend to take up arms and venture his remove the stings of recolleclife in defence of the country, tion. Your Majesty do not, you

in the minds of your people. If humanity! you knew only a fiftieth part of In order to avoid coming too it, it must produce a change; close, is there any one, in his not of your ministers for the senses, who thinks, that France selfish and stupid old Whigs; can remain for a year without a that is not what I mean; but Second Revolution? a change in the mode of treat-thing is the most likely in the ing the great mass of the peo- world. It is a thing that apple : and, above all things, pears inevitable. The effect of a change in the mode of choos- that revolution I date not deing the Members of the House scribe. But its bare probability of Commons.

present object. All other objects are incidental. To be sure the boiling, must wish for no such case of her Majesty, the Queen, is great in itself. It takes fast the elements of destruction go hold of every heart. When we on collecting themselves toupparalleled persecutions, we, for and remaining undiminished to a moment, forget our own suf- the day of explosion. ferings and wrongs. But, still, the Men in Dungeons return dominions is such as to insure soon to our recollection; nor do a great change of some sort or am wonder stricken, that there dent. The regular undeviating can be found men, who appear progress is towards a great to suppose, that all this is, at /change, and that change must last, to blow over like a summer include a Reform of the House cloud! who appear to suppose, of Commons. If, then, this prothat human passions as well as gress be accelerated by incihuman reason are to yield to dental events, whether without their interest and humour! And or within, what madness is it who are as deaf to the warnings not to anticipate events, and to

cannot, know what is passing of danger as to the cries of

is enough to suggest measures This is the grand and ever- in the way of preparation. A man, in whose breast revenge is measures. He must wish to see trace her Majesty through her gether; augmenting their mass;

The state of your Majesty's we overlook the dreadful pre- other. Things cannot go on in parations now going on. When the present way. To produce I look at these things, I really a change there needs into inciprevent, by timely conciliation, Secret Committees were their injured!

Amongst these incidental events is that which now agihas been rendered formidable by predisposing causes. Her Ma jesty, the Queen, has been acridiculous. For, amongst the Bridewell and the whip! imputed sins of the Radicals, that - Besides all these circumstannaturally allies itself with that the Radicals. They have had and Queen. have their dungeonings; and The Queen has demanded open insolence and cruelty

the effects of the triumph of the lot, these, too, have been the lot of her Majesty. Corruption's. press applauds the chopping of them down by the swords of tates the country, and which Yeomanry, and the same press calls for the Queen being made a martyr even if she be no criminal. That press represents cused of making common cause the Radicals as beings to be with the Radicals, than which kicked and thumped, and it exnothing can in itself be more hibits the Queen as worthy of

of wishing to degrade Royalty ces of similarity, those who aphas always been one. It is lu- pear as the prosecutors of the dicrous enough, therefore, now Queen, have also been the proto accuse them of the crime of secutors of the Radicals; and, thinking, that the Queen ought which is the great thing of all, not to be degraded. But, the it is as clear as day-light, that fact is, that the Queen's cause the Boroughmongers to a man, are enemies of the Queen. Their They are motives for enmity to her are complainants, and so is the plain enough. CANNING explained that matter, when he described her Majesty's grathe Queen has her prosecution. cious, affable, unaffected and They are threatened, and her winning manners and deport-Majesty has been threatened. ment! The Boroughmongers They have had their petitions know well what are the feelrejected, so has the Queen her's. ings which their haughtiness trial, so did they when sent to created. They know, that they dungeons by Sidmouth. They are, and always will be, detesthave had spies set upon them, ed and abhorred; or, at least, and the Queen has had spies that, if the detestation and abset upon her. Green Bags and horrence cease, contempt must

supply the place of them. These their understrappers to go near powers of the state. faction, then, had the Queen any thing to do with?

things they know well; and, her. They thought, that, by therefore, they cannot endure thus acting, they should disgust the thought of seeing popular the Queen with the country; Royalty. Canning says, that that they should terrify her' he advised the Queen to quit the also; that they should frown country, because he saw, that her away; and that they should "faction had marked her as its thus get rid of this cause of That is to say, he fear. But, her Majesty has, this saw, that the cities of London time, got into society with truth' and Westminster, upon the de- and honesty and real wisdom. velopement of the persecutions She has appealed to the hearts against her, and, upon the pub- of the people; and she has lication of proofs of her inno- found safety. The Boroughcence, had presented affection- mongers are ready to gnaw ate addresses to her! Was their hands off. Their Lawyer there ever before such a reason has been counteracted by her given for advising a person to Majesty's discernment and requit a country! What a dis-solution. All the budget of position must this man have tricks have failed. All the sarhad? "Faction"! What does casms cast upon the "absolute he mean by faction? Faction wisdom" that brought her Mais a combination of men, whose jesty to London by day-light, object it is to thwart, for their have been turned into jests on own selfish purpose, the regular the wise men who put forth What those sarcasms.

The Queen, may it please your Majesty, has now had an But, what he really meant, opportunity of knowing what was, that he saw, that the the people really are. I would Queen was calculated to become to God, that your Majesty could popular; and, that was then be as well and truly and hoseen by the Boroughmongers, nestly advised, in this case, as and it is also seen by them now. your Royal Consort has been! Accordingly they have taken What might we not then exood care not to go near her pect from your excellent under-Majesty; and also to forbid standing and your naturally mild

roughmongers really are. What and managed. ber; and why they want her appear wholly mysterious. fairly out of the country, and will serve her Majesty as a sort with all convenient speed! Her of second-sight. why the Boroughmongers hate the Radicals; why Borough- being caught. mongers love to be Boroughmongers: and, knowing all these things, her Majesty has, I dare say, been able to trace out, with great accuracy, all the motives of the Honourable and Learned Member for Winchelsea, of which Winchelsea and acquainted with the real historv.

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"cumstances of her Majesty's knowledge put together. she can place reliance; to know energy to her cause.

and generous disposition! Her of action; to see how men are Majesty now knows what Bo- held, bound, turned, twisted. It will enable interests they have; what it is her Majesty to account, in a that makes them hate all popu- most satisfactory manner, for lar Royalty; why they hate many things that must otherwise It will give Majesty knows by this time what her a view of the strings, pegs. is meant by the word Radical; wires, and apringes; and will enable her, at last, to escape

There is one thing, which has shocked the whole nation; and I am sure, that your Majesty has participated in the feeling; namely, that neither House of Parliament should have produced, or, rather, brought forward, one single man to volunteer his taall its independent electors her lents in defence of the Queen! Majesty has, I dare say, become Doctor Lushington's conduct has been manly and able; General Ferguson, Mr. Creevey. This is truly useful know- and Sir Francis Burdett, have ledge! It is " under the cir-spoken boldly: but, surely, it was a case to call forth some " position," to use a Protocol- one gallant man to go to her phrase, worth all other kinds of Majesty, to offer his services to It her, to assist her with his counenables her Majesty to know sels, and to devote his whole who is who; to know how far time and all his talents and what are the motives of men; really, Sir, in this huckstering, to know what she has to expect stock-jobbing age, the love of from them; to see the springs fame seems to have been obliThere are young men; officers of the army: officers of the nary: and not one, even of these, has stepped forward! In such men, and in such a case, even indiscretion and temerity are right, and the want of them almost a crime. Miserable indeed is that state of society when, in such a case, men are under the sway of cold calculation!

If this appeared shocking to the people, it has, doubtless, not been overlooked by her Majesty: and, when turning her eyes towards the people, she has seen such ardent zeal and such disinterested exertions in her cause; so much warmth of affection towards herself, and so much indignation against her enemies: when her Majesty has had this comparison pressed upon her; and has seen, withal, so much and such superiority of talent range itself voluntarily on her side " out of doors," is it any wonder that her Majesty, with that frankness, sincerity and courage that belongs to her character, should have openly avowed her reliance upon the people?

the people, ask themselves the mind became unalterably fixed.

terated from the human heart! | cause; and, if they find that cause in their own conduct, let them no longer complain of any body but themselves. conduct, however, will, at last, have been found to be fortunate for her Majesty. For, if a vacht had been sent to meet her at Calais; if a Palace had been provided for her reception; if she had been received with military honours; and if a suitable proportion of Boroughmongers had visited her: if this had been the plan adopted, her Majesty's security would not have been what it is at this moment. was impossible for the nation to behold the treatment of the Queen without feeling for her: and, when it found, that rank and wealth keep aloof, it involuntarily stepped forward. Some of the first reports gave her Countess Fitzwilliam for a visitor; and, it was observed, that Countess Fitzwilliam, or some one for her, contradicted this; than which a grosser insult never was offered to any human These circumstances, being. trifling as they were in themselves, went very far in deciding the nation: and, when it saw, Let those, therefore, who com- that the sole object was to drive plain, that her Majesty relies on her Majesty from England, its

matter should be terminated jestly and tranquilly; and my opinion is, that, even now, the safest and best course to pursue full and entire and quiet possession of all her rights. My reasons for believing this are founded on that state of the public mind and the state of the country. And I do most sincerely believe, that if your Majesty were truly informed of what is thought, what is said, and what is expected, we should soon be refieved from all further agitation on this melancholy subject.

There is, in the bare facts of her Majesty's history, enough deeply to interest a people of much less sensibility than the people of this kingdom are well ject of compassion with the known to be. A deficiency in politeness has, and with some shew of justice, been ascribed We have been called rude and arrogant; but whatever other faults we may have, a want of humanity, a want of kindness, a want of the warmest affection, certainly Go not belong to the inhabitants of this ledged misconduct, the nation island, or of any part of the felt most deeply for her as for an kingdom; and, of all the people injured wife, and it also comin the whole world, none so de- plained, on its own part, that

It is for the interest of your | cidedly and so instantaneously Majesty and of us all, that this take part with the weak against the strong, with the oppressed against the oppressor. The feare of the funding and borough systems have gone far in hardening would be to put her Majesty in the hearts of those who depend thereon, and have induced themto give their tacit consent, at least, to acts, which, formerly, would have excited universal horror; but, in a case like that of her Majesty, where these fears have no weight, the native character breaks forth in all its humanity and all its justice:and, therefore, those were but poor philosophers, who thought that, because Green Bags had been so successful against the Radicals, they must also be successful against the Queen.

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Her Majesty became an obpeople almost from the moment of her marriage. A great sacrifice had been made, and cheerfully made, to render her marriage happy. When, therefore, she, with her infant daughter, had to quit her home, and that, too, without any misconduct on her part, without even any alits reasonable expectations had if this were not really to take been disappointed.

The people well knew the causes of the separation; and, in whatever way they viewed the matter, the Queen was still the injured party. It was clear that she was treated in a way, that even the law did not allow of; and, while such pains were taken to inculcate amongst the people the obligations of the marriage tie, it shocked every one, that so little was thought about example. Surely inclination ought not to have been too strong for all other considerations in a case like this! But, without imputing blame any where, it is certain, that the nation, from this time forward regarded her Majesty as an infured wife, who had a well known legal right to live with her husband.

There is nothing surer than injury to beget friends, in a case like this. Mankind have the justice to bear in mind what enormous sacrifices every woman makes in giving herself up to a husband, and how little she receives in return. Indeed, it is the husband's authority; and, any offence even alledged

place, the lot of a wife would be worse than that of a negro slave. The law is all on the side of the husband; and this is one reason, and a very good reason too, that every body is, in all disputes between man and wife, on the side of the latter. until it be clearly proved that she is in the wrong.

Women, though almost slaves by law, have, in this country, (and, thank God, they have) a great deal of influence. corrupt influence, but legitimate, wholesome, enlivening, and enobling influence. They are, too, a sisterhood. They resent every affront offered to them as a sex. Men are so many detached individuals. But. women are a body corporate. Touch one and you touch the whole. Coquettes, who hate each other as rivals, will defend each other as women. husband should bear this in mind. It is one of the indirect checks upon his husbandish authority; and wee be to the man that sets it at defiance.-The whole weight of this coragreed by common consent, that poration was thrown into the she is to enjoy by influence Queen's scale, the moment she something to balance against quitted Carleton House without

had on her side from that day more of the cause of agitation. to this.

This fact, of such vast importance in the case, your Majesty's ministers, who are, I believe, all married men, ought to have well considered, before they filled their Green Bags. If. upon this occasion, their wives had been consulted, the measures would, I imagine, have been very different from what they have been. Had I been a minister. I should have made a hasty retreat, the moment it was determined on to leave the Queen's name out of the Liturgy. I should have been sure that all the women would be displeased; that they would make the cause their own : and that, in the end, they would, by one means or another, make me repent of my share of the measure. If your Majesty, could have seen, as I did, a group of women, the other day, standing at the corner of Westminster Bridge, with one, as spokeswoman, saving to the rest:

against her. And, the whole of of the parties, I am inclined to this immense weight she has think, that we should hear no

The strong feeling favourable towardsthe Queen, which existed from the moment of the separation, was never weakened by the tales of 1806 and 1807. The women, who had always supposed that she had been calumniated previous to the separation, either regarded the tales as arising from new calumnies, or, worst come to worst, apologized for her beforehand, upon the ground of her being neglected, ill-used, and abandoned: but, which was her great protection, the late king showed her his countenance. all the while. And, when the real facts came fully out in 1813, they were filled with indignation. They had supposed, that lies enough had been invented; but, when they found, that the wife of the heir apparent, and the mother of her whom all the young people hoped to see Queen of England; when they found this wife and mother had been accused, on oath, of having been pregnant, "Why, is it not our own Queen; of having had a son, and of "and, shall we not have her having suckled him; when they "crowned?" If your Majesty found, that all this was false; could have seen this group, and and, moreover, that the perobserved the determined aspect jured witnesses had been sheltered from punishment; when taken from them. I myself have

But, "there was a child." said the vile calumniators, loath to let loose their hold. "There was a child; and, it was very strange, that the " Princess argues great perverseness: most malignant wickedness; or profound ignorance of the characters of women. There are some women, whose very nature impels them to fondness for babies: who actually are miserable, till they arrive at a certain age, unless they have little children about them, and even to be nursing and dandling. Every-man knows this; but, the proof of it may be found in the records of the Foundling Hospital, where little babies are put out to be kept for a time by poor men's wives, and where it will be found, that hundreds of the children have been kept and brought up by the poor people as their own children and at their own expence, rather than let them be nious incinuation.

they found this, their feeling in known three instances of this favour of the injured and insulted kind. And, indeed, it is notori-Princess met with an equal in ous, that there are many women their detestation of her base so fond of little children, that and execrable accusers, whom nothing can restrain their desire they have never forgotten or to have them in their arms or forgiven to the present hour, about their persons. In the course of a day we see scores of women in the public walks quitting their companions to go up to a baby in arms, though never seen before, to chirrup to should take the child of a poor it and caress it. Nothing is a man, and breed it up." This greater treat to a company of women than to get round a baby and talk about it, and to it, though it be not a month old. The fondness of women for young children is perfectly a passion; it makes a part of their nature; and:a very amiable part of it too. In propertion, also, as this passion exists in them, they are kind-hearted. ardent in all their feelings. generous and brave. .. Unfortunate is the man, who does not know how to prize this endearing propensity in woman; and, of all the amiable and excellent things that I have heard of her Majesty, the Queen, nothing does, in my eyes, do her more honour than this very trait. which her enemies have made use of for the purposes of calum-

ty's then situation rendered the from Court and in a prohibition taking of this little boy the to visit or to see her daughter, more natural. She was a young was extremely well calculated woman; a young wife without to add to the public feeling in a husband. Her only child was her favour. All the circumupon the point of being taken stances considered, there would from her, if not then actually have been sufficient apology for gone. what more benevolent occupa- lowable under other circumtion, than to take a poor man's stances. There were many perchild, to bestow mother's cares, and to rear him up to manhood? What more inoffensive and what more consoling, in her situation, than the hope that she was raising up one being, at least, that would be grateful to her through life? Greatly to her honour, the taunts of the wretched villains, who have been hired to calumniate her Majesty, have not induced her to abandon this child, now become a man; and all that we have to hope is, that he may, both in conduct and endowand kindness that have been bestowed upon him; and, above all things, that he may be a consolation to, and, if necessary, be ready to lay down his life for her to whom he has, though much persecution.

The peculiarity of her Majes-| her Majesty, in her exclusion What more rational, attachments, which are not alon him a sons who thought, that, if the charges against her had been. true, she rendered herself liable to no very great degree of censure. An injured wife may be permitted to do many things not to be tolerated in a wife that has received no injury. For her Majesty to have pined away her time: for her to have sitten moping like a forlorn creature worthy of rejection, would, in my opinion, have greatly lowered her in claim to public regard. Like a woman of spirit and of merit. she sustained her ments, be worthy of the care cheerfulness and gaiety; and, if she had gone a step further the opinion of the world would have been, that she had still a title to be judged of with the greatest indulgence. Speaking for myself, upon this subject, I innocently, been the cause of so can see no reason why a woman of thirty is to lock up her heart, The subsequent treatment of to know nothing more of those feelings which are a compensa-| ment the husband chose to detion for the numerous ills of life; to become a piece of wood or of marble, merely because a husband's capricious inclination has rejected her. The wife promises fidelity; but the husband promises all sorts of goodness towards her; and the common sense of mankind rejects, with scorn, the idea, that the contract is to be binding on one side only. Those Holy Scriptures, on a charge of having spoken irreverently of which, so many Englishmen are now wasting away their bodies in dungeons; those Holy Scriptures tell us, that we are not to put away our wives for any cause, save that of adultery; and they add, that he who putteth away his wife without this provocation, causeth her to commit fornication. So that, if her Majesty really had had a son, as was alleged, the fault, according to these Holy Scriptures, would not have been that of her Majesty. Hard, indeed, would be the lot of woman, if to all the other hardships and privations which the law compels her to submit to, if the husband chuse to exercise them, they were also to be bound to abandon their arisen were shewn to be such very nature as females, the mo- as to do her the greatest honour!

cline an intercourse with them. For my part, I cannot conceive how such a thought ever found its way into the mind of man; and, thank God, there are very. few men, into whose minds the thought ever did find its way.

Ninety-nine hundredths of the nation, and, indeed, of the whole of mankind, entertain a similar way of thinking upon this subject; and, therefore, if her Majesty really had been justly charged, in 1806, no very harsh sentence would have been passed upon her by the public; and though they might have been silent upon the subject of her exclusion from court and from intercourse with her only child, they would have thought such treatment a great deal too severe, and especially when they recollected, and had so fully in their minds the causes which had produced her calamity. What then must they necessarily have thought, when the charges were proved to have been groundless; when the informers were openly acknowledged to have been perjured; and when the circumstances. out of which the allegations had

When her Majesty left Eng-|page; at that very moment land to travel on the Continent. she left behind her the compassion and the warmest good wishes of the nation. She left behind her also very different feelings towards those who had been the advisers of the treatment which she had experienced. The death of her child during her absence; the circumstances of that death; every thing tended to keep alive the feelings which existed at her Majesty's departure. No wonder, then, that the people in London, while the heralds were proclaiming your Majesty King; no wonder that their voices drowned the noise of the trumpets with the cry of " God bless the No wonder, that, " Queen!" at that very moment they crowded round Mr. ALDERMAN Wood, and besought him, with an earnestness not to be describ--ed. to promise to protect the Queen! No wonder that, when they heard of her heroic conduct at St. Omers, and when they saw her throw herself upon their protection, they should

CASTLEREAGH had laid the Green Bags upon the Table, and was coolly proseeding to propose a vote of thanks to your Majesty; and at that very moment, a shout from the top of Westminster Bridge; a shout of " God save the Queen." told the assembly what the nation thought of the contents of those Bags!

Every occurrence from thatday to this has tended to strengthen and confirm what the nation then thought. dence conveyed in sealed bags. Secret Committees to examine that evidence and report upon it, while the Queen prayed for open trial. A refusal to furnish her with the names of the witnesses to be brought against her. A refusal to give her the names of the places where the alleged acts had been committed; and, a suspension of the opening of the trial for five weeks, while a document charging her with the foulest offences was promulgated throughout the world. Treated in every feel a resolution to defend her respect as criminal, and not perby all the lawful means in their mitted to take any one step to power! While her Majesty was prove her innocence. All these entering London, with her de- things the people have well ob-, plorable and dust-covered equi- served; and, above all things,

deportment of the Boroughmongers towards her Majesty.

The press, that part of it, I , meah, which is, upon all occasions, preising the ministers, has assailed the Queen with a deeree of bliterness and foulness, which, if employed against the wife of any Boroughmonger, would have brought down upon the offender, a punishment little short of death. And frese atrocious offences have been committed with perfect impunity. But, amongst all the incidents." none has been better calculated to excite disgust and resentment than the conduct of the Members for Yorkshire, in refusing to be the bearers of an address to her Majesty from a great town in that county. The excuse of one of those members was, that it would be inconvenient to him to wait fifton her Majesty. His own affairs took him another way! This " Corintkian Pillar." his teacher, BURKE, called him, had something else to do! And, as to the other, he regarded the address as prejudging the quesfire Bill of Pains and Penalties,

they have observed the insolent from her husband, had been promulgated without the Queen having been suffered to offer a word in her defence.

Upon all these things the public have remarked; and the result has been a decided conviction which nothing now will be able to shake. REAGH now alleges that the Queen's cause is made a handleof, by those who wish for a revolution! If this were true, it would be wise in him to give way at once, and let the revofution quietly take place; for, even excisemen, custom-house officers, clerks in office, and other numerous persons who are paid out of the public money, and toname whom, in a manner more particular, would be something more than unnecessary: all these are for the Queen; so that, if the Queen's friends are Revolutionists, the thing is as good as settled.

But, Sir, this is not true. The Queen's cause is by no meansconnected with any hostility tothe Throne, or to any part of the Constitutional Establishments. It is connected with a tion, forgetting, apparently, that desire to see measures adopted that would give stability to the which calls the Queen an adul- Throne and to those establishteress, and which divorces her ments: and the attempt to make

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liament.

as money for secret services, we if, under these circumstances are, at once, accused of want- we complain of these enormembers of this church, our lution! complaint can be accounted for If, however, there are danin no other way than by assert- gers of revolution, whom has ing that we want a revolution! your Majesty to thank but this

it be believed that those who restored, we complain that more object to this course of proceed- than fifty thousand pounds aing against the Queen, are ene- year are taken from us to be mies of the Throne, is much given to the French, and other about upon a level with the as- foreign emigrants, and that; sertion that, to uphold the too, at a time when documents Throne, we must approve of are before Parliament, to show the selling of seats in the Par- that, in whole districts, our own people are starving, and This is, however, an old, while we are actually paying stale, disgusting trick. If we other taxes to ship off half starvcomplain that sixty, eighty or ing creatures to dwell on the ninety thousand a-year, is voted sands of the Cape of Good Hope; ing a revolution. If we com- mous benevolences to French plain that a hundred thousand and other emigrants, we are a-year is given out of the taxes charged with wanting a revoluto a clergy who already receive tion! If we complain that a tenth part of the produce of pensions have been settled on the earth, many of whom have foreigners, in direct breach of two livings, and reside upon that very law which placed neither, and the dignitaries of your Majesty's family on the which church have, many of Throne, we are silenced by being them, palaces to reside in, and told that we want a revolution! incomes allowed to them far In short, we can complain of greater than those allowed to nothing; we can pray for noyour Royal Brothers; if we com- thing; we must subscribe to plain that, in addition to all every thing; we must be as sithis, a hundred thousand a-lent as the grave, or we must year is taken out of the fruits of crawl like spaniels, or, we are our labour to be given to the charged with wanting a revo-

If, now that the Bourbons are very CASTLEREAGH and his

have plunged the country in ir- and their supporters and abetredeemable debt; who have tors, who, even now, carry rendered the country the most on that which is agitating the distressed that ever was known country; and, therefore, if they in the world: who have stript it of all its fair and legitimate means of maintaining its honour sively to themselves. among nations; who have divided its people, shaken all confidence, and destroyed the very hope of gradual and peaceable return to prosperity. If revolution be dreaded, who has your Majesty to blame but the men who, to all the other causes of danger that they had brought upon us, have now added this alarm, and of peril?

Let them, therefore, hold their peace about revolutions; and not seek to throw the burden of responsibility from their own shoulders to those of men who have always deprecated and protested against the meainto their present situation. Who, but themselves, kept the the Queen to be insulted at St.

colleagues? Those men who against her the next. It is they. see danger of revolution. let them take the merit of it exclu-

However, let what will become of them, your Majesty and your people ought to love one another. This is what ought to be, and this is what would be. at all times, were it not for the advice of wicked and interested men, who are constantly endeavouring to make the King believe that hatred of them is new subject of agitation, of hatred of him; and this is what I had the honour of fully explaining to your Majesty, during the ast year. The contrary of this is so true and so evident. that one wonders how any Sovereign can be imposed upon by such an artifice. But, if proof had been wanted that hatred of sures that have brought them midisters, even to the highest degree, can exist without any hatred to the King, what strik-Queen's name from the Liturgy? ing proof has been furnished Who, but themselves, caused within the last three months: The five men whose heads were Omers? It was they who sent severed from their bodies for a deputation to kiss her hand having designed and prepared one day, and who brought in a to kill your ministers, repelled. Bill of Pains and Penalties with indignation, the charge of

tention; but they scorned the appellation of traitor. One of them said, with the certainty of death before his eyes; that, sol far from having harboured any evil intention towards the King, he had always been a loyal man, and had never even suffered any one to speak disrespectfully of the King in his pre-Another of them, when sence. he was mounting the scaffold, used the glass of wine that was offered him to drink the King's health, and to wish him a happy reign!

If, amongst any description of persons, revolutionists were to be found, they might certainly be looked for amongst men like these; yet, even amongst those men, who harboured the most deadly designs against your we find unshaken ministers, loyalty towards yourself. And this is the feeling of the whole nation. The people have no designs, which are inconsistent with the exercise of your Ma jesty's kingly power. They want no change inconsistent with the exercise of that power

disloyalty. Five bolder and And all the endeavours which braver, men never existed in this are made to induce your Ma-They faced death with jesty to ascribe the discontents a calmuess that never was sur- of your people to a want of passed. They justified their in- loyalty towards yourself, and to a desire to overthrow your family and throne, are a pure invention for the purpose of closing your ears against the just complaints of your people, and for securing and perpetuating the ill-gotten influence of your own and your people's enemies.

To what this course, which has been so long pursued, may finally lead, it is impossible for any one to say; but, this we all know, that whatever evils may happen to the Throne and Royal family of this kingdom, if, contrary to all our wishes, such evil should arise, no part of them will be ascribable to any body except those councillors, under whose advice Reform has been refused, and her Majesty the Queen has been so cruelly persecuted.

With all the sentiments that become an Englishman who understands his own rights and his duty towards his Sovereign, I am your Majesty's faithful and devoted subject and servant,

This gentleman, in his paper of Thursday, has applauded the Lord Mayor of London for pulling down what Mr. PERRY calls " infamous and inflammatory " Placards." One of these Placards contained an extract, and nothing else, from Mr. PERRY's own paper! As to its being infamous, the accusation is foolish, It might be calculated to inflame; but, that was its merit! We write and speak, sometimes to inform, and sometimes to inflame: sometimes for both together. Seldom have the writings of Mr. PERRY a tendency to produce either of these effects; and he ought, it seems to me, to be greatly obliged to the person who has taken the trouble to select and give currency to one of the very few articles of Mr. PERRY's writing worthy of the public attention. truth is, that Mr. PERRY, if he has any good disposition, is kept in check by the old hang-dog faction to whom his vanity binds They do not know what

They have so long been looking for place in vain, that their natural sourness is turned into a species of fury; and their fury is not the less on account of their perceiving that turning the mipisters out will not put them in. The possibility of seeing that horde quartered upon us has, until of late, been a constant dread with me for more than fifteen years. CASTLEREAGH and his set have pretty well drained the pockets of the nation; they have sweated us down to a reasonable bulk; but if these Edinburgh Reviewers had been permitted to fall upon us, they would not have left us the skin to cover our wretched bones .- However, thank God. there is no fear of them now ! when such These are times lumber makes little shift. They are too dull for the events that are passing. Read one of their Reviews and it brings to your mind the gallop of a cart-horse along a race course.-At to the Lord Mayor of London pulling down Placards, he knows his business best, but whether he to be at; and he is acting a sort be friend or foe to the cause he of non-descript part, undoing espouses, he may take my word to-morrow what he does to-day. for it that he is doing that cause The Edinburgh Reviewers are a great deal of good: every one much about in the same state, is eager to see, or to know the

has happened, to his brother of Rochester, and he will see reason, perhaps, to-confine his bostility in future to his wishes, which, though very impotent, cannot be more so than his acts.

THE RESEARCHER.

No wonder that this paper has excited the rencour of persons whom I need not name. his conduct with regard to the cause of the Queen has been most laudable. Truth, energy, elegance; ability, have here been employed with a degree of fearlessness which the cause demands: and if they are worth the Editor's acceptance, I beg him to accept of my best thanks for the great delight which the article alluded to has given me. Lam aware that it may be said that memory assisted his pen upon this occasion. So much the better. It is not in such a case vindichiveness, it is juswould be the lot of man word Times.

contents of, that which he is so sion. They were all just; all anxious to keep out of sight well expressed. They did great Let him take a lesson from what honour, to the writer, and the publishing of them was no mean. compliment to his seaders.

Mr. WOOLER'S PAPERS.

Here also the cause has been ably sustained. The author has not suffered himself to be warped in his politics, nor has he noglected them. He has taken up the cause of the Queen upon the same principle that he has maintained, with so much ability, the cause of the people; and, indeed, how can a man, with the means in his hands, and with a heart in his body, refrain from espousing that cause.

THE DRAWESTER.

This Evening Paper has devoted a considérable part of its columns to the cause of the Queen. Excellente reasoning great ability all through, and a complete refuter of the ealumnies of the Courier, the tice; and iniserable, indeed, Morning Post and the New Thave not seen the he not allowed to take justice other evening papers; but 1when placed within his reach. have heard that all, except the I concur in every one of his sen- Courier, act an honest part. The timents uttered upon this occa- Traveller is careful in collecting

the addresses to the Queen and the Queen. A man must believe The time will my father." himself. There will always be somebody to excuse men for cases that admit of doubt; but this case is so clear, it is so obvious to every eye; the wickis of so diabolical a nature, that

her answers; full as careful as himself not to be a man. He Mr. TERRY is negligent; and, must not only have lost all the with the exception of the Times feelings connected with the connewspaper, the Queen's cause is, sciousness of being, or of wishing perhaps, most indebted to the to be, a husband; he must not Traveller. The truth is, how-only know nothing about the ever, that the press would carry feelings of brother for sister, or on it marks of everlasting in-father for a daughter. He must famy if it were not to espouse believe himself not to have had this cause. It is perfectly un- a mother before he can be denatural not to do it. Not to stitute of feeling for the cause esponse this cause, being able to of her Majesty.-What those do it, a man must be bad in his monsters are, who have made very disposition. There is no use of the press against her room for balancing. The man Majesty, I will give a sort of that can balance here must have specimen in the history of two " said unto corruption, thou art of them; and I beg my readers. to mark well the facts I am come, and that shortly, when going to state.—One of these every writer, who shall have writers turned his wife out of taken the other side, will be re- doors; allowed her a miserable garded as a monster; and he pittance to exist on for several must either get the fact dis- years, while he lived in splenguised, or, with ruffians, like dour with another woman. The Edwards, contrive to disguise poor wife died in this state of separation, and the ruffian now lives with that other woman.want of principle and feeling in The other did not turn his wife out of doors; but compelled her to, go out herself, or witness an intercourse of a nature edness of taking a wrong course too, foul to be described bey tween him and a relation of the offender cannot possibly es- her own, an intercourse forcape execuation. There is no bidden by the laws of conmerit in espousing the cause of sanguinity, as well as by the

marriage tie, by conscience and and detested .- It will be useby honour.—Such is a specimen of those who have made use of the press against her Maiesty the Queen; and my opinion is, that, if the truth could be come at, we should find that her Majesty has very few active enemies who are not of this odious and detestable description-There appears to be innate cruelty absolutely necessary to induce a man to take up his pen against her Majesty. All cruelty is odious, even towards dumb animals; but cruelty towards a woman, and one that has never offended us, too, must spring from a heart that is hard, unfeeling and ferocious in its very nature.

Luckily there are very few persons of this description in any country; and it would be strange, indeed, if they were numerous in this. However, 1, for my part, am for ransacking the history of these ruffians: am not for suffering them to go dressed up in the character of gentlemen to call for the more than half murdering of Mr. and Mrs. Carlile upon the ground of their publishing things injurious

ful, in all parts of the country, to sift well into the history of those who take part against the Queen; in order that we may have the history at hand to be used for the benefit of truth and of justice.

RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRESS.

Men like those that I have just mentioned are strenuously recommending further records tions upon the press! And what would that do without a Bourbon censorship ? And what would the Bourbon censorship do? Just nothing nat alle. It could not retard events one single moment. Nav: my opinion is, sit would accelerate them. However, that it could do no good to those who talk of it. I am very certain; and, therefore. they will do well to hold their tongues; for, by speaking they only show the greatness of their rage and its impotence at the same time.

SHAM PUBLICATIONS.

One way of attacking her Majesty is that of putting forth to morality and religion. I am publications, as if they came for stripping the mask from from herself or her friends; them, that they may be know as if they were published by

authority. A thing of this sort, annts, cousins, and other relacititled Six Years in Italy, and dedicated, by way of puff, to several matters can be ascer-Mr. Albanes Wood, has made its appearance. This is a mass of falschoods, coming from a source such as will shock the public when it shall be informed of that source.

There is preparing for publiention mediate energies, under the following title, which, it is shoped, may be of great use to this Majosty's loval subjects in grancial. An endeavour will be made to bring the whole into a compass of one sheet of paper. and to sell it sit the innice of ONE RENNY

A PERP AT THE TEERS. OR.

- A complete List of the House of Peers, showing their titles; their family names, their of-Anes, places, commissions, pre-Terments, sinocures, pensions, "grants, and other enforments, by favour of the King; and of the imposition of the Funmissions. brothers,

tions: as nearly as the said tained.

To which there may be a companion-piece, entitled

LINKS OF THE LOWER-HOUSE:

Or, a complete List of the Members of the House of Commons, showing, in the first place, every thing as above; and, besides, showing the connections between the Unper and the Anwer House.

REVOLUTION IN NAPLES.

Extract of a letter dated Naples, July 6th; to which the writer has added-"a day to be for ever remembered in history:"-

This letter announces to you no less an event than a change in the Government of this country. You were before aware of the discontent existwhich they hold and enjoy king in the provinces, on account also, the stikes, pinets, com- daria, and of the little enconpreferments, sine regement given to the exposts cures, pensions, grants, and of native productions; but you other emoluments, which are were not aware to what a deheld and enjoyed by their sons, gree this discontent had infected uncles, all classes, and even the ranks of the camp at Sessa may be They found there a military reckoned the immediate cause chest containing 22,000 ducate, of all that has occurred, as it which they appropriated to their appears that it not only gave to own use, but gave an acknowconcerting their measures, but party from whom they took it. brought them into contact with The news of this insurrection the provinces, and assured them having reached Naples caused of the community of sentiment the greatest glarm, and some in the great mass of the popula-Generals were sent off by the tion. The whole thing has been King to parley with the mutiso sudden that it is difficult to neers, and learn what objects ascertain exactly how it began, they had in view. A Council. or who took the lead in the was immediately called at the best accounts, there is remain made of prospeding; while ment was made by a body of berating (this was yesterday

of the army. The organization which they took possession. the troops an opportunity of ledgment in due form to the. According to the Palace, to deliberate on the for believing that the first move they were in the act of delicavalry stationed at Nois, to afternoon), two regiments; one the number of about 150 men, of infantry, the other of drawho suddenly, and without or goons, quartered about a mile ders, quitted their post, and from the town, marched off with marched in a body to the moun- arms and bagginge, but in the tains of Avellino. Whether the most perfect order, to join the result of previous understanding insurrectionary troops. 'An inor not, is unknown; but the timation was then brought to alarm of this march spread with the King from the head-quarters the rapidity of lightning; do- of the insurgents, that they dotachments of infantry marched manded a free Constitution, siout to join them, and every miles to that which had been pessant, who could muster a adopted in Spain.-Preparations firelock or an offensive weapon were made to oppose and to of any description, followed their retime this spirit; but it was example. This mixed essem- discovered on sounding the disblage then proceeded towards position of those troops who the pass leading to Apulia, of had not yet declared against the

heart were inibaed with same sentiments, and that they ctuld note with safety be led against their comrades. - This state of things was reported to the King, on which he gave way, and declared his assent to the condition proposed. Couriers were sent off to the troops early this morning, to announce this change; and papers were exhibited on the walls of the city, declaring the King's intention to publish a Constitution or free Government, in seven days. Where This would have ended but for the timely concession that has been made. it is impossible to say; for the spirit spread through the soldiery with such rapidity that even St. Elmo was deserted by its garrison. The general appearance of the city, during the interval between the parley with "the troops and the King's resolution to accede to their wishes. was most singular. Every face was marked by anxiety, and denoted the expectation of some dreadful event. When the joyful change was known, nothing was to be seen or heard but the most-lively testimonics of pleas with shorts of Viva! Kiva! having been told that a free

Government, that they all at and these were by no means of the lowest or lower classes. I saw two officers in the uniform of Generals who joined in the exultation. There was a very general cry for the appearance of the King on the balcony of the Palace, but he did not show himself. This is the birth-day of the hereditary Prince, and to-night we shall have a grand illumination."

Extract of another letter, same dates

" It is now about a week ago, since a very general spirit of fermentation and discontent was observed in the province of Salerno; and last Sunday we heard: that a whole regiment of cavalry had deserted, and posted themselves near Nola. Shortly after, all the troops were put in motion against them, but it was discovered that disaffection prevailed, and that no reliance could be placed upon them, which made it evident that coercive measures would be of no use, but that every means must be tried to conciliate matters; the more so, as it was believed that discontent, more or less. prevailed in all the provinces. Things were carried on this way sure. Groups paraded the streets till eyesterday, when the King

Constitution was the universal wish of the people, declared that he would give it to them voluntarily, and immediately issued a proclamation, promising to publish it in a week. said that an affecting scene has taken place at the Palace. When the King declared his intention, the hereditary Prince, who is just arrived from Sicily, fell at the feet of the King, and in tears thanked him in the name of the people, exclaiming, "You have saved the country." It only remains for the Insurgent troops, so they were then called, but now the Patriots, to return to their duty, which they will do as soon as they know the terms of the Constitution, which they wish to be as near as possible to that of Spain. The city has been for some days past in extreme agitation. The Civica (city volunteers) have been contioually on duty. At this moment there are thousands and tens of thousands parading the streets near the Palace, and shouting Vivas! to the King and Constitution. We think that all will proceed quietly, and end safely."

SPAIN.

MEETING OF THE CORTES.

From the Madrid Gazette Extraordinary of the 10th July.

The memorable epoch is arrived in which the wishes of the Spanish nation were to be fulfilled-the happy day, in which a people determined to preserve the liberty and the dignity of the throne, have seen their adored King giving another decisive and irrefragable proof of his paternal views, of the love which he bears to his subjects. and of the earnest desire which animates him to concur, in concert with the Cortes, in founding and consolidating the public happiness by means of a constitution essentially directed to the welfare of all—the happy hour, in which Ferdinand the Seventh, uniting his sentiments with those of the Spanish people, presented himself before the august national congress in the solemn act of swearing to the constitution of the monarchy. All the necessary arrangements for the celebration of this solemn ceremony had been previously made. The King having appointed the hour of 10 in the morning of vesterday, Sunday, the 9th of July, for proceeding to the hall of the Cortes, his Majesty lest his palace, accompanied by his august spouse and lightened period, but of great the infuntas, attended by his

suite, in state coaches.

On reaching the hall of the Cortes they were received by national representaives. - One, consisting of 24 members, accompanied the Queen to the tribune which had been prepared for her, that she might, in company with the infentes: enjoy the spectacle of so solemn a ceremony. The other deputation, consisting of 32 memhers, including two of the secretaries, was appointed to attend on the King.

When his Majesty entered, all the members stood up, as well as the diplomatic corps in the tribune on the right of the throne. The councillors of state. generals, and magistrates, occupled the other tribunes; the immense multitude which filled the galleries could not restrain themselves from bursting into dond acclamations and Vivas! The King took his seat on a magnificent throne, on the sides of which were displayed the royal insignia. As soon as the King had seated himself, the Infantus, the President of the Cortes, and all the Deputies. also sat down. After a short neral and uniform cry gave spipause the President rose, and, with the Secretaries, proceeded to receive the King's oath, which] was taken in the manner preseribed by the Constitution.

bishop, Elect of Seville, as Pre- the country, who had been callsident of the Cortes, then ad- ed upon by the general voice of dressing himself to the King, de- the provinces, re-established the livered the following speech:— constitution of the Spanish mo-

"The Cortes, at a less enand sublime virtues, preserved the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the glory and splendon't of the throne, and the natwo grand deputations of the tional prosperity; but that wise institution which united the King and the nation by the great and noble sentiments of affection and loyalty, gradually declined, fell at last into oblivion, and the nation became the theatre of ambition, and the King an instrument of bad passions. But the day of your Maesty's birth was the Aurora of the restoration of Spain; and more than twenty millions of mhabitants view in their young Prince the worthy successor of St. Ferdinand. They were congratulating 'themselves' with these flattering hopes, when, at the same time that the sacrilegious project of extinguishing your sacred rights was conceived in the bosom of the nation, a vile impostor perfidiously introduced his hostile legions. and wrested from the arms of the faithful Spaniards their beloved monarch, at the very moment when he had just been placed on the throne of his glorious progenitors. The Spanish lion was then roused, and a gerrit and vigour to the Valorous sons of Pelayo; and while the brave warriors advanced with their breasts of bronze, and the pelled the tyrant's hosts from Don Joseph Espiga, Arch-their native land, the fathers of

marchy, which, by solemnly de-| Spain had descended to break claring the person of the King the chains imposed by tyranny. sacred and inviolable, has more Such were their generous senfirmly fixed the Crown on your timents when sordid Interest, Maiesty's royal head, has socured you against the artifices of eny favourite, and thus enables your Majesty to act more freely! for the benefit of your people, and the welfare of the state.

"The worthy sons of the country conceived that they could not make a better roturn to the confidence with which the provinces honoured them. nor offer to their King a more acceptable tribute, than to consolidate a vacillating throne, by placing it on the broad basis of a fundamental law, which, being the legacy of our ancestors, and the expression of wisdem, justice, and the public will, closed the door equally against wile fattery and unjust aggression. It secured the administrasion of justice, established a just system of public economy, and sanctioned the respect, obedience_and veneration, due to the daws and the royal authority. Thus felt the representatives of the nation in Cadiz. them. Size, send up deep sighs to Heaven for the cruel captivity of their king: I saw them, like orphane, shedding tears of sorrow and anguish, and, humbled august throne unidet the nationbefore the Lamb of God, praying for the return of so amiable a father to his numerous and disconsolate family. I saw them, averwhelmed with joy and dedight give vent to their oppressed hearts when they learned that the Almighty had listened numerous evils from which you -to their fervent supplications, have saved them by this goneand that the tutelacy aggel of row act, by which the genius of

crafty Ambition, atrocious Calumny, and insatiable Vengeance, after meditating in obseurity their detestable plots, dared to approach the throne, and sacrilegiously profane the sanctuary of majesty. But, Sire. let us spread a veil over those melancholy proofs of human weakness.

"At length the happy dayarrived when a bright star arose on the Spanish horizon, which dissipated the thick clouds formed by intrigue and malevolence, and sucred truth shows forth with a brilliancy which excited the admiration of some, the respect of others, the confusion of many, and the conviction of all. Happy Spain again sees assembled those Cortes which rendered the names of her Alphonsos and her Ferdinands so glorious; and the most virtuous of nations-forgetting wrongs, pardoning injuries—is solely employed in re-establishing a constitutional government, in preserving the purity of her holy religion, and in giving testimonies of gratitude and veneration to her King, now seated on his al congress, after having taken a solemn oath, by which he is made greater than the son of -Philip was by the conquest of Oriental kingdoms. O magnanimous King! the noble and loyal Spaniards are sensible of the

Evil, prepared to light up the | becoming his character, the folflame of discord among us, is All hope that every crushed. pernicious germ will be extinguished, and that eternal peace and concord will take root in their stead. Let the fears, iealousies, and distrusts. which criminal souls have excited in the heart of the best of Kings. for ever disappear, and all unite in surrounding the throne with that fraternal alliance which secures order, produces plenty, maintains justice, and preserves peace. And permit me, Sire, the faithful organ of this congress, and of the nation it represents, to present to you the due homage of its fidelity, and of the honourable sentiments by which it is animated.

" As our illustrious ancestors always were the firmest support of the throne and the monarch. so the same Spain, always ready to give brilliant testimonies of loyalty and love to her Kings. solemnly promises you that her sons, who have displayed in war more sanguinary examples of fidelity than were known to past generations, will make sacrifices worthy of Spanish heroes, and the admiration of future ages."

His Majesty replied in the following terms:—

" I accept the expressions and sentiments of love and loyalty which the Cortes manifest towards me through the organ of its President; and I hope, through its assistance, to see the nation I have the glory to in history, of a magnanimous magovern free and happy."

lowing speech:-

"Gentlemen Deputies.

"At length has arrived the day, the object of my ardent wishes, on which I see myself surrounded by the representatives of the heroic and generous Spanish nation, and in which a solemn oath has completely identified my interests and those of my family with the

interests of my people.

"When excess of evils produced the clear manifestation of the voice of the nation, formerly obscured by lamentable circumstances which ought erased from our memories. I immediately determined to embrace the desired system, and to take the oath to the political constitution of the monarchy sanctioned by the general and extraordinary Cortes in the year of 1812. Then did the Crown as well as the nation receive its. legitimate rights, my resolution being no less spontaneous and free than conformable to my own interests and those of the Spanish people, whose happiness has never ceased to be the object of my sincerest wishes. My heart thus undissolubly united with the hearts of my subjects, who are also my children, the future presents to me only agreeable images of confidence. love, and presperity.

"With what satisfaction must the grand spectacle be contemplated, hitherto unexampled tion, which has passed from one . Immediately after his Majesty | political state. to another withread with a clear intelligible out convulsion or violence, subvoice, and with all the dignity jecting her enthusiasm to the

with mourning, and inundated with tears, other less fortunate countries!

"The general attention of Europe is now directed to the which represents this highlyfavoured nation. From it are succeeding generations. also hoped that multiplied examples will be displayed of jussity-virtues which always diswhich, having been religiously observed during the effervescence among the people, ought to be still more strictly practised in the Congress of their representatives, invested with the circumspect and tranquil charac-

"It is now time to undertake the examination of the state of the nation; and to commence those labours indispensable for the application of remedies suitable to the evils produced by ancient causes, and augmented both by the invasion of the enemy, and by the erroneous system of the succeeding period.

ter of legislators.

revenue, which the Secretary of State to whom that department belongs will present, will shew its diminution and embarrass- cation of the government, and

guidance of reason, under cir-| ment, and will excite the zeal of cumstances which have covered the Cortes to seek and select. among the resources still nossessed by the nation, those best suited for meeting the engagements and indispensable charges of the state. This inquiry will proceedings; of the Congress serve more and more to confirm the opinion, that it is essential. and urgent to establish public expected prudent indulgence for credit on the immutable bases the past, and enlightened firm- of justice and good faith, and ness for the future, and that at the scrupulous observance and the moment which confirms the fulfilment of all engagements. happiness of the present and which give satisfaction and tranthe quillity to creditors and capierrors of the preceding epoch talists, native and foreign, and may be buried in oblivion. It is relief to the treasury, I fulfil one of the most sacred duties which the royal dignity and the tice, beneficence, and genero-love of my people impose on me in earnestly recommending tinguished Spaniards—which the this important object to the se-Constitution recommends, and rious consideration of the Cortes.

"The administration of justice, without which no society can exist, has hitherto depended almost exclusively on the honour and probity of the judges; but, now made subject to known and established principles, it affords to the citizens now and stronger grounds of security; and still greater improvements are to be expected when our codes, carefully improved, shall attain that simplicity and perfection which the knowledge and experience of the age in which we live are capable of giving.

"In the interior administra-"The account of the public tion difficulties are experienced which proceed from old abuser, aggravated during these latter times. The persevering applithe zeal with which its agetus and the provincial authorities, labour to establish the simple and beneficent municipal system adopted by the constitution, are lessening the obstacles, and will, in time, perfect a department of the state, which has an essential influence over the public welfare and prosperity.

" The army and the navy call more particularly for my atten-It will be tion and solicitude. one of my first cares to promote their organization, and establish them in the manner most convenient for the nation, as far as possible, the advantages of forces so important with that economy which is indispensable, and relying on the patriotism and good will of the people, and the wisdom of their representatives, to whom I shall always have recourse with entire confidence.

" It is to be expected that the re-establishment of the constitutional system, and the flattering prospect which that event presents for the future, may, by removing the pretexts of which malignity has been able to take advantage in the ultra-marine provinces, smooth the path to the pacification of those which are in a state of agitation or disturbance, and render unnecessary the employment of any other means. The examples of moderation and the love of order given by peninsular Spain, the just pride belonging to so worthy and generous a nation, and the wise laws which are promulgated conformable to the constitution, will contribute to

this object, to the oblivion of ant evils, and will draw closer pli Spaniards around my throne—sacrificing to the love of their common country all the recollections which might break or weaken those fraternal ties by which they oughs to be united.

" In our relations with foreign. countries the most periect harmony in general prevails, with the exception of some few dilferences, which, though they have not disturbed the existing peace, have given rise to discussions which cannot be terminated without the concurrence and intervention of the Cortes Such are the of the kingdom. differences pending with the United States of America respecting the Floridas, and the marking out the boundaries of Contests likewise Louisiana. exist, occasioned by the occupation of Moute-Video, and other. Spanish possessions on the lex bank of the river Plata; bat, though a complication of various. circumstances has hitherto prevented the adjustment of these differences, I hope that the justice and moderation of the principles which guide our diplomatic operations, will produce a result suitable to the nation, and conformable to the pacific system, the preservation of which is now the general and decided maxim of Enropean policy. The Regency of Algiers has given. indications of a wish to renew its old system of restlessness and aggression. To avoid the consequences which may arise from this want of respect to existing

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stipulations, the defensive treaty | The President replied: entered into in the year 1816; Mediterranean. destined maintain and secure the freedon of navigation and commerce.

"Thue, as it is the duty of the Cortes to consolidate general happiness through the medium of wise and just laws, and thereby to protect religion, the rights of the Crown, and of the citizens; so also it belongs to my office to watch over the execution and fulfilment of those laws, and especially of the fundimental law of the monarchy, in which the hopes and wishes of the Spanish people are cen-This will be my most grateful and most constant duty. To the establishment, and to the entire and inviolable prepervation of the constitution, the power which that constitution grants to the royal authority will be devoted, and in that will also consist my duty, my delight, and glory. To fulfil and bring to perfection this great and salutary enterprise, after humbly imploring the aid and guidance of the Author of all good, I require the active cooperation of the Cortes, whose zeal, intelligence, patriotism, and love to my royal person, lead me to hope that they will concur in all the nucessary measures for the attainment of such elected."

"The Cortex has beard with with the King of the Nether-singular satisfaction the wise lands stipulated the union of the address in which your Majesty respective maritime forces in the has texpressed your noble and generous sentiments, and deacribed the state of the nation. The Cortes presents to your Majesty its most respectful thanks for the ardeat zeal with which you promote the general prosperity and promises to co-operate with your Majesty's intelligence, and to contribute by all possible means to the attainment of the important objects for which it has been convoked."

> The ceremonies of this angust solemnity being ended, their Majestics and the Infantas withdrew from the Cortes with the same retinue with which they had entered, répeated cries of Viva el Rey y las Cortes! resounding through the hall, and all returned to the palace.

The streets through which the procession passed were lined with the different corps of the garrison of Madrid, and the national militia, both cavalry and infantry. The presence of their Majesties and the lufantas—the splendour of the retime—the brilliancy of the equipages---the taste displayed in the tapestry (which ornamented the balconies of the windows)---the numerous concourse of people. which almost impeded the course of the procession—the repeated applause of all classes of perimportant ends, thus justifying sons, enthusiastically exclaiming the confidence of the heroic na- Viva el Rey; viva la Constitution by which they have been cion! viva el Rey constitucional, &c.--and, above all, the recol-

lection of the object of the mag-flove of the King, and their adnificent ceremony,---all cencur- herence, to those constitutional red to render this day most glo- laws in which the happings of rious to the Spanish nation, and all is centred. to present a spectacle which of future ages.

out the streets, served to confirm swer to his Majesty's speech; more than ever the good opinion and for this purpose were electthat is entertained of the cha- ed the deputies Count de Toracter of the inhabitants of this reno, Torrero, Martinez de ta capital, who, on the great day Rosa, Tapia, Temes, and Geof Spain, gave the most con-neral Quiroga. With this the vincing proofs of their noble selemn acts of the epening of sentiments, their loyalty and the Cortes concluded.

The sitting of the Cortes was will be the eternal admiration continued after his Majesty's departure; and, on the proposi-The tranquillity and order tion of the deputy Count de Towhich prevailed in the hall of reno; a committee was appointed the Cortes, as well as through- to draw up an address in an-

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LONDON, SATURDAY, August 5, 1820.

THE EARL OF LIVERFOOL

The approaching Trial of the Queen and also on where Events which appear to be fast approaching.

elt ni ed I London, August 8, 1820.

MY LORD

. Lhave not yet brought myself to comider you in precisely the tame light that I consider characters; and, after all this, nevertheless, that, at the time the laws all those, who hed when Sidmouth expressed his violated that ant under which. worrow, that his Law Officers those deeds had been perpecould find nothing to prosecute trated. I cannot forget this. in my writings, you said that I never can suffer these things you mine, resolved to pursue to depart from my memory so the stern path of daty; and that, completely as not to be recalled. that stern path was to shut up whenever your name is menin dangeons a great number of tioned.

men, having seined them by force, and conveyed thent about in from like malefactors, keeping them in dungeons for nearly a year; then turning them out with the impleat demand of stcognizances to keep the peace and be of good behaviour; all this without furnishing thous. with any charge, without latting them know, who were their accesers, without affording them any opportunity of, defending themselves or their Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and procuring to be passed a bill the but, I remember, protect against the operation of

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plarm in which you are now placed; or, rather, in which you and your colleagues, your supporters and abettors have now placed yourselves, by persevering in your project for degrading her Majesty the Queen, for stripping her of her rights and dignities, and for driving her from the shores of England; all which are intended to be effected by that Trial, the time for which is approaching, and with regard to which, it is my intention now to make some observations.

The word Trial is, in this country, understood to include, or express, several things. First, that there shall be a judge to preside appointed by a third party, and wholly independent of both the parties. Second, that there shall be a Jury, selected by neither party, that it shall consist of persons of fair character, promiscuously taken out of the mass of the commu-Third, that the accused shall have a specific charge preferred against him, stating his offences with great precision; stating the times and places of committing those part of the grand jury them-

Therefore, it is impossible for offences; and, accompanying the me not to see with pleasure the charge, there shall be a list of state of embarrassment and of those, who, upon their oaths, have declared the charge to be true. Fourth, that when things are thus prepared, due notice shall be given of the time of trial, and that the accused shall come into the Court and take his trial. Lastly, that the trial shall be open; that no doors shall be closed; that the whole of the public shall have access to the spot; and that, in short. the transaction shall be in the face of the people.

> Now, I will not here repeat observations that have already been made on the threat, made use of to keep her Majesty from the scene of accusations: I will not dwell on the already exposed sophistry, which would compare a secret committee to a grand jury, seeing that the Secret Committee was afterwards to become a part of the Judges to sit upon the Trial, or a part of the petit jurors, call them which you will; neither will' I dwell on the mode of collecting the evidence, on the persons by whom it was collected, or stop to inquire whether it was got together and laid before this strange grand jury by a

selves: I will merely, upon the to-day, may be done to any of present occasion, look at the us to-morrow. approaching Trial under the heads above enumerated, and see how it squares with our settled notions of a Trial.

First, the House of Lords are the Judges, and, seepndly, they are the Jurors also, Now, have they been appointed by a third party? Have they been taken premiscuently out of the mass of To find guilt the community? must they be unanimous? None of these, Then, a Jury can neither be augmented nor diminished in number, during the Trial, Is this the case with the House of Lords ?, May not any number of new Peers be created during the Trial? May not a considerable portion of them be commanded to quit the House, and to go to their respective governments or regiments, or other employments, and which commands they are bound to obey? And are these circumstances consistent with an Englishman's ideas of a Trial?

These things are so plain, that they strike every mind; and they compel us, for 'our own safety's sake; to cling to her Majesty; because, we clear-

A specific charge sutely necessary to give the accused party even a chance of justice ; and so sensible have our ancestors always been this, that they have taken care that none of us shall be brought to Trial without an indictment. And an indictment must state the person, the time, and the place and the fact; and must be in a certain form of words. it be deficient in any of those points, it is then regarded as good for nothing. It must be grounded on the oaths of persons that have appeared sworn to the fact; and the names of these persons must be subjoined to the indictment and, before the Trial come on, the accused party must be furnished with a copy of this document.

. Now, the Queen is going to trial without any specific charge. Her Majesty is, to be tried for she knows not what. She is to be tried for offences said to have been committed by her, but when or where she is not told. She has requested of those who are to try her to give her the names of witnesses; she has also rely see that what is done to her quested the names of the places have been committed. be her Judges and Jurors!

Thus, then, the Queen is to go to Trial in a way that no human being ever went to Trial before in England. And I beg the public to bear in mind, that. every man of us is liable to the same mode of proceeding, which is now adopted against her Majesty. Her cause is, therefore, our cause as far, at least, as re-

Mr. Wooler, Mr. Leigh Hunt, such proceeding?

to cap the climax, namely, to thing is an open Trial. carry on the Trial in secret; It has given great pleasure to

where her crimes are said to that is to say, to shut out the Both public, and to prevent the pubhave been refused her, and that, lication of the proceedings durtoo, by the persons who are to ing the Trial! Some of the newspapers have had the temerity to say, that even this is intended! However, notwithstanding all that we have seen. this is what I cannot bring myself to believe. The pretence for a prohibition of publication. during the late Trials at the Old Balley, was, that the future Juries might be apt to be influenced by such publications; lates to this mode of proceeding, that is to say, the furies which would come to try other of the Mr. Walter, or myself; any man prisoners. It was very hard to of us who may have rendered perceive how such influence himself obnoxious to you and should operate injuriously; but, your colleagues, may be taken at any rate, such a pretence out of the ordinary course of cannot exist here. It will be law and justice, and proceeded impossible for the minds of those against by bill of pains and penal- who are to try this cause to be ties, without any specific charge, unduly influenced by a publicawithout names of witnesses, tion of the proceedings. Howtimes or places; and may be ever, if the public be not adimprisoned, fined, banished, mitted; if no one be suffered to transported or hanged by such enter the Court, except by ex-If this proceeding in the press and nominal permission of case of the Queen be just and a Peer or Peers; and if the proproper, how can any man plead ceedings be not permitted to be an exemption from liability to published during the Trial, no man upon earth will have the There remains but one thing impudence to say that such a

ienty is resolved to be present in lash has fallen upon me with, person. To shut her out of the incommon severity; and I have thing; but this is a semething with some bone of heing atwell as so he coming in all rea present his server. If the menimpossible. In M such a presedent have been secure. 100 1 mm. wealth be safe for a moment.

· And, new, next take to idok three means and a half under the

the public to hear that her Mariahara of the personations; the Court would, indeed, be some lived to sen the day, when I can, which we shall not see, She tended to, desire you to look at. will be there to look her non those very papers, at not being: cuaera in the face; and this is able to proposents me for which; so necessary to her defence, at your colleague, Sidmonth, emspecia, that the public are non-recommended in those pari island at her Ruyal resolution to pera their hear adopted, the have, at least, this privilege of measures now adopted against. an accused persons. To shut her the Queen would never have out of the Court, while berillical lentered into the mind of man; is going on, would be tu act to the people and the king would. fill every bostm. with indigrant have been cordially united. The tian. Elewaves, it is useless to former would have been from talk of this; for the thing is and hency, and the latter would

were tonce set, no man's: life: We, who have so long the respectfully, and so humbly sought a break and constitutional at the work of your own hands, reform; carinot help at this time and consider what here have, who feeling great antisfaction, that here been writing, for the last our persecutors, under whose Liberghus visusy se es mi eer fier high, are not, after alk, not only are, at last, taught that they are the mast loyal but the wisest of hist consistent of that there is is the politicians of the day, wif, point/beyond which their power im:1835: Sheit: prayout hat been contest good and that they are historiad the limited distributions and the married with from the eddiona.of their base and mail face of the shift. It is impant? higmans passequiors, nevershould ble for us to secollect their diswe have seen and of the citaes dainful their medent, taunts; W est hose a lases, arbichelouclement is impossible for in to forget year pillaw. . L have find my their cowardly and tahuman acts tions; all these moverise up be- have all these before as at a their imparraments, confesion, sent almines sufficient to discreve

totak mant of foresight: in the

without Heling Hadeladion attother the the arguments of one every thing that sandys them, day could be contrasted with All their pretopisions to superior those of another day; if the understanding : pall their con- events could be compared with tempt of an and of durequalified the predictions; if we could free as ; and we feet a venged in single oview; they awould breand distance of the parties are Bedlamul-Bat, what do two -/The postession of power in want further back that the by no rateans' a signific whaten. menth-of May last? What do or of talent; and off any proof we want more than the mean of this had been consted it sures ladopted; against the would be furnished in that pre- Queen so Who in his sense, sent at site of this country. Dury would not have, stopped, when ing the last thirty years this he found the proposition and coefficty has suffered from vari- the threat of St. Omers to fail 4 onsileanes, but from nothing so At every stage of the phocondi much, as ifrom 'imporance; from ingresthe impossibility of second want of capacity, from want of han beautiful more and more want sound iddement-andwirent a milists and yet yet goon! - w

Mauspinion: is that the Trink storestelling of ministentitheir wilding take glose; wand initato abettorn; and autocorters; who take also wanted a sintly od the taking the whole tegether have they emby my continue in orthor discovered, a weather wovery even then you will have gained thing pecessary to lead at in the nothing: by the eptecoding? mather of peace, and prosperity. You wantelf, say that you wish! If a digest could be made of all there Queen's to be acquitted? their masteres a vision; exhibit Now, if the Which do not qualit tion really her made of therman, place strallers if the Queen the rad officets of these measurates in acquisical radiate will decide toil the appeared could be donared treations of and similar from cities ed with meh, tither, if the mintie linguis, years : supportes and ments of the opening ideliver abottored I done may that this ed at various times, could be out question has presented itself the in direct poposition : 10. seed your mind before ; / with I want

assure you that it has not es-|" will be so constructed and caped the public, who are too "supported, as to be wholly indeeply interested in this matter. to overlook the circumstance, that responsibility ought to rest somewhere.

Before I proceed to make any remarks of a more general nature, I must notice a publication in The Courier of yesterday, which would seem to be intended, by the writer of that paper, to prepare the public mind for some measure like that of keeping the Queen out of the Court during her Trial .-The whole of the article is as follows :--

. " The works here are rapidly " proceeding, and it is expected " that they will be ready for the " raising of the galleries by Fri-"day or Saturday next, when " an extra number of workmen " will be introduced to complete " the works with rapidity. The "gradually raised flooring on "which the Peers' benches are " placed, on each side of the " House, in an oblong direction, " is being restored on an im-"proved plan; but the seats " will be adjusted according to " the previous mode. The frame-" work and flooring of the gal-

" dependent of the walls ... the " breaking of the sides of the " House, or the removal or da-"mage of any portion of the " tappetry, will thus be rendered f unnecessary. To guard the " tapestry from risk of injury, " there will be back-boards or " temporary wainscoting reach-"ing above the height that " might be affected by the pass-. " ing and repassing of the Peers. " to their seats. The fronts of. "the galleries will be open, " with light cross-barred iron-. " work, surmounted by a hand-" rail, covered with scarlet cloth,. " to accord with the other deco-" rations of the House. At each " end of the galleries, there will " be a light staircase, to enable " the Lords to proceed to their It has already been " seats. stated that no instructions. " have been given to make any. " peculiar arrangements for, "the accommodation of apy " parties to the Bill, except an. " enclosed space below the Bar, " for the counsel, witnesses, &c.; " but that the Queen and her " advisers may have every pos-" sible accommodation, rapid " leries are being prepared in a " and private interviews with " yard near the House. They " each other, facilities for the

"different, egress, and comfort of Queen, no accommodations are satringe entrance to this house ing sold out of doors. " along Purliament-place, and "general thoroughfare of Old secret interviews. "Pilate-gard."

"Mer Majesty's witnesses and preparing for her Majesty in the eredigents of every description, court. But, it is added, that her in and satisfie apartments for Majesty is to have suitable "Alle Queen herself. It has been upartihents in the house of Bit " mentioned that the house of Thomas Tyrwhitt; which, ac-"Sir T. Tyrwhitt, in Cotton-cording to the description of "garden, an open space behind this writer, is so situated as that "the House of Lords, will be when her Majesty is once in it," "set apart for the exclusive use the will be cooped up and com-"of her Majesty. There is a pletely separated from every liv-

This would be a very pictty fillst above the Royal entrance thek indeed; and such I am very "to the House of Lords; and sure as the Right Henomable "While it is close to their lord- and Noble House of Lords will "Thips' House, it has the addi- never suffer to be played. It is "tional advantage of being in Court that her Majesty will " completely sevarated from the want to be. She will want no She will want to be in Court. Her safe-'As to the silly stail here about ty will in great measure depend the pretty galleries and the ta- upon her being in Court during pestry, it appears to be merely the whole of the Trial. This an introduction to what follows. foolish fellow seems to imagine We are told that no instruc- that the Queen asks as a favour tions have been given to make to be permitted to be in the " particular accommodations for Court. This would be a pretty "XNY of the PARTIES to the thing indeed! No other person "Bill" Now, the only parties can be thed in his absence, tinthe bill are the king and the less in ballable cases he choose Queen. That the King Will to be absent; and in cases not not be there is a clear case; bailable, unless he cannot be and that the Queen will be found. It is the undoubted there, if she be alive, is equally right of every person put upon clear; so that if we could be Trial to be personally present fleve this calumniator of the at that Trial. Nothing so monstrong over was beard of as the solenia Trial before the Wigh denial of this fight. No person even in the Inquisition was ever condemned without being brought into the presence of the Inquisitors.

Her Majesty will go to the Bourt to be since. She will ask ties? no leave. She will go down. and enter at the Royal entrance It will be time to be sure. enough for her to complish ou this subject, when the officers of the House come and thrust her lieve that a very perions difficultback with their staves; but besides that this is a thing too horrible to be thought of, such a proceeding would at once prodice a protest on the part of her Malesty: who never could allow for the moment of the legality of a Trial going on against her in a court, into which she was net permitted to enter. Counsel would be instructed; without doubt, to say that they could have nothing to do with such a proceeding; and then what would be the use of the Trial: or, rather, of the thing which would be carried in mider that name! The calumnia! ters of her Majesty are making very streamons efforts to repre- her Majesty's quemies. Those sent the court before which her who had the baseness to say that of Justice. They speak of a ped, and who had the diabolical

Court of Parliament. then, it being a court of Justice. the accused party has a right to appearing it in person ; and if this right be desired her; how can it be said that she has Jus-

I have returned to and dwelf upon this topic, because, if there be any authority belonging to the above passage from the Courier, there is reason to beby Will strise even before the Trial shall begin; and of this difficulty it is right that the public should be fally apprised before-hand.

Let-the new turn to another subject; namely, the language made the of the the answers given by her Majesty to the addresses which have been presented to her; and which answets, with the exception of those to Presion and Nottingham; are chilled to the approbation of the public; and certain it is that they have received that approbation. That they have been efficacions is very certain, from the language of Majesty is to be tried as a Court her Majesty ought to be whipinfanty to say that she bught to She calls it tyrappical. be made a Martur, if she could not be proved to be criminal; these men reprobate the anawers of the Queen; and who can doubt that that reprobation is a proof of their merit?

It is said, by the Courier, that these answers are calculated to produce mischief amongst the people. This is the old accusatien, which has been preferred against every thing that has been published in order to prevent those calamities under which the people are WOO struggling for existence. Her Majesty thanks the people for their attachment to her, she declares that she is innocent; she declares that, she will maintain her, rights; she complains of being presecuted upon evidence collected in the dark, conveyed in sealed bags, examined by a secret committees coming from witnesses whose names she cannot obtain, relating to pretended acts a knowledge of the scenes of which is denied her, and giving rise to a Bill which, upon a loose accusation, but a positive sentence, of divorce in the first place, and then of

wicked Queen! She has, says the Courier, "been induced to " abandon the decorous humility "of an accused female.". Impudent hireling! "Decorous hu-. "mility!" What! are none but the guilty to be bold? Is the Queen to indure every thing? Is she humbly to crawl before her accusers? Is she not to dare to echo the sentiments of those who feel indignation at treatment?

This same writer has observed that the Queen ought not to vilify the court before the Trial. But that court, let it be remembered, is also her accuser now. and it has before the Trial, proclaimed her to the world as an abandoned adulteress; at the same time that it has refused her all knowledge of the witnesses that are to prove the adultery, and also the knowledge of the places where it is said to have been committed. All this is before Trial; and, therefore, her Majesty, is compelled to speak before Trial, The people express their disapprobation of all this; and surely her Majesty has a right to join them in seneverlasting infamy. Her Ma- timent. Her case would be, jesty expresses her indignation hard indeed if she were compelat this, She calls it arbitrary, led to hold her tongue, while

her judges proclaim her an Courier would have called the gradation and infamy.

Since there was such a love been kept secret too? Why could this not have been kept might have been brought in with closed doors. It might have been kept out of print: It might have been kept secret till paid them in full. the Trial began, at any rate. the Bill public, for blazoning the charge of adultery all over the world, I shall not pretend to sav: but it was very evident that the effect would be atterly to destroy her Majesty's reputa-Mon! before the Trial, if the blu heved! by the people at large. This effect has not been prodaced; the people have not be-Reved the allegations; 'but, that circumstance by no means deprives her Majesty of the sight of expressing her resentment against those who have brought forward the Bill, and people; the unbiassed people. her indignation at the state- And it would be hard indeed if ments which the Bill contains. Po have been silent while this Bill lay before the world, the for her enemies.

altulteress, and also proclaim decorous humility of an acagainst her a sentence of de- cused female, but every body else would have called it, the cowardice of conscious guilt: of secreev, why could not the This her Majesty saw, to be sure. bill if bill there must be have In her answers to the Addresses she is paving back the framers of the Bilt. Her Mujesty pays secret at well as the rest? It them honestly; but they having called her a licentious woman and an adultoress she has yet/ great scope before she will have:

Let it be observed, too, that What was the motive for making what her Majesty save upon the subject is actually drawn from her by strong invitations from the people. These Addresses are not things cooked up by the lick-spittles of Boroughmongers: by the wretched creatures who live by public extortion; but legations of the Bill were be they come spontaneously from the people, and in almost every case in opposition to the creatures of her enemies jesty has no toad-eaters to send about the country. She has no commissioners, collectors, or any other of the tribe of tax-enters. at her command. She has the she, had not a right to echo the sentiments of those who feel an interest for her, and a detestation

Amengst all the passages in The good of a faction is onlythe Queen's answers (which by the by will make a book before her Majesty has done) the following appears to me the best suited to the occasion: "The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction that has long operated like a conkerworm upon the mobile trank of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their tordid : purposes, I might have averted their vengeance, have neutralized their hostility. In 1807, this faction were enger to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition; and when their ambition could be gratified by other means, they immediately enerifood my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.-That calm wisdom which is the result at once of reflection and of experience teaches me that Lought never to give my sanction to the narrow views of anvisect. on to the interested prejects of any party. That comprehensive chapity which kindles, in my heart shall be visible in my conduct; and I will never forget that the Queen of a by inches. Likis this worm that faction is only half a Queen.

the good of a few; but the good which I cherish is that of the community."

These sentiments are becoming in a Queen; and happy would it have been for this; country if they had long ago been the sentiments of the king: or, rather, the principles of his actions: for, I have not the smallest doubt that the king. entertains precisely the same centiments, with regard to the faction, to which her Majesty bere alludes.

It is perfectly true that; this faction, which supports the onemies of the Queen, has long operated like a cankar weam upon the noble trunk of actions al presperity; and in a few; days, a work will appear, which will show the manner, in which this verscions canker-worm operates. It is this canken-were that has been at work against, the Queen. It is this even spawing, and perceptations this tormentian, paraceuting, villainque, worm, that is estime out the beart of the pation, im: peding all its efforts for restored tion, stealing away its very heart's blood; and killing it has have attiting to bject has Majorty from her country, only side of the way. But the people, because it saw in her something like the good Sameritan, bound that it was affaid the nation up her wounds, pouring in oil would took to with a hone of and wine. Does the Gospel toll etlief.

and the people say, Amen.

" flying from the nobility and Gentry, as this wretched follow gentry of England." She must sails them. They made thomfrom them; and sourcely a man take place. They had seen of them has placed himself in themselves so long completely a situation for her Majesty to fly makters, that they apprehended from him. Scarcely a man of no possible resistance; antiwhen them has approached her. Castlersagh called upon Partie-They have kept from her as the ment to take what he called a herd keeps from the wounded high tone, they thought that her deer. They looked upon her as Majesty's doom . was sealed. marked out for ruin and de- Bliey have fested that this was struction. They saw that her rushing too swiftly to consin-Majorty, like the traveller of old, thous. They beve found, that had fallen amongst thieves, and that division which mahappity they, like the haughty Levite, prevailed open another subject, turned up their hose and kept this suct present upon this subon their statebystep on the other jets; and there some will find

her that she eight to love the True, indeed, W it that her houghty Louise, or, does it not Majorty, if she had been wil- tell her that they who are typiling to become an instrument in fled by the good Sameritan the hands of this sordid worm, ought not to he the objects of might have shared with the her affection? The frothy Conworm in the fruits of its gnaw- ning professed his ardest affecings; but with his it has acted tion for her Majerty; those is upon its old principle, that is to not one common libbourer in say, to destroy every thing that England, who ought not, and would not be the partner of its who does not, stead higher in dilapidations. Her Majesty says her Mejosty's estimation ithan she will not be half a Queen; that frothy many the state

This was a great mistake on Her enemies accuse her of the part of the Mobility, and be near them before the by selves too and of what was to

as to the latter, has produced a would long before; now have cordial union as to the former. been driven from our shores. They have found, that that which What in .. comparison with this used to be their support; and had the nobility and gentry to which made them laugh to soom offer her? What energy, what our statements, our arguments, our complaints and our prayers; they have found, that even that will fall them.!

When her Majesty first arrived, it was a subject of lamentation with many, that the mobility and gentry kept aloof from ther, as if she had been infected with the Otiental plague! With me it never was a subject of 'fegret' ''I knew that, for her own sake, as well as for the sake of the people, it was fortunate that her Majesty remained in a state of complete separation from that description of persons, who while they never would have been friends themselves. would have prevented her most effectually from having friends in the people, and from having men to esponse her cause of thi greater zeal, wisdom, talent, and mildside; then the whole · body of hobility and gentry; al taken together. And, it is truly honograble to the country to . perceive the mass of energy and of talent that has disinterestedly they would have felt very little business forth in ther Majesty brostecom about hence, which no

that the parties cordially uniting; chase, and without, which, she talent bave they compared to those which have been displayed in defence of the Queen?

> It was, therefore, fortunate for her Majesty that she was shunned by that nobility and gentry. of flying from whom she is so falsely accused. It was fortennate in all respects; but medat fortunate because by exciting feeling in that class which had been dermant as to politics, it collected round her the whole body of the 'people. If her cause had been espoused by the whigs, her ruin would have been eertain. The people would not have stirred an inch." They would have looked upon her as making common cause with that faction; which has so cotton betrayed the people, and which are it's bitterest enemies. And

traved; and I was also sure that were called "simpreper pera few weeks in England would someth I remember that chriens make a person of her great convergation between Castleexperience "and understanding | reagh; Broughan, and Sirsomeclearly comprehend the situation thing (I have forgot what) Rid-'and circumstances of the count by, about eliserving apprefound try. And that she would soon occure, while those curious eggs, Alacover that she had no reliance the Protocole, I were hatching. en any thing but the public Whatngreat anxiety iswas ex-'onition and the public feeling, pressed about pressent secrecy. on which latter all the circum. What a dread there was lest stances of her case were so well "persons out of doors" should calculated to take a powerful hold:

If her Majesty had attached herself to the Place-hunting faction, she would have been banded or make her deaf! This uncomabout to serve the purposes of mon anxiety, however, had its that faction; and then when, at last, she had served all their purposes, her honour would have it if been again sacrificed at the shrine of their selfishness. -long as shouths inches hands of as in most cases of a similar

Twas, therefore, very happy lawyers; I mean exclusively in to see, that both parties kept their hands, she was never safe aloof from her with the greatest for a moment. I remember with care. "Ties to the worthy Alder | what selicitude it was sought to man, I was quits sure that she keep her at a distance from all would weither be sold nor be- communication with these who get access to her Majesty! Just were in the power of these men to shut up her eyes, good offect; for it made the "persons out of doors" the more eager communicate to As thoughts and suspicions; and,

kind, this over-strained care de- the Queen. feated, it's own sbiest.

someinted with the joy that hund, forth, tubon it was an monneed that her Majesty had mover, given her constitt to a proposition to go abread, you would at once have desisted from further protections against ber Mujesty. .. Luckibs her Majesty had as great an enemy in the one duties at in the other. The faction out of place took care to do nothing that should look like friendsbip towards her. It was observed that while the people of Westminster were assembled to agree upon an address to her, Lord John Ruswell stood back in Cornat Garden amongst the cabbage stalls. I observed all through that that gallant old Veteran, Mr. Tierney, said much for the King; more against the Ministers; and stiff more by implication against

Even the chivalsous Mr. Beanett, who sends Just at that time there; was forth-his very soul, in hehalf of . and remote again the same and a with the same and acceptance. tained; but the mabling and if thek special wond gover to see you sould have been hirly made bothing from which one micht understand, that the espensed the many of the Owner. Gen Forguson, Mr. Greaveys and Sir Francis Bardett, were the aply three men that said any thing that seemed to semmit them to her come. Lord Archibald Hamilton was too timid, and selected topics of the least interont. . Wet this was talk fortunate for her Majesty. It made her cause the cause of the moonie. It is B. her; to the telepts of able and disinterested men, and to this honest believes of the country.

Even Mr. Lambton, whom report gave to me as the boldest and most disinterested of men. was as silent as a mouse as to the He has cause of the Queen. recently, I perceive, been called upon to join in an address to her Majesty; and has declined, theon the cotted, that the invitetion did not come from persons fortunate for her Majesty, that of sufficient respectability !. It there have been no such perwas the same, sort of per- sons to address her, or to go sons, I believe, that are called near her. Nevertheless, this forth and compelled to serve mark of disrespect to her Main the militia, and who have jesty, which we of the "lower fought in our armies and na- " orders" regard as a mark vies, for the defence of that of disrespect to our wives, wery property; the pessession of sisters, and daughters; this which he looks upon, I suppose, mark of disrespect on the part of as the foundation of his title to the Courier's Nobility and Gene respectability. Were not those try, has awakened a spirit of respectable men, tener a dezen enquiry, and has induced the thousand of whom layidead, or people to ask, who and what bleeding and grosning on the these Nobility and Gentry are field of Waterloo? Or were and how they acquire and those of them only respectable whence they derive the means who had bunches of gold or of exhibiting so much splendour silver upon their shoulders !- | and magnificence ! This ques-This distinction Mr. Lembton tion is a very natural one; and will do well to lay aside pretty since an answer is called for by quickly; for he and you, and the people, and demanded, 100, all of you, may be assured that by the cause of her Majesty, it is the times are not such as to to- right that it should receive an lerate such distinctions.

The truth is, however, that Mr. Lambton had better reasons tually preparing by some gentlethen this for declining to be men, doubtless well qualified for : amongst the addressers of the the task, who mean to exhibit

answer.

This answer is, I am told, ac-Queen ; and again, I say that it is a list of the Pears, including the

and shewing (as far as human whose duty it was to flock around industry can ascertain it) all the her and to protect her at the offices and other things of a simi- risk of their fortunes and their lar nature and tendency of every lives. Peer and his family. This is to be called f am told. " A Peen " at the Peers'; or, the People's "Green Bag." It is said that this useful little work will be forthboming in the course of next week; and that it will be sold at a price which, in obedience, or rather without disobeying the famous Six Acts, will enable the le lower orders" to possess knowledge quite sufficient of the grounds of the superiority of the higher orders; and this you will allow is a very useful species of Anowledge. This little work, Which I will venture to say will be co-extensive in sale to the "almanack, wiff be useful in various ways. Out of evil comes Food. And this is amongst the "good things, which will have Tobeen produced by the prosecu-' tion of the Queen, and by her Majesty having been treated

Right Reverend the Bishops, with inscient dischin by those

This work will be followed. if necessary, by another, giving an account, somewhat similar tothe one before-mentioned, of the Honourable Gentlemen " within doors." And when the public are in postession of both, we may say to the press. "thou short dene thy duty !!" There remains one subject of congratulation, and that is, that her Majesty has rescued horself from the control of lawyers. This is very manifest, from the change in the language of her answers to addresses. The answer which was given to the people of Preston; and that which was given to the people of Nottingham, were the fruit of that advice, which would have purched her off to the Continent in a yacht, covered with gold, and a reputation covered with infamiy. Lawyers are and always

have been bad politicians. There well as in their words; computparticularly in a case where po- an apoplexy. litical power is a contingent. In a case like that of the

are a thousand reasons why they sion is their metto, and when should be so in all cases, and that fails them, they drop as in

prize of their pursuit. England Queen they were the most unhas been brought to it's present fit of all mankind to give advice. state by the constant prevalence In this case every thing dependof Lawyers, whose very habits ed upon feeling. The people are hostile to freedom. Their cared not a straw about techniremedies are always of the oper- califies and forms. Substantial eive sort. They never depend justice was what was wanted; in the smallest degree upon the and, in such a case, a grain of lave of the people. Positive common sense was worth all the commands they tender, and obe- disquisition in the world. Who dience is to find its reward, with did not see that if the Queen them; only in the absence of had gone from this country she punishment. They are alike un- was roined for ever, and that the tit to call forth; energy and to advisers of her ruin would have prevent disaffection. They are been enormously rewarded ! Yet fit for nothing but to punish; it is not for me to judge very deand all their schemes of policy, eidedly of the motives of those rest upon the extent to which whose policy would have sent they are able to carry punish- her back to the continent; and, ment. There, we exceptions I do not say that the same, permongst them as amongst all none would not ably defend her other classes; but, for the far as lawyers; but, I must say and greater part they are, in their repeat, that I am happy to perpolitics destitute of all faciling; ceive that her Majesty's affairs they are hard in their acts as are no longer under the exclu-

To the advice of lawyers we "nest, and they must necessarhave to ascribe every unwise "rily be more acute and diastep that she has taken, at any " criminating than the mass of time of her life; and certain it "men. But with full as much is that at every stage here- "honesty as other men, and stofors, her advisers have risen " with greater faculties of judgin precisely the same degree "ing rightly, then fell to the that she has fallen. In 1818, "lot of men in general, they that critical period of her Ma- "are by no means to he prejesty's life, I entertained the "ferred where politics, or politisame opinion, with regard to her | " cal power, may intermix themhaving lawyers for her advisors, " selves with the matter in duesthat I entertain now ; and in a tion. Other men are exposed to speaking of the danger to which " but the one old, vulgar species she was then exposed, and which "of temptation, the violating to danger was anticipated by me " which becomes visible at once with but too much correctness, " to all eyes; but, the Bevil has, 'I made use of the following "in this country, such a choice words, which I now repeat in a of baits, when fishing for a the hope that they still may be " lawyer; he has them of: no of some use to her Majesty:--"I " many sizes, adapted to such "'ve' carmiot refrain from expressing a variety of swallows and of "my hope, that the Princess " tastes, and has, in every case, "will not resort to lawyers as " such ready means of meatly advisers. Her case is too "hiding his hook, that, when " far from supposing, that the " that very few of these gen-"gentlemen of the bar are, in |" tlemen escape him."

sive management of lawyers. 1" the smallest degree, less he-" plain to require, or to admit " he chooses to set in cornect " of the use of, subtlety. I am about it, I am much afraid,

I shall conclude by observing, to be the Queen's Lawyer has that I by no means suppose that given him more fame and more Lawyers are not wanted in her profit than it was in the power Majesty's case; that I perceive of you and your colleagues to with great pleasure that she has give him, by any titles or disa very zealous as well as able tinctions that you had it in your advocate in Dr. Lushington; power to bestow. We find that and that I have no doubt that, as ladies travelled many miles far as law goes, all her Lawyers from home to see the Lawyer's will do their duty like men of of the Queen. ' What would' honour, and with that great they do if her Majesty herself ability which some of them, at were to take a tour, as I hope. least, are well known to pos-she will, through the kingdom? sess: to which I will just add, Leaving you and your colthat your Lordship and your leagues to answer this question, colleagues must be blind as at your next grand cabinet dinmoles, if you look at the North-her, I remain without further: em Circuit and derive no use- ceremony, ful lesson from the fact, that

Mr. Brougham's being known

orang ar

WM. COBBETT.

perceive that obstacles are thrown in the way in many of the towns and cites where the people wish to address the you to meet out of doors; but you may draw up addresses : sign them from house to house on sheets of paper, which may at last be tacked on 40 exch other, and forwarded to the Queen, through the hands of any friend in London. If you wait till Magistrates, Sheriffs, Lord Lieutenants, or Parsons. call you together, you may wait long enough. You need not consult Members of Parliament, briwaste your time in Any of you letters to them. can forward an address to some trusty person in London; or to Mr. Alderman Wood himself, and it would be sure to be pre-If it should be regarded as seditious or blasphemous. to draw up or sign an address to the Queen, it may be dangerous; but you have the comfort to know, that you cannot be banished for the first offence. However, I advise you to write and sign and send addresses. Do you your duty to your Queen; and you have in her

heroje conduct a sufficient proof that your Queen will do her. duty towards you. They may banish me for blasphemy, if they will; but I declare distindfly; that . I bolieve; that God-Queen. The Six Acts forbid Almighty has sent her here expressly for our good, and that we ought to pray for her life and health with all possible aibcerity and feriency. Great are the deeds which: have been performed by women; but I am greatly deceived. if any deed 'ever surpassed' the deeds that have been and will. be performed by her Majesty. .

THE ARMY.

I do not think it prudent to say any thing upon this subject, though it is become vely interesting.

PLATE FOR THE QUEEN.

There is a letter of a Lady. in the Times Newspaper, proposing to raise, by subscription. money to buy a Sprvice of Plate for the Queen. 'This is a most . laudable proposition. The Women ought to take it in hand; and, if they do, I will engage for its success.

THE BASE AND INSOLENT

ecastic upon Tynes

The Whig party, in point of mumbers, energy, and induence, is nearly extinct. This consequence necessarily results from the accelerated, progress of political knewledges. It is impossible that an enlightened people sembly at Manchester, aretised should continue the dupes of a Sowe proud, selfish, arrogant men, whose only aim is personal lishman, the people of News aggrandisoment. Yes; the delusion, has been dissipated; and waited with inedpressible surevery rational man's nisibility is prise and impaticated six lung move atoroked when the since sity of a Whige is mentioned. Hollowness of their pretensions. They are disgusted with their sant:about expediency; and despite their mean evasions of fundamental principles. Facilishmen; have shewe that they can thick without their instructions, lited, provided that his own gentry and freeholders."

pérsonal conveniende, de célie views of his party, are not offeeted. / Norano not: labouring under the most deplotable inhecility of mind, will now give this femilian party any, andit for either mubile virtue on public spint. topic '~ a petities I

This characteristic swint of facility land chonesty, has been eminently, displayed: by the North Country Whigs. When the horridand appalling butchery of a peaceable and legal asthe indignation of every discorrected and unhardened Engcastle and the mighbourhood, weeks, hoping that the Whigs. these respectable monopolizers The people have detected the of mintelligence and virtue. would congregate; and give vent to the general feeling; but. then waited in vain. Bisanpointed, though not disconcaged, the people instwithout their respectable sanction, and upwards OF SEVENTY THOUSAND . MER. and astroyithmut their assist expressed their abhorrence of ance. They are firmly continued the aniprocedented outrage, with. that a Whig cares not a straw a decorum and ability never how far the principles of huma- surpassed by any county incets. sity and itsilice may be vio-ing of the "hobility, clerev;

grand exhibition of popular spurn the influence which atindescribable. their anger in scurrilous langange, others flew to arms; and Lambton complained bitterly that the people were seduced from their " natural leaders." And, further, to evince the sincerity and deepness of their displeasure, not one leading Whie in those parts would subscribe a single penny towards may be beyond redemption. alleviating the miseries of the Manchester sufferem, or to bring the cruel violators of the laws to Humanity was of no fustice. importance when put in competition with Whiggery.

Again, when a fatherless child-a childless mother-a widowed wife-a persecuted woman-an injured Queen, bold in conscious innocence, appeared in the midst of her powerful, enraged and inveterate enemies. and stretched forth her arms imploring the protection of her people. When her cause evidently involved the right of every subject, the sanctity of marriage, and the interests of morality, it would naturally be

seeling was viewed by the real tempted to seat his lips on this patriot with joy and exultation, subject—that no man could rebut it filled the Whigs with rage press the spontaneous effusions Some vented of nature and of feeling-that no man would basely forfeit the love and esteem of his wife, his daughters, his sisters, or his mistress, by calmly suffering the violation of every female right in the person of his Queen. Well, perhaps, the corruptionists had their feelings and consciences seared-thev But the Whigs-ave, the pratmig Whigs, will surely save themselves from everlasting infamy.-Oh! no. What care they for their noble-hearted Queen ! What interest have they in the pure administration of justice? What regard have they for the approving smiles of the virtacus part of the fair sex ? What is loyalty, humanity, and national character to them? No, all these are as nothing to them, if they would not open the portals to office, place the public purse in their hands, and gratify their insatiable lust for power and dominion.

Notwithstanding the courtly silence of Mr. Lambton, and concluded that the veriest slave the ridiculous shiftings of Sir M. of power would indignantly W. Ridley in Parliament, with

shruggings of the Whigs at superlatively abominable as the home, the people of Newcastle respectability to which they and Gateshead again ventured bow. It comprises neither pubto express their honest and man; lie honesty, however, nor spir ly feelings and sentiments, and tit, Lyonder how, women posnearly six thousand subscribed sessed of virtue, wisdom, and to the address which has been chastity, can suffer the paper presented to the illustrious suf- proach of such servile wretches. ferer. During this free expression of public opinion, this cautious party stood afar off.-When accosted, "Oh!" said they, "we would have, no objection to sign an address to her Majesty, had it proceeded from a respectable quarter." The vile slaves! And they would justify coldness and indifferency on a subject that warms every honest heart in Europe, because Many, who have been lang devirtue has become unfashjonable amongst the ignorant, the proud. and the interested. They, noble fellows! would gentlemen of the profession of not even do good, except in re- law and medicine, and ministers apartable company. They can of the gaspel,* pressed forward feel no regard for their unfor- to prove that the times of tunate Queen, unless command- Whiggish controll were passed ed to do so by their respectable away. blank paper until some respect of public patriots who have not able knave is moved to make bowed the knee to the borough, an impression upon them. Can iny thing be conceived so utterly low, and degraded as those . . Or course, the elergy of the esstickless for respectability in or tablishment are excluded.

the significant noddings and can any thing be imagined; as Were, England peopled with such ignoble beings as these get spectable Whigs, it would not be worth saving a very oil: 15

. But notwithstanding the pitiful aneogool our Whigh; the Aid. dress contains more enmetithen there are houses in this town and embraces the most intuitis gent, industrious, patriotic and valuable parts of the population. luded with the sophistries of Whignery, joined their spirited townsmen, officers in the army. They are sheets of ___At_Mospeth, a chosen band

melore the mammon of unrighte ple are unanimous in her cause. Mulles dallare also rexpressed o Biw bittor mendidate will of tion was removed this place is CONCE OF THE THIS THE PENTY COL hipt beforens in Bigland. 'At Sunderlind, Alkowise, apwards ...or three thousand brave men Historian their love of insthe sand morality in a proper Address to the Queen, in spite of the petty vindictive hostility di Biel Whigh. Mr. B. Ogden, a: Quality and Wing levelor; was greatty soundiffical at the assurrente which officed an appeal tolthe people athrough att tire gutar channel. "It should; "he observed, have eriginated at a public niceting, where of course The and his friends would prebide, though it was clearly mamises that they never intended to contene one or to make so dudgerous an attempt under the how laws Madison Fenwick. Dsqi, another leading Whig; and guardian eff Lambton's electioneering interest, treated the brolect of addressing her Maleste with the most superfluous centempt.

This, one would suppose, was not a party question. Yet so it is; both parties seem agreed to permit her Majesty to be un- dutiful and loyal subjects, the

monigering Battl, or failed down pastry sacrificed, While the ped-The Tories are sold to iniquity : and the Whigs (particularly those here, who are confessedly of the Worst description), care nothing about great public questions. They are only active in contending with some paltry tool of office, or at election dinners. Away then with the dangerous and unmeaning cant of conciliating the Whigs, and of uniting the friends of Reform. The Whigs are not real Reformers; and hence their unmixed hatred is directed against the Radicals; because they are sincere: But this is an ample field, and will ecupy it again in order to review the political conduct of our leading Whigs in the north.

> RECOMPANY RELATING TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

The following Address to the Queen has been presented from the Female Inhabitants of Nottingham 1 .27961.3

E'"The humble Address of the Female Inhabitants, of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity.

"We, your Majesty's most

Female Inhabitants of Notting- We desire to assure you of ham, beg leave to congratulate you on your safe arrival in this country, after so long an absence, and to hail you Queen of these Kingdoms ! o Vita ub off

"Beloved as you are by a great people, who have long preserved for you a faith unshaken, we dare not boast an unrivalled attachment; but we can truly say, that amidst this general glow of beating hearts. none are more loyal, none love you better, and none pray oftener for your present and future happiness, than the females of Nottingham. When you were far distant we remembered the unhappy exile; and when the accusers of your honour rung in our ears (as they fondly hoped) the death-bell of your innocence, we never for a moment believed their slanders. but felt at every charge, as we are sure we shall always feel, a more than common indignation.

"You bring with you such powerful recommendations to protection, as no generous bosom can resist-your father is no more-vonr brother fell in battle -the chief solace of your cares. your amlable daughter, was soon, too soon snatched away!and your great protector, our late venerable monarch, soon followed her.

"All in whom the spirit of the days of chivalry are not utterly extinct, all who would not immolate the best impulses of our nature on the altar of modern policy, will rally round their Queen, and save her alike from foreign emissaries and spies, and domestic persecutors.

our continued fidelity, and to express a hope that ere long, you will have defeated the machinations of your enemies, be restored to all the honours of your illustrious station, and that neither sea nor land will again separate you from an admiring people."-(Signed by 7,800 females. y

To which her Majesty returned the following most gracious answertere guillow to awot odl

I should be deficient in sensibility if I had not felt the warmest gratitude, and more than ordinary delight when I received from the Female Inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity, an Address which is remarkable for the amiable spirit which it breathes. and for the fervour of attachment to my person and rights which it displays. I am proud of being the Queen of women of such generous sentiments; and I am happy to remark that such sentiments indicate an increased and increasing cultivation of the female mind.

"To be conscious that the hearts of so large a portion of my own sex are vibrating with emotions of affection for his Majesty's Royal Consort, that they are sympathising with her sorrows, and deprecating her wrongs, and that her happiness is the object of their pious supplications, cannot but awaken in my breast the most pleasurable sensations. The same spirit of devotedness to the fair fame, to the lawful rights, and to the general interests of a persecuted

Queen, which animates the fe-| England, to claus your legal male inhabitants of Nottingham. is. I trust, diffused through a Targe majority of their countrywomen. They will consider the honour of her Majesty as reflected upon themselves---they will best know how to appreciate the slanders by which I have been assailed, and the indignities by which I have been oppressed.

With the most gentle delicacy the female inhabitants of the town of Nottingham and its vicinity have touched those springs of grief in my heart which will ever continue painfully to vibrate at the recollection of the near and dear relatives of whom I have been bereaved, and particularly of that departed saint in whose talents and whose virtues the women have lost a model of the most estimable excellence, and the nation in general a future sovereign, under whose fostering care that liberty would have flourished which gives happiness to the people and security to the Throne." miss and but he was

The following Address has also been presented to her Majesty in Process Consent Plant

out, task successor of

note of the Lands need,

" TO HER MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRI-TAIN AND IRELAND.

" May it please your Majesty, We, the undersigned loyal subjects, inhabitants of Sunderland and its vicinity, humbly beg permission to congratulate your could procure here; and when

and constitutional right and title of Queen of England. Deeply interested in every event that affects the principles of justice. the dignity of the crown, and the interests of the country, we cannot but view the foul and artful conspiracy which has been carried on against the life, the honour, and the happiness of your Majesty, with indignation and abhorrence; whilst your Majesty's discernment, frankness, and magnanimity, under the violent and unprecedented proceedings, demand our upbounded applause. We do however, most fervently hope that your Majesty's persecutors will be ultimately covered with shame and confusion, and that your Majesty may live long in the enjoyment of the esteem and affection of an enlightened, gonerous, and brave people."

Her Majesty returned the following most gracions answer :---

" I am greatly obliged to the loyal inhabitants of Sunderland and its vicinity, for their cordial congratulations upon my accession to the high dignity of Queen Consort of these realms; and for the generous zeal which they express in favour of my lawful rights and my personal happiness.

" A foul conspiracy against my honour and my life has been prosecuted for many years, and seems at present to be reaching the very climax of iniquity. Originating in this country, it long endeavoured to effect its purpose by all the fraud and falsehood it Majesty upon your return to that failed it determined to over-

whelm me with infamy by bringing a mass of perjury from the Continent.

" Bvery person who can re**fact** upon the consequences of pessing events, or who can read the danger of the future in the dark aspect of the present, must be convinced that the public welfare is at this moment intimetaly: identified, with the preservation of my rights and dignities as the Royal Consort of his Maiestw. General tyranny usually begins with individual oppression. If the highest subject in the realm can be deprived of her rank and title-can be divorced, dethroned, and debased, by an act of arbitrary. power, in the form of a Bill of Pains and Penalties—the constitutional liberty of the kingdom will be shaken to its very base; the rights of the nation will be only a scattered wreck; and this ance free people, like the meanest of slaves, must submit to the lesh of an insolent domination."

The deputation from the Borough of Ilchester, accompanied by Dr. Lushington and Mr. Alderman Wood, waited upon her Majesty with the following Address:-

"TO MER EXCELLENT MAJESTY CARO-LINE, QUEEN OF THE UNITED KING-DOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRE-

. "The dutiful and loyal Adsiress of the Inhabitants of the Borough of Ilchester and its vicinity, legally assembled in the Town-hall,

"We your Majesty's dutiful and affectionate subjects, the loyal inhabitants of the borough of lichester and its vicinity, beg leave to approach your Majesty to offer you our heartfelt congratulations on your Majesty's safe return to your own country, to meet your accessors face to face in the presence of the British Public, in defiance of the threats to induce your Majesty to renounce your Crown, and in spite of the diseraceful bribes which were tendered to your Majesty to purchase your absence with the nation's money. at the expense of your character and your honour; which bribes, had your Majorty unfortunately accepted, 'your' treacherous seducers would never have ceased to urge against your Majetty as 🤈 a proof of your guilt, and as a justification for their own malevolent aspersions and unfounded calumnies. Practical

.. ". We beg mest seriously and sincerely, to condole with your Majesty upon the loss of your amiable and lovely daughter. rendered still more amiable, and much more lovely, in the estimation of a gailant, generous, and free people, from the firm and unalterable attachment she always evinced, both in public and private, for her eraelly persecuted: grossly-insulted, much-injured, though amiable and noble-minded mother. We also deplore the great loss which your Majesty sustained in the death of our late Most Gracious Sovereign; a loss that must have been severely felt by your Majesty, from the moment he was this 24th day of July, 1820. excluded from the world, by

penderted him incapable of shielde ing your Maidstvanu longer with the peristof his festering band, from the miderolest blows which were nimeth against wort Majesty, and symich are now.reorated sand zimad at once agrainst vous Mujesty's honour, and the dast surviving. liberties of the people of England, sin

les.

 1' dWe, the cloud / inhahitants of lichester and liter vicinity; therefore, cannot refrain from expressing sur deeps rooted abhorronce of the attempts to vilify and traduce your Majesty. by secret evidence obtained from the most unprincipled with nesses, collected by spies, which evidence is so low that it will not bear the light and which has therefore been thrust into a Green Bag, and submitted to a secret "tribunal appointed by your Majesty's accessors them. selves. This departure from the open course of justice, unlinown to the laws; would of itself be sufficient proof to every disinterested men in the country, not only of your Majesty's complete immedence, but also the strongest presumptive evidence that your Majesty's accusers know it.

'" We, your Majesty's loyal tulriects, therefore, in common with the whole amhired, unraid portion of the community, beg most: earnestly:/ito.assure, your Minesty/not and of our sympathy/but our zeedous attachment and warm support. And we **flatter .chtselv**es that the day is for distant when a brave and leyal people shall stand silently by and witness the degradation and dishonour of their Queen, tector is no more.

thirt birended aldition which without and avoiding the eight fult and, legitimate means to procure for her, at least, a fair and honourable trial, and silverdict by an impartial jury of thet Peers, before they pennitchers with impunity, to be proclaimed guilty by her calabaniators '...

> Signed, on bohalf of the Meeting, by THE HIGH BATTARES

> . Her Majesty/refurenced the fold lowing artacious Answer;

"I return my grateful thinks to the Inhabitants of the Burough of lichester and its vicinity, for an Address in which so much affection is manifested of the my porson, so much zeak for any rights, and so much synmethy for my sufferings.

att My later beloved daughter well knew her mother's injuries: and her noble nature made them het own. Over her untimete end, if I wept as a parent, the whole nation mourned: like an individual. The grief: was one and the same in all. Every man felt as if he had lost a friend: and that friend his solace in the passing day, and his hope in the time that was to come;

"When I call to mind the form of his late Majesty, oppressed with afflictions, and bending with age, I ought not, perhaps, to lament over that event which put an end to his sufferings, and made him exchange his carthly crown for a crown more permanent. But my gratitude will not suffer me to forget that his Majosty was my protector in adversity; and my heart, still sorrowing, tells me that that pro-

n. Il should, even according to the interesting appearance of the confession of my accusers, have been guilty of no sin if I harmever revisited this country; that was my great transgression, that has been rendered more inexpiable by this circumstame that I no sconer came Shan the affections of the people all circled round their Queensan lo original amitoudo a

If to possess the affections of the people be a proof of guilt, hawican I ever show that I aminspent? Could I prevent, or weed to try to prevent, the stream of popular sympathy from running forcibly in favour of Majesty insulted, and of indeanty reviled! If the nation conid have contemplated the many wrongs I have experienced and the greater wrongs with which I am threatened, with severe indifference, or with sluggish apathy, it would not hase been composed of men and women; it would have been constituted of beings without sensibility or intelligence. But the British people are made of better materials. No nation has more right reason or more good feeling : and this is a truth of which I can never be unconarrows as long as one particle of the lostreaming in my veins. - outter the Deputation withdrew, her Majesty went to North-street, Finsbury-square, to new the School, called the Boyal Institution, for 1000 boys upon the Queen's case, now in a course and 300 girls, of which the Ditke and Duchess of Kent were patrons. Her Majesty expressed the most lively satisfaction at and I feel less scruple in doing so, as the order and regularity which Constituents

the children, for whom she left a liberal donation.

There was a meeting of the inhabitants of Lewes, for the purpose of presenting an Address to her Majesty the Queen. It was numerously attended The Address was carried and ordered to be signed by the High Constables, in the name of the meeting. add vd bourge

BRIDGE H.ton Lewes, July 29.

"You will herewith receive the result of the application of the Constables to the Representatives of the Borough Address to her Majesty. Sir George Shiffner declined presenting the Address, on the ground that it was prejudging the case. He read his refusal to the Constables, and then put it in his pocket. Sir J. Shelley forwarded a written communication to E. Verrall, Esq. Town Clerk, of which the following is a correct "The High Constable 'Ye

Maresfield Park July 27.

Sir, -I was in hopes I should, ere this, have been able to have answered your note, respecting the Resolutions parsed at the meeting of the 24th, in person; but have been prevented by indisposition, and as you require an early answer, will no longer defer it,

"I do not consider it consistent with my duty, as a member of that branch of the Legislature which may ultimately be called upon to devide of trial before the Upper House, to take any step which may appear like prejudging the case; I must, therefore, decline presenting the Address, it is not signed by a majority of my

pervaded the establishment, and I shall be obliged to you if you

will communicate my decision to the Constables."

"I remain, Sir,

"Your most obedient and humble Servant.

"J. SHELLEY.

"To EdwardVerrall, Esq. Solicitor."

"The hon. Baronet could not have read the Resolutions. or could not have understood them: for it was unanimously resolved that the Address should be signed by the Constables in behalf of the WHOLE meeting, and there were upwards of 500. persons present; the Address must, therefore, be considered as expressing the sense of the majority of Sir John's Constituents.-The conduct of these hon. Baronets will probably be remembered on a future occasion."—(Brighton Herald.)

Wednesday the Address from Lewes was presented to the Queen. Her Majesty returned the following gracious answer:

" The High Constable, Burgesses, and other inhabitants of the ancient borough of Lewes, are requested to accept my cor-the result at once of reflection dial thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address. My heart is in perfect unison with the expressions which they use in their topics of condolence. he Majesty to be, indeed, irre- dies in my heart shell be visible of death over the land, The community."

l voice of merriment was mute in our streets; and the gaicty of the nation suffered a temporary eclipse. It was the unbought tribute of loyalty, the spontaneous offering of love in thousands -pay, in millions, to those bright properties of the mind. and those tender qualities of the heart, in which the people read a cheering presage of her glery; and of the public happiness.

" The machinations of my enemies are supported by a faction, that has long operated like a canker-worm upon the nebte trunk of the national prosperity. If I would have stooped to become an instrument in their hands, or to have lent myself to their sordid purposes, I might have exerted their vengeance. or have neutralized their hostility. In the year 1807, this faction were eager to make use of my power as the means of gratifying their ambition; and when their ambition could be gratified by other means, they immediately sacrificed my honour and my rights upon the altar of their selfishness.

" That calm wisdom which is and experience, teaches methat I ought never to give my sametion to the narrow views of any sect. or to the interested projects of any party. That comfelt the loss of his late venera- prehensive charity, which killparable: for he stood like the in my conduct; and it will never Angel of Mercy; between me forget that the Queen of a facand persecuting cruelty. The tion is only half a Queen. The matimely end of the late beloved good of a faction is only the Princess Charlotte seemed, for a good, of a few a but the good moment, to throw the slindow which I allorish is that of the

her Majesty with the Address support and of eventual triumph from the town of Wakefield and in the affections of the people. its riginity, to which her Majes- "I have been accused of anty was pleased to return the fol- pealing to popular clamour, but lowing most gracious answer:- I appeal to nothing but to the

tisfaction this loyal and affect to the reason—the morality tionate address from his Majesty's and the patriotism of the most subjects. Inhabitants of the town of Wakefield and its vicinity.-Their sentiments of congratula- I am condemned without justion on my accession to the high tice, and dethroned against all dignity of Queen of these realms, law, the liberties of every indiare a proof that their minds have vidual will receive a fatal stab, not been unduly influenced by persecutors; and I am at the latest posterity. same time feelingly alive to their the continent.

"I am sensible of the indignities with which I have been assailed, not so much because they are disrespectful to myself as because they are insulting to the nation; for the nation has been insulted in the late outrages spon the character of its lawful Queen. Though I am attacked by that malice which hesitates at no falsehood, and by an assumption of power which seems to spurn at all limitation, I feel tude, of which no Bill of Pains

Lord Duncamnon wanted on a cheering confidence of present

"I receive with heartfelt sa- good sense and good feelingenlightened and most respectable portion of the community. H and the character of the highest the flagitious calumnies of my judicature will be blasted to the

"My own personal welfare is expressions of kind condolence of little moment; but I do feel upon the melancholy losses of as a Queen for the public welthose near and dear relatives fare, which is deeply implicated which I experienced while on in the vindication of my violated rights.

"The power which the House of Lords are assuming in their Bill of Pains and Penalties, not only of divorcing his Majesty's RoyalConsort, but of dethroning their lawful Queen, may prove. in the result, productive of an age of misery to the nation.-The child that is now at the breast may live to rue- its consequences.

"The consciousness of recti-

and Penalties; can ever deprive me, will support me through all trials: and even though the force of my enemies should, in the endargnover commensuitate with their malignity, the peot nle shalk never have eccesion to reproach are with neglecting their happiness—with betraying their rights, or with relinquishing, for one moment, the patriotic magnanimity of the Queen,"

An animated correspondence has taken place between Sam. Thompson, jun. the constable Wakefield, and the York County Members, on the subject of the presentation of the above Address. Mr. Thompson having expressed by letter to Lord Milton and Mr. Wortley, the wish of the Meeting that they should present the Address to the Queen, he received from each of the Members letters. of which the following are copies:

^G Milbon, July 18, 1820. " Six,-Lam sorry it will be absolutely out of my power to present the Wakefield Address to the Queen, as I am going into Yorkshire to-morrow, and have no thoughts of returning to town till my return is rendered necessary by Parliamentary business. I trust, I need not assure you that I lament this circumstance deeply, as I following answers:-

should most, willingly have waited onher Majesty with such a document. " I remain, Sir,

" Your most faithful Servant.

MICTON:

Simuel Thompson!

" Curson-street, July 15, 1820.

"Srr. I have to acknowledge the reception of your letter of the 19th instant, informing me of your having sent to Lord Milton an Address to the Queen, voted by the Inhabitants of Wakefield, and requesting me to assist in presenting it to her Majosty.

" The only copy Phave seen of this. Address, is contained in the account of the Meeting, as inserted in The Locds-Independent, of July 6th, and if that be a correct copy, I hope I shall not be considered as acting disrespectfully to my constituents at Wakefield, if I request of them to dispute with my pursonal attendance upon her Majesty for the purpose of presenting it. I cannot, consistently with what I feel to be my duty, as one of that body who will have to decide upon the truth and falsehood of the charges against the Queent. do my thing which may appear in any degree to concur in a public expression of an opinion upon those charges. Lord Milton being out of town, I shall, in case he forwards the Address to me. send it to Lady Ann Hamilton, the Queen's Lady in Waiting, in order that she may lay it before her Majes-I am, Sir, ty.

" Your very humble Servant,

"J. A. STUART WORTLEY. " Samuel Thompson."

To which were returned the

TO LOTE, MESTON.

Wakefield, July 15, 1620,

Mr Lorn,—I am favoured with your's of the 18th this morning. The Committee for the management of the Wakefield Address to the Queen regret that you cannot present it personally to her Majesty, particularly so, as we have received the following letter from Mr. Stant Wortley, viz.r—fine Mr. Wortley's letter above.

As it is the partieular wish of the Committee that the Address should be presented by a member or members of Parliament, they will feel greatly obliged to your lordship if you will take the trouble of forwarding it to some member whom you can confide in, to present it to her Majesty—For the Committee.

"I have the honour to be,

"Your Lordship's very hum"ble Servant,
"S. THOMPSON, jun.
"Constable,"

"Right Hon, Lord Milton."

TO. MR. WORTLEY.

"Wakefield, July 15, 1820.
"Sin,—Yours of the 13th I received this morning, and have communicated its contents to the Committee; who think your excuse extremely frivolous, and that instead of representing the freebolders of Yorkshire, you only represent your own political principles. If you have the Address in your possession, you will have the goodness to retain it till application be made for it, as we have written to Lord Milion upon the subject. How you can be our very kumble servant and refuse our undoubted right as our Represen-

tative, when you had no excrisive to-

Your's very respectfully,
"S. THOMPSON.
J. A. S. Wortley, Esq."

MR WORTLEY'S ANSWER.

"Curzon-street, July 18, 1820.
"Sin, I have this morning received yours of the 18th, and camot avoid expressing my surprise at the terms and tone in which you have thought fit to address me.

"I shall, however, say nothing inanswer to so extraordinary a letter, except that I shall obey the direction it contains, as to retaining the Address, if it comes to my hands, and that I utterly deny the assertion it contains, of my having, 'as your Representative, refused your undoubted right.'

"I am, Sir, your very humble Servant;
"J. A. STUART WORTLEY;
"To Samuel Thompson, jun."

LOND MILTON'S ANSWER.

" Wentworth, July 18, 1820.

"Sir,—In compliance with your letter, which I rescived this morning I have written to Lord Duncamon, to beg that he will either present the Wakefield Address to her Majesty, os put it in the hands of some other member of Parliament for that purpose. Had I been in town, I should most readily have presented it, even if I had felt that I could not make myself responsible for its sentiments.

"I remain, Sir,
"Your very faithful Servant,
"MILTON.

" To Samuel Thompson, jun."

was on Wednesday presented to the Queen, by Lord Ossulston.

Her Majesty returned the following gracious Answer:-

"For this loyal and affectionate Address, I feel deeply indebted to the Mayor, Bailiffs, and Burgesees of the Borough The of Berwick-upon-Tweed. ravage which death has made amongst my nearest and most beloved rolatives, since I left England, has furnished many arduous trials for my resignation and my fortitude. It is my duty to submit, without fretfulness or impatience, to these and to heavier afflictions, if I have still heavier to endure.

" My many sorrows have been i refused. slanders of my enemies had caused to hesitate about my rectitude, were instantly struck with a conviction of my integri-But while my friends exulted with joy, my enemies turned pale with apprehension. The consciousness of their own guilt was aggravated by the irresistible feeling of my innocence. They exhibited a singular picture of malice rendered impotent, and of rage becoming desperate.

"When my enemies found House of Lords."

An Address from Berwick | that they could not operate upon my disinterestedness by a bribe. they attempted to shake my courage by a threat. But I derive from the bounty of Heaven, a mind that is at once superior to the calculations of avarice, and to the impressions of fear.

"If I am a subject, I am a subject in a state of immediate proximity to the Sovereign: and certainly I ought not to be placed in a less favourable situation than that of the most humble individual. Every subject. whatever may be his condition or his rank, is entitled to a fair and open trial, by which his guilt or his innocence may be legally established. To me such a trial is My demand for it has mingled with an infusion of joy hitherto been answered only by by the enthusiastic delight with Green Bags, which perjury has which the people hailed my ar- filled, or by Secret Inquisitions, rival from the Continent. I had over which malice presides .been so long absent from Eng- Every other subject has the beland, and so artfully reviled in nefit of an impartial jury; and my absence, that it was suppos- the may object to a certain numed I should never return. My ber of jurors, whom he imay return operated like a flash of know, or believe to be hostile to lightning upon the public mind. I himself or partial to his adver-Those whom the accumulated sary. Can I object to any of my numerous judges and jurors? What individual is there who could expect an impartial trial where his adversary could infinence the majority of his judges, either by the fear of loss, of the hope of gain; either by good in possession, or in expectancy? But are my judges alone without human infirmities? I leave. the question to be answered by. those, who know what man is: or who have calmly observed the late proceedings in the

CORRETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

LONDON, SATURDAY, August 12, 1920.

The state of the King's Dominione, produced by Measures adopted during her Majesty's absence—On the Designs of her Majesty's Enemies On the Conduct of the Nobility tenoards her a not forgething the Conduct of the Prince of Saxe Cobourg.

London, 10th Aug. 1920.

The measures pursued by your Majesty at St. Omers, and since that time, so clearly indicate surprising strength of mind, that the humble individual. who most respectfully tenders this our destruction; and when, at paper for the perusal of your the same time, we are convinced Majesty, may well fear, that that we have given no just the public, may deem it pre- couse for such enmity, it besumptuous to; offer any thing in comes us to seek for the real thothe way of advice to your Ma- tive by which our enemies are

things, intimately connected with your Majesty's own affairs, of which things, from the nature of your Maiesty's late situation, it is searcely possible that vou can have been accurately informed. To give your Majesty some information with regard to these, to give you also a buthful account of what the public think of the designs of your enemies : and, moreover, to difer you some remarks on the conduct of the nobility and that of the Printe of Saxe Cobourg. with regard to your Majesty; to do this the writer of this paper looks upon as his duty; and. in the performance of this duty. he feels a satisfaction great as it is possible for man to experience.

When we find a great mass of enmity at work against us; and a manifest desire to effect Yet there are pertain actuated, and thereby to know

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how to arm ourselves in a way are more than I dare do : but if sent day, are of so extraordinary a nature; so apparently hestile to the interests of the established order of things; so completely unprovoked in outward appearance; the charges against you are so loose, so improbable in point of fact, and even of time, so wholly numeessary to he produced: in short, the whole of the persecution of your Mejesty presents a tissue of such apparent impossistencies and fellies, as well as of cauplties, that there must be some cause at work which is not discoverable to the naked eye. We know that personal batreds, and especially in certain cases, are very strong, very powerful metives of action; but still, it is very seldom that they proceed so far as to set at pought considerations connected with our own safety. We must look much farther for motives sufficient to

to secure our defence. The pro- may be sufficient, or it may, at coedings against your Majesty : I any rate, be of use to your Mamean the long series of the pro- jesty, for me to lay with all huceedings from 1813 to the pre- mility before you, a brief account of what has taken place in this kingdom since your Majesty's departure from it in-1874.

At that time nothing but sounds of exultation and joy were heard in our courts and sistances and the nation, deluded by the sounds, gave littelf up, toall the wildness and madness of intoxication. In those brilliant and delesive scenes your Majesty was not permitted to bea pertaker. The maddening joy was of short dagation; and why should we not believe that it was the act of Previdence topreserve your Majesty from a participation in those seenes of jey and revelry ! The great experience of your Majesty will have taught you, that affection eacht frequently to be a subject of congratulation with the sufferer and that the very things which we are sometimes deinduce measures obviously, likely pluring, are the things most neto convulse the pation for the country twous good, to our final sake of ejecting your Majesty success, if not to the preservafrom our shores. Plainly to de- tion of our lives. At the time scribe these motives; to men- to which Lam referring, and at tion the parties by name; these which time your Majesty most

judy and most feelingly com- series of summerrupted happiexclaiming, "in the producing Before your Majesty's arrival: "of these this persecuted Queen more than a thousand petitions, " smallest degree."

accusers, as fraught with a long in the destruction of thousands

plained of your exclusion from ness and presperity to the astion. he drawing-rooms of the late But, scarcely were the ratifica-Cheen; at that time there was tions exchanged when the domit a just person in the whole lusive hope became apparent, hingdom, who did not feel sor- At first it was pretended that now for your Majesty, and indig-the ruin relich began to spread, nation against your persecutors, litself around had been produced. But, now, having seen what has merely by a sudden transition loen the result; having seen from war to peace. This wo-low delusive were those joys; tion, which was broached by having beheld the min and mise- Lord Castlereagh, was school ry produced by the events which and re-echoed by the tengues of were at that time the subject of the servile and the foolish from drunken explication; where is one end of the kingdom to the the man who does not new in other. Time, which tries all; his heart congratulate your Ma-things, lies, at last, set the statem jesty upon having been excluded of folly upon this destrine. Fiver from all share in that exulta years of Peace have seen may tion! Where is the man who thing but an increasing aug-t can view your Majesty's present mentation of the ruin, till, etc. situation, without feeling his last, no man is found bold, heart sink within him, at the enough to say, that there, is a when of your being abandened possibility of resening the nate to the fury of your foes; and tion from general bankruptcys; who can look at the manifold or of saving it from the hornors, misories of the nation, without of some great convolsion.

"has never participated in the boming from every class in the community, represented to the The peace which had been parliament that rain had laid its. effected in a manner fresh in hands ou agriculture, on soin! year Majosty's recollection, was moree, on manufactures, on trader held forth by those same minis- of every description, and that! ters, who are now your Majesty's actual starvation was at work

community. sufferers must be left to find a remedy in their capacity for suffering.

Majesty's arrival: 'In this state of the nation there was quite enearth to make us doubt of the wisdom of the men by whom it's affairs had been conducted: and quite enough to make us rejoice in the thought, that, since your Majesty was doomed to have enemies, your enemies should be found amongst men of that description. But, not only of the nation's sufferings of the description above given, is it necessary that your Majesty should be informed, the diminution of its liberties: the alterations that have been made in its laws, and the causes of this diminution and of these alterations: these are things worthy of the attention of your Mujesty, and some account of which I will endeavour to fav before you.

of the people of this once happy something of the many acts, The parliament which I shall not attempt to dehad unequivocally declared its scribe, committed against the utter incapacity to afford a re- people, under the name of radimedy. It had declared that it cale. Your Majesty must have could do nothing in the way of seen, that they are spoken of violding relief, and that the as worthless, base, turbulent, and rebellious wretches. Before I close my account of the proceedings just alluded to, I shall This was the general state of explain to your Majesty the the nation at the time of your meaning of this word radical; for, as your Majesty will clearly perceive, you are as deeply interested in this matter as the people themselves.

For more than fifty years there has been a struggle going on on the part of the people to obtain a reform in the House of Commons. The Constitution of this country is, that the power of making laws shall exist in a King, a House of Peers, and a House of Commons, the latter of which shall consist of persons freely chosen by the people, and in such a way too, that the Peers and the King shall not at all interfere in, or attempt to influence. the election of the members of the House of Commons. various circumstances have given rise to such a mode of election as has, in fact, very much changed the effect of these provisions. Your Majesty must have heard The real state of the House of

Commons I shall not attempt to junless he has some voice in the sary to state, that a petition, the taxes are imposed. laid before the House of Commons itself in 1793, by the present Lord Grey, and signed by the present Duke of Bedford and many others, averred that a majority of that house was returned to it by Peers, by a few other opulent men, and by the King's treasury. The petitioners tendered proof of the facts at the bar of the house." The petition was received. It is now amongst the records of parliament. But no proceeding ever took place upon it; and the House of Commons has remained unreformed.

The members of the House of Commons are called the representatives of the people. 'The law says that men are punished legally, upon the ground that they have, by their representagrounds above stated are under-

describe. But, it may be neces- choosing of the persons by whom

It is very notorious that all the people of this kingdom are taxed; and, therefore, the reformers contend that every man, being of sane mind and mature age, and free from all legal disqualifications on account of inamy of character, should participate in the choosing of those, whose business it is to impose the taxes and to determine on the mode of expending them.

It is further urged by the reformers, that no man (with the above exceptions) ought to be excluded from this right, seeing that no man is exempted from the duty of coming forth, upon command of the King, to serve as a soldier in defence of the country. The law compels, and justly compels, every man to tives, given their assent, to the perform this duty. The reason laws by which they are pu- of this is, that every man is benished. But, it is very clear nefitted by the safety of the that if the Peers, a few opulent country. He is benefitted by men, and the treasury, return that safety in a greater or less a majority of the members, the degree, according to the extent of his possessions. The poor mined, and become nothing. man has a property in his la-The law says that no man shall bour; but, if it be denied to be taxed without his own con- him that his labour is property; sent; but it is impossible that if it be denied to him to give he can give his consent to a tax, his voice in the choosing of

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nothing to do with the laws but the increase of the nation's burto obey them; if this be his dens and sufferings. No tax situation, it is very difficult to can be laid without the assent discover what he possesses, of the House of Commons, no. what he has to preserve, and sum of public money can be upon what ground it is that he expended without the same conis called upon to abandon his sent. home and hazard his life.

tries, and which has broken the stance, so it follows that the bands of despetism and super- House of Commons have been stition; which has raised the the cause of the natian's sufferhumble and laid the mighty in ings. the dust: this light was not wanted in England, where the tion, whether a House of Comtrue principles of liberty had been understood for so many large, would have laid taxes and ages, and where the principles produced sufferings in as great upon which the reformers have a degree. The reformers are of proceeded, are inscribed in every opinion that it would not. They page of the laws. But, while think, that a House of Commons in other countries, it was not to would never have granted mowhich time and their own in-These struggles have naturally support of French and other

those who tax him; if he have become strong in proportion to, To the weight of the taxes all men now ascribe the The light, which has burst sufferings of the nation. And, forth upon se many other coun- as the shadow follows the sub-

There then arises the quesmons, chosen by the people at reformations were taking place chosen by the people at large be supposed that Englishmen sey to carry on a war, the result would not endeavour to recover of which was the restoration of . that portion of their rights of the Bourbons, the Pope, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, and advertence had deprived them, the bartering away of the re-Accordingly, within the last fifty publics of Genoa and of Veyears, a continual struggle has nice. They think that a House been going on, on the part of of Commons chosen by the peo-the people, in order to bring ple at large would discover no. into practice the principles of reason for granting many milthe constitution and the laws, lions of English money for the

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emigrants, during the late wars ; and for will granting fifty thousand pounds a-year for that purpose, while so wretched is the situation of the people at home, that they are shipped off to find their doom as emigrants to Canada or Africa. We bave, may it please your Majesty, lived to see Englishmen petition to be transported; and at the same time to see immense sums of our money granted for the support of French and other emigrants; and we do most religiously believe that we never should have seen these things if the people at large had had the choosing of the Members of the House of Commons.

The reformers believe, that eighty thousand pounds a-year, to be expended in secret serrice, would never have been granted by a reformed House of Commons; and they take permission to believe also that such a House of Commons would never have been persuaded to grant out of the taxes, and that too in times of the deepest acknewledged distress, a hundred thousand pounds a-year as a gill to the clergy, of the immensaly righ Church of England. To minnerate the grants in

sinecures, pensions, and in va-

rious other ways, would render my statement too tedious. Suffice it to say that to such a situation have things been brought, that all hope is abandoned of a liquidation of the debts in which the nation is involved; that compounding or bankruptcy is inevitable; and that even in parliament itself, it has been suggested, that the owners of the land must divide their possessions with the creditors of the state; while it is notorious. and, indeed, openly acknowledged in the Houses of Parliament, that capital is fleeing for safety from England to other countries, and whife some have proposed measures of force to impede or punish the transfer.

In such a state of things, it is no wonder that the people seek a remedy in a reform of the House of Commons. Duty to their king and country, as well . as love for themselves and their families, urge them to seek such reform; this is what they have done; and for having done this, great numbers, under the name of Radicals, have been punished with the utmost severity. Early in the year 1817, petitions signed by a million and a half of men were presented to the parliament, beseeching the Houses to

of this important subject, no act 'df'riot," no breach of the peace, no sort of disorderly conduct was committed. If every individual of those millions had behaviour, the conduct of the people could not have been more beaceable or more orderly. Sobriety and good sense prevailed all over the country. willdh exhibited a people, of whom the government ought to have been proud.

will your Majesty believe, that these petitions, instead of being patiently listened to; instead of being made the subject of attentive perusal and careful and dispassionate discussion, we're whate the ground of accusation against the petitioners, who were loaded with the most opprobrious reproach. Without time being given for the presenting of one half of these petitions, charges were preferred against the people; Green Bags were laid before the Parliament by the very same men who have now brought down Green Bags

grant them the desired reform. | Committees were appointed; By the persons signing these and without the examination of petitions; by the immense mul- any witnesses in support of the titudes collected in various paris evidence, as it was called, of the country for the discussion which was contained in those Green Bags, reports made upon the contents of the bags by the Secret Committees: and, upon those reports, without examining any evidence at been held in bonds for his good all, a Bill was brought in and passed, authorising the Munisters to put into any prison that they chose, any man or woman whom those Ministers might suspect, or say that they suspected, of Treasonable practices! This they were enabled to do without furnishing the imprisoned person with any charge against him; without telling him who were his accusers, and without giving him any knowledge at all of the place of his imprisonment, or of even the probable duration of that, imprisonment. In consequence of this law, great numbers of men were seized, dragged from their wives and famimalefactors, and imprisoned in the jails intended to hold none but the guilty and the wicked. Some of these men were imprisoned in places two hundred miles distant from their wives and children, who scarcely knew what had become of their husbands and fathers. During the against, your Majesty. Secret imprisonment, all free commu-

nication with them was inter-|day as heretofore, to express dicted. They were allowed to not previously examined by their keepers. In this miserable state they were kept for nearly twelve months; and then turned out of their dungeons without any trial; without any compensation for their sufferings. They had to return to their ruined and starving families, hunted still and pursued by the base and atrocious calumpiators of a press devoted to their persecutors. One of to: bear his calamities, yielded forefathers to despair, and put a period to prison to which he had been committed. And, after all this, a Bill was passed to protect against the operations of the viciated even the law, by authority of which these men were put in prison!

Your Majesty does not, I am sure, suppose that Englishmen will ever forget these things. them to forget them, the proceedings against your Majesty passed for obstructing the free-effrontery. dem of speech and of the press.

our opinions upon political subreceive and to send no letters jects; and, to write or publish what may be deemed seditious. now subjects us to banishment. If our forefathers had been told that such would be the lot of their descendants, they would have regarded the prediction. as proof of insanity.

From step to step the country has been brought into a state such as can be designated by no other word than that of slavery. No human being can describe the difference in our present these men, with a mind unable situation and that in which our lived. But. the thing which most strongly marks . his miserable existence in the the difference is, that a system of spies and informers is now openly acknowledged to exist, even by theministers themselves Your Majesty has read, in Englaws all those persons who had lish writers of only fifty years ago, the most bittersareasms on the French nation for submitting to live under a government that openly and avowedly made spies a part of its establishment. This fact of the employment of They remember them well; spies by the French government and if it had been possible for was a topic of never ending satyr with Englishmen, alas! Englishmen have lived to would have prevented such hear their King's ministers not criminal forgetfulness. At the only confess that they employ same time, when this horrid spies, but justify the act, nay, law: was passed, others were boast of the act with unblushing

The people are by no means : In addition to these, six other so debased as to approve of this Acts were passed during the system; and, therefore, here. last session of parliament; and again, they participate most the nature and tendency of warmly in the indignation of these Acts are such as to make your Majesty at having been us ashamed of our country. We dogged and hunted by vermin no longer date to meet in open of this infamous description.

grounds of the accusations against your Majesty; they are too well acquainted with the means that have been resorted to to collect what is called evidence against you; Green Bars and Secret Committees, reports of those Committees and Bills founded on those reports, are fresh in their recoffeetion: and with all these before them, and with all the experience that they possess of the disposition of woor acclisers, they can be at nd loss to discover whit are the designa of your enemies; de-signa mitch easier to perceive than 40 is safe to describe.

·Ode ! think I humbly beg leave to suggest to your Majesty as peculiarly proper to bear in mind; and that is, that your Majesty's enemies are the same who committed the above mentioned acts against the people. Their mode of proceeding in the two cases are so similar that it unist have emanated from the same minds in both cases. The reformers were calumniated. They had ascribed to them actions that they never contemplated: motives that never entered their minds. Their enemies proceeded against them not by the laws, but by new countivances. It was found that their bunduet was an offence against no law; and, therefore, new www were made, for their punishment and their ruin. It cedous existed for shutting men eyes. The man that can desire up arbitrarily in prison. This is this must be barbarous in his precisely the language made use very hature. It is a series of of the justify the proceedings evils that one would not wish

They perceive clearly the jesty. We know well what it We know that the means. whole might be expressed by one single horrid word; but to use that word is, at yet, too much even for these men.

> The whole nation sees that the main design has been to get your Majesty out of England. This is a fact whileh cannot be All' the pretended disguised. inmoralities, aff the licentious intercourse, which has been so slanderously and infamously declared to have existed; all these would have been overlooked, if your Majesty would have consented to abandon England, It was your Majesty's resolution'to come here that exasporated your enemies; and your royal resolution to remain here now drives them to madness.

There is something so unjust towards the nation in this project for forcing your Majesty to reside abroad, that it has not failed to shock every person of correct mind, And, with 1egard to your Majesty it is cruelty beyond any thing that any person in the world beside your Majesty has ever experienced, to drive you from a country in which you are beloved, to be a wanderer amongst those who may care nothing for you; to lead a weary and disconsolate life; to meet old age without cheering resollection or comforting associates; and, at last, to drop into a Foreign grave was pretended that a state ne- without a friend to close your made use of against your Ma- to the bitterest enemy. Such

injury to themselves. I, thereand monstrous.

swoln magnitude of evil, there cause of defeating its own purwill leave your Majesty more been if it had never existed. It of producing to you some compensation for your sufferings.

a wish would be savage even in | public were not to be deceived the breast of an Austrian or by a poor artifice like this; and a Russian; and shall it be said the real motive being perceived. that it found a place in the together with its being well breasts of any portion of the recollected that those who are people of this kingdom! now the bitterest calumniators But, there is a certain descrip- of your Majesty were amongst tion of men in this country, the most zealous apologists for whom it is not necessary for me conduct which was censured in minutely to describe to your the case of Mrs. Clarke! When Majesty, who have long since the public took this view of the discarded every feeling of hu- matter, they wanted very little manity; and who are prepared to enable them to explain the for any and for every act neces- motives of the moralists who sary to prevent what they deem kept aloof from your Majesty !! and the conclusion they drewing fore, beg leave humbly to sug- was precisely the contrary of gest to your Majesty, that no- that which it was expected they thing on the part of these men, would have drawn. They saw, ought to be regarded as impro- in short, the motive for shanning bable, because it is unnatural your Majesty, and were very far from looking upon the act as an In the magnitude, in the over- example to follow, which are

From one person, bound to is sometimes, however, good in your Majesty by the tenderest the result. The excessive desire ties, next to those of husband; of your enemies to chase you child, and parent, they did exfrom the shores of England, pect every thing calculated to will. I am convinced, be the soothe, to cherish, to strengthen and to uphold you. Alas! they pose. And if it fail of this pur- were disappointed even in this! pose, it will affect no other. It This disappointment, however, severely as you must have felt beloved than you would have the cause of it, will eventually be beneficial to your Majesty. will in the end have the effect Every man, and especially every young man, who has been able to imagine himself placed in the From the moment of your situation of your Son-in-law has Majesty's arriving amongst us also imagined with what eagerit was evident, that the nobility ness he would have rushed to had taken their side. To hear your support, and have bid detheir creatures of the press al- fiance to all danger for the sake lege motives of morality for of seeing you supported and this, excited ridicule as well as righted. Every such man has encontempt; especially when we vied the Prince of Saxe Coburg considered of what persons these such an opportunity of displaying rigid moralists consisted. The those qualities, the possession

thing that Ministers and Kings not supported by them can bestow. And every such would be without support. ""
man now sees in that Prince There appears to have been .; • . JA nething to envy.

ing of the nation would have mons. for choosing your principal adnation could have voted man by man, they would have assigned that office to Mr. Alderman Wood, who owes not his reputation to any lucky accident; to any intrigue, to any cabal, to immones wealth suddenly acquired: to any of the arts by which men acquire popularity; but to a life of upright conduct, to great and disinterested zeal for the public welfare; and especially to his uniform active humanity upon all occasions where suffering innocence has presented itself before him. was these things that made him Lord Mayor of London two sucbare:circumstance of his being another occasion still the chief adviser of your Ma- deeply interesting to your feeljesty, was a sufficient guarantee ings. To address on these subthat the nobility reckoned false- nestly express their feelings; for

of which are far beyond everylly when they concluded that if

fan errot prevalent in your Ma-. Your Majesty has been left jesty's mind at the time of your solely to the people; but in a arrival; or, at least, an error in way singularly advantageous to those who advised your Majesty vourself. Had you been sur to throw yourself and your rounded by courtiers, the feel- cause upon the House of Com-That House was no tribeen much less strong than it bunal by which your Majesty new is, and would not have ought to have been judged. proved efficient to your protect Being accused of crimes, you tion. Your Majesty is in some had, like other persons, to put measure indebted to the people your case at issue before a jury. This not being granted, no other visceland, friend. If the whole tribunal ought to have been acknowledged by you. To express confidence in the House of Commons was unnecessary: and if persevered in, would have led to every consequence which your Majesty must be desirous The resolution of to obviate. that House, communicated 'to you by deputation, was such as might have better received no answer at all, seeing that this was the only instance in which ' either House of Parliament had attempted to approach a Queen in any other way than that of Your Majesty might address. have remembered, too, that you received no address of condocessive years, which is an honor lence on the death of your brofar greater then these of fifty ther, though that brother lost Dukes put together. To have his life in gallantly fighting for such a man for a friend is wer- England; and that you received thy of any sovereign; and the no address of condolence upon mòre to the maties that the charges jects, and, indeed, to address preferred against you were base you at all has been reserved for and calumnious fabrications, so the people; for those who hothose who have been inselectly | lance; that is to say, to use his termed a base segulace by men who fatten on the fruits of their labour.

Your Majosty's cause requires nothing underhanded; no in--enidence avoitage, on Laguage tions. Men who are intriguing for power, have no feeling in common with your Majesty. They sacrifice every thing to that single object. The ridienlous exhibition of Lord John Russell, in his address to Wilberforce, will doubtless have made your Majesty smile. To see the proud Whig crawling to the obsolete Saint, and trying to creep into consequence under the covering of this garb of sanctity, only shows that there is nothing at which faction will stop in order to accomplish its purposes. But your Majesty need entertain no apprehensions from manœuvres of this sort.

This chivalrous young nobleman does not adventure to recommend to the Saint to utter any thing, which can, even by implication, be construed into a supposition of your Majesty's possible innocence. His adverturous spirit carries him no farther than to deprecate a trial: and I trust it is not a want of due charity that induces me to believe that he would prevent a trial, because he would prevent your Majesty from entering on the full enjoyment of your rights. It is difficult to make out what he means, but we gather, upon the whole, that he that your Majesty should be ny, or proceed at once to their placed in a state of surveil-threatened trial.

own expressions or thoughts. that your Majorty' should "be constantly watched by the virmous wives of the nobility. Whether the poer vound lord be in his right mind or not, I cannot say; but this I know! that, if one had a mind to be ill natured, one might render this epistle of his a subject of merriment for a month.

It will be better soberly-to draw a useful lesson from these miserable attempts at deception. They discover to us very dearly the weakness of the couse of your Majesty's enemies, whose misgivings are seen in every step that they take. From the moment they perceived that it. was your Majesty's resolution to remain in England, they were daunted. They knew not what to do. Prograstination became necessary; and I shall be very much deceived if the much talked of trial be not, at last, further postponed. One postponement after another they may hope will lull the spirit of the public; and in this, too, they will find themselves decerved. But upon what ground can any postpone There lies ment take place? the Bill. This Bill has proclaimed your Majesty to the' whole world as a person stained with the most dishonourable of ... crimes. And is this Bill to remain unanswered by you? Is the calumny to remain for your life? For, if the trial can be postponed for a week, it can be means that the question should postponed for ever. Either let not be brought to issue, but them declare that Bill a valum-

.. Contemptible as the perform | charies nad necessibilities . Arek amen of Lord clohn Ransell is. your Mainsty will be receive in it a recommendation of his overleabase suspension of the muti tori then which nething can be more fintal ite the rights and have noundilyout Majesty. Against this, therefore, timely menutred engths so be resolved on, if the trial be not preceded on upon the day appointed; your Majesty will, doubtless, not suffer youtself to be mocked and tounted by the meant of promestination. A fair trial is what your Majesty has always demanded. Your accusers have at last uppointed a day for what they call a trial : and if they do not actually proceed on that day, your Majesty will doubtless proceed immodiately to enter on the full posaccion of all your rights as Queen of this kingdom. I can see but ene possible danger to which your Majesty will be exposed; and that in, to a compromise of Your enemies are some sort. hanghty, they are insolent, and they are vaint but, they are also mean and cowardly. Haughty.men.are often the very becast of men also. A very profound observer has said that " climbing, and crawling, are " performed in the same atti-" tude." And it is very true that a boy crawling upon the ground may be taken and placed against the trunk of a tree without producing any change in the posture of his limbs. Your Majesty has had a great deal of experience amongst contiers, you have seen them climb and future. The resolution taken at seen them crawl,

grawl along the ground believe. they begin to dicend the staff. in order to nestle themselves in. againment while leavies that disvourthe fruit. But Walters High catevalliers, Willelieft do wer will. crawl again; add it is in this way that they will now ended vour to approach your Majesty.

They have pretty mean't exhansted their threats and their. bullying; and they will now endeavour to regain what they have lost by blandishments, andby all sorts of artifice's Nordariing to approach you directly? they will make indirect hos proaches They will endeavour by second habd reports to make von believe that they have not been in earnest all this wiffel They will send you kind friends in abundance, and if your Max jesty will receive them. they will act in the double capacity of most sineere friends of your Majesty and of most faithful spies of your enemies. is no trick of contrivance, which cumping our suggest and incanness combined with hypocities can execute, which they will not put in motion to induce your Majesty to yield from magnanti mity what you have scorned up vield from the fear with which they have endeavoored to had apiré you. 🧸

However, for my own part; 9 am in ne apprehension on tiffs: score, in which respect I add satisfied I feel like the people hy: general. Your Mujesty's right conduct is a gnarantee for the They gene- St: Omers, and the time and rally begin by crawling, as manner of excenting that resol

mind of any one as to the line which your Majesty will pursue upon the approaching occasion. Long and cruel as your sufferings have been, the time is not distant when those sufferings will receive their compensation. It is difficult to say whether it be a good or an evil to suffer greatly and to enjoy great compensation; or, at least, it is difficult to say whether these be not preferable to an absence of sorrow, and also an absence of great triumph. It will require much to make your Majesty amends for all your unmerited persecution; but, if the remainder of your life spent amongst a people who will love and honour you, can make you that amends, there is no man in England who doubts that you will receive it. Your enemies have accused the people of disloyalty; and unhappily the slan- fear. derers have hitherto been believed. To these slanders the conduct of the people towards your Majesty is the best answer: and now these slanderers have your Majesty; and he happens found out that disloyalty consists to know more than most men of in disinterested attachment to a the feelings upon the same sub-Queen. Revolution, hitherto re- ject of the people in America. garded as so glorious, is now In that country where the suthe bugbear conjured up to ciety is composed of as mbrak frighten the timid and the fool- and religious people as any in ish. Your Majesty is too wise to participate in the sot-sickening alarm. It is for the coward- England, is as well understood ly, the debauched, the companion of drunkards, of gamesters, and of filthy tale-bearce : from the first been most unjustly it is for those who can neither and cruelly treated. The soliwalk nor speak till stimulated citude for your Majesty's welby potions: it is for such to be fare is not greater even in Eng-

lution, can leave no fears in the tion, and to turn male at the shout of a holiday thoony Your Majesty has seen the world, has travelled in inhospitable congtries, has been rocked by the waves of the sea, and slept wader the thunders of the cast. Your Majesty has experience; that great teacher of knowledge: your natural courage, has been confirmed by a familiarity with dangers; you are capable of great exertion, great application, are blessed with great and titude of mind; and are capable of ardnous applications and with all these endowments joined with a happy constitution, and those manners which are at once a subject of admiration and of dread with your enemies. commotions, convulsions, revolutions, may come, if your enemies will have it so ; but, even in the midst of these, your Majesty would have nothing to

The writer of this paper knows, probably, as much as most men how the public im England feel with regard to the world, and where every thing of importance relating to as it is here; it is the universal opinion, that your Majesty has, haunted with the fear of revolu- land than it is in that country.

I have a thousand times been asked whether I thought, that " the pour Princess" would have instice done her, when she came to be Queen. When the news arrived of the death of the Princess Charlotte, the English consul at the city of New York called a meeting to address his present Majesty upon the subject; and the meeting resolved also that an address of condolence should be forwarded to your Majesty. The consul. where name is Buchanan, and who was appointed to his office by Castlereagh, having objected to this, he was obliged to withdraw and get his own address to the Regent signed in a corner. The people of that country are very good judges of the question. They have read every thing relating to it; and in the whole ten millions I do not believe that ten are to be found whose kindest and most ardent wishes are not with your Majesty. Your Majesty's enemies have made you an object of interest all over the world. They have excited a feeling in vour favour to the ends of the earth. The people of England have the eyes of all nations upon them at this moment; and the world will see that Englishmen will do their duty.

With sentiments of the profoundest respect,

I am,

Your Majesty's Most obedient and most humble servant,

Wм. COBBETT.

A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

Faith! I find that this is no peep, but a very full look at the thing. This work is of a far more extensive nature, I am told, than was anticipated. The complications and ramifications, the links, the hooks, and the ties are so numerous, that the work requires about twenty times the labour that it was expected, to However, if report require. speak truth, the labour will not be lost; for the thing is said to be really prodigious. It will, I am told, make it's appearance on Tuesday next, or on Wed, nesday at latest; and if the authors take my advice, they will dedicate it to her Majesty, the Queen; for it appears to me more likely to be of use to hen Majesty, than to any other person in the kingdom, though it cannot fail, I think, to be of great use to us all.

WARWICK ASSIZES.

The result of the prosecution' against Mr. Wooler, Major Cartwright, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Maddocks, and Mr. Edmonds, is: such as will surprise nobody who has been an observer of what has been passing for some time. The Defendants behaved with great courage, and displayed in their defence great abi-They are amongst the many that have been doomed to suffer in this great struggle. But, they ought to feel consoled: by the reflection, that the cause of truth and justice will finally. They are amongst triumph. those men, who will hereafter be objects of national gratitude.

attend, "But," said Mr. Moore, ces, would be better without a sider was that noisome, pesti- of oppression. (Cheers.) He ferous, infectious, false and fifthy green bag .- turned to Parliament for the (Cheers). The Queen-God pro- same city. This honour, he beteet her! (loud cheers and lieved, had been conferred on the people of England was brought before the country, In many of these green bags. It bill of falsehoods and perjuries. with the liberties of the people. (Applause.) If it were passed, it would be a disgrace for any name. man to sit in the House of Com-They would be, in that case, no longer under the controul and protection of fixed and established law: and none but the minions of power-none but the persecutors of this unfortunate lady-would be fit to sit in Parliament. (Applause.) Members of Parliament might say what they would, but the voice of the people ought to be obeyed. To support the interests of the people ought to be was alien, (Applause,) If mem-Commons to protect the rights Parliament were bribed. illegal iproads, such as were the Civil List, a clause was in-

men who had seen him on the now attempted, they had better preceding day concluded that stay away. (Applause.) The he would have been unable to people, under such circumstan-"here I am." (Applause.) The House of Commons, since it subject which they had to con- only became a legal instrument scurrilous, had for a long time been reshouls of Amen!)—was only a him, on account of the fidelity creat instrument by which the and consistency of his conduct. consideration of the rights of During the period that he had sat in Parliament he had seen defending her rights they pro- was not, therefore, to an insutected their own-in supporting lated green bag, but to the systheir own rights they upheld tem—to a prolongation of green her's. (Applause.) For they bags-that he called their atwould give him leave to say, tention. The system began with that this foul Bill of Pains and Mr. Pitt, at the commencement Penalties—he would call it a of the French war. It had gone on for a long series of years, --- was intimately connected and, if not stopped now, it would go on till nothing was left of the constitution but the (Applause.) He had scanned the contents of various green bags for twenty years, during which he had been a representative of the people; and he had paid attention to others for ten years before he had arrived at that honour. They had had many green bags; but they would begin with five or six in a bundle. Gentlemen knew what the Civil List was. (Laughter, and cries of "Yes!") They knew it, at all events, by name. It was what the American General their primary study—all else Lee, in his celebrated Letter to the King of Poland, called the bers did not go to the House of source from which Members of of their representatives against Mr. Burke's bill for regulating

troduced, and continued for a sion of the Habeas Corpus Act. liament." But, latterly, that mentary corruption. During the late reign they had several of Civil List repeatedly laid before select committees. When a message came from the Throne, as it was said (but, in fact, it was the message of ministers—the King was mostly ignorant of it, and, let him have ever so good a heart, he was likely to be deceived,) a select committee was appointed to take it into consi-These committees, deration. for some years past, had been called on to transact a deal of The compact which was entered into at the commencement of the last reign was **809,000l. per annum.** The Civil List, however, soon got into between the two was this: were, as usual, sent to a select perty was to be taken from the committee. those messages referred! Why, the compact with the Crown to the very men who wanted fixed the Civil List at 800,000%. the money. (Great applause.) a year; but in the course of It was very true that members time it had increased to nearly of the Opposition were fre- 1,400,000l., and, besides that quently placed on those com- sum, arrears to the amount of mittees-and, by-and-by, when 9,500,000l. were paid off at dil-

long time afterwards, which set which was effected through the forth certain provisions which medium of a Green Bag, he were necessary " for the more would show what the Opposieffectually preserving the inde- tion had done; for he was dependence of Members of Par- termined, on a great public question, neither to spare his clause had been left out; so that friend nor his enemy. (Apit was now almost avowed, that, plause.) When a message of as General Lee said, the Civil the kind to which he had al-List was the source of parlia- luded was submitted to a committee, a member might move, as his friend, Mr. Tierney, had these green bags, or rather they often done. "that such and such had matters connected with the persons be called and examined. and directed to produce their vonchers for the sums claimed by them." "O! no;" said members, "that won't do at all; if we do that, we must be detected. No; we must have no examination of persons—we must keep to the dry vote-yes or no; and, as there were generally about 18 ministerial to 3 opposition votes on these committees, the sum called for was voted. This was a good picture of a Green Bag Committee, though it went under the denomination of a Civil List Com-The only difference mittee. arrear-arrears of 500,000l. of the Green Bag Committee acted 800,000l. and of 1,000,000l. when some attack was to be accrued from time to time.—| made on the Constitution—the Messages came down from the Civil List Committee exerted its Throne on this subject, which powers when a portion of pro-To whom were people. As he had before said, he came to speak of the suspen- ferent periods: Such was the

MIDDLESEX MEETING.

Pursuant to a public requisition, directed to the Sheriff of Middlesex, a meeting was held on Tuesday at the Mermaid tavern, Hackney, to take into consideration the propriety of presenting an Address to the Queen. The meeting was fixed for twelve o'clock; but at that hour very few individuals had assembled. Before one o'clock the great room was completely filled, and the Sheriff not making his appearance, much disapprobation was shewn. At halfpast one o'clock Mr. Sheriff Parkins made his appearance, and was received with much applause. He was accompanied by Mr. P. Moore, Dr. Parr, Mr. Sam. Whitbread, Mr. Alderman Waithman, and Mr. Alderman Wood, who were hailed with the most enthusiastic cheers.

After a short pause Mr. Sheriff PARKINS advanced to the front of the hustings, and apologized to the assembly for the delay which, he observed, had unavoidably taken place. gentleman, whose presence was absolutely necessary on this ocsion, had been accidentally delayed on the road, and to that circumstance alone was the postponement of the proceedings to be attributed. He would now proceed to business in a sum-mary way; but before he did so, he wished to say a few words to the meeting; and, for fear they should be misrepresented, he would have them

read a written paper, in which he complained of the venality of the newspaper press, charging it, in general, with send ng forth unfaithful statements to the public of the proceedings of public men, and declaring that no man had been more frequently misrepresented by it than he had been : and he accused the press of the metropolis with being subservient to those who paid it best. From this general censure he excluded the Sunday newspapers. From amidst the host of talent and integrity which that part of the public press comprises, he particularly selected The Examiner, The Constitution, and The Independent Whig! The lastmentioned paper had voluntarily and gratuitously inserted the advertisement relative to the meeting of this day, which The Times newspaper had refused to receive unless paid for beforehand. The address then went on in substance to declare Mr. Sheriff Parkins's opinion that meetings of this description were calculated to defeat rather than to serve the great object which all good men had in view-that of conciliation. He, however, was ready to sacrifice his own private opinions to the sentiments expressed by a large body of respectable individuals. The principle that governed his conduct on this occasion was, that the most exalted officer in the state, was only the highest servant of the nation. That principle he had always professed: he had brought it with him into office, and he should always ad-He then proceeded to here to it. Would to God that

attended to by the three estates of the realm! If that had been the case, the question which the freeholders were now assembled to canvass would never have come under their consideration. In conclusion, the worthy Sheriff, by his address, expressed his desire that nothing should be offered to the meeting save what was strictly in unison with the terms of the requisition.

The requisition (signed by 68 freeholders) calling on the Sheriff to convene the meeting, was then read.

A person, whose name we understood to be FLANNAGAN, moved that the correspondence between Mr. Sheriff Rothwell and Mr. Sheriff Parkins be read to the meeting.

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS said he nau a number of papers on the subject adverted to, which were at the service of the hon. gentleman.

Mr. FLANNAGAN observed. that he wished those documents to be read, in order to show to the meeting why Mr. Sheriff Rothwell was not present on this occasion.

Mr. P. Moore said, as the correspondence was complimentary to the Sheriff, he thought it ought to be read.

Mr. Sheriff Parkins.—" As I am not a man of compliment, I will dispense with it."—(Applause.)

Mr. P. Moore then proceeded to address the meeting.—He began by observing that his name

a proper respect for the feelings | but he certainly would have of great public bodies was more signed it if he had had timely notice that such a meeting was in contemplation. He had been, on all occasions, most happy to meet his brother freeholders of the county of Middlesex, when they thought proper to effect on the discussion of any great subject connected with public affairs. He attended for that purpose on the present occasion. Some gentlemen, who meant to have taken a prominént part in the proceedings, having been accidentally delayed on the road. he was called on to introduce the subject to the meeting, and he would fulfil the task which had devolved on him to the best of his ability. They were, he conceived, much indebted to their patriotic Sheriff-and it was not often they met a patriotic Sheriff, Mayor, or Magistrate. who would call them together for the purpose of consulting on the safety of the constitutionto him they were much indebted on this and on many other occasions, for his readiness in acceding to the popular voice. (Cheers.) As the worthy Sheriff dispensed with the compliment which was contained in the documents that had been recently adverted to, he (Mr. Moore) deemed it proper that the substance of those documents should be stated, because, in his opinion, a compliment so well merited ought not to be (Applause.) He would now proceed to the business of the day, and he hoped they would make some degree of alwas not attached to the requisi- lowance for an invalid, for such tion which had just been read; he was. Indeed, some gentletween that Green Bag which had been high character of British sub-lately laid before Parliament, jects, and worthy of such a The first was the most reverend Queen. (Loud applause.) father in God, the Archbishop of Canterbury; then came the Archbishop of York; and after him the Primate of Ireland .--What the devil had the Primate of Ireland to do with the Queen of England ? (Laughter.) Then, to fill up a vacuum, as it were, came the Bishop of London; and, in short, there were 21 of them who declared that no intercourse should be allowed between the mother and her daughter. Would it be believed that this advice had come from the church, whose duty it was, in a peculiar manner, to console the afflicted ! Consolation, indeed! No; instead of consoling the illustrious lady, who was the object of persecution, they said, " We will add to the distress and the persecution which she already suffers, the deprivation of those comforts which she derives from the feelings of a mother." He was happy to say that there were many men belonging to the church who were an honour to their profession, who honestly paid their debts, and discharged in the most honourable manner every duty that they owed to society; but he had no besitation in saying that it was the humbler clergy who preserved the Established Church. In conclusion, he called on the freeholders to adhere tenaciously to the Constitution and the rights which it guaranteed; and, by protecting her Majesty from all indignity, to show themselves worthy of the both in immediate certainty and in

dictum and the name of Britons, worthy of the

The hon, gentleman then proposed the following resolutions, which were seconded by Dr. Parr :-

" 1. That this meeting do vote an Address to her Majesty the Queen, to congratulate her Majesty upon her arrival in this country; to condole with her upon the sufferings her Majesty has experienced, and of the persecutions she has undergone: and at the same time to express our admiration at the proofs which her Majesty has given in her conduct of that frankness! integrity, and generosity of character, which so well entitle her to the affections and to the support of all ranks of the community.

" 2. That the Bill of Pains and Penalties against her Majesty the Queen, lately introduced into the House of Lords, is replete with matter of alarm. both in its present effects and its more remote probable contingencies.

"3. That the Queen, as a subject,

ought to have the same advantage as other subjects in the fair and equal protection of the laws.

"4. That by the present Bill of Pains and Penalties her Majesty is placed out of the protection of the existing laws, of which, without injustice, the most humble subject cannot be deprived.

"5. That the government of these realms is a limited monarchy, and therefore totally incompatible with an arbitrary legislation.

" 6. That the present Bill of Pains and Penalties against her Majesty the Queen, partakes, in its spirit and its character, more of the nature of a despotic than a free government.

"7. That the vague manner in which the charges against her Majesty are stated in the Bill, leads us to suppose that an attempt will be made to infer the guilt of adultery from a multiplicity of loose and incoherent particulars, rather than to prove it by one specific act of criminality.

"8. That all the dearest interests of the country, both present and future, more remote probability, require that administer them justly and faiththe Bill of Pains and Penalties should be withdrawn from the House of Lords, and that her Majesty should, out delay, be established in all her prerogatives, rights, privileges, and immunities, as Queen Consort of these

" 9. Resolved, That an address, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be adopted by this meeting; that the sheriffs and members of the county, together with the committee of the requisitionists, and such persons as they shall name, be requested to necompury the same to the Queen, on as early a day as she may be pleased to

" 10. Resolved, That the representatives of this county, George Byug and Samuel Charles Whitbread, Esqrs. have full instructions to oppose, with every exertion on their part, that odious Bill of Pains and Penalties, should it unhappily be introduced into the House of Commons.

. ho"ll. Resolved, That the sheriff be requested to walt upon some Peer in Parliament, to require him to present the same."

Mr. Mills begged leave to propose an amendment to the fifth resolution. He considered the government of the country to be a limited monarchy, a limited aristocracy, and a limited democracy; and, therefore, he objected to the unqualified term "monarchy," as implying the government of one person. mode of expression. Majesty's ministers were called more than his Majesty's greoms. (Applause.) There was in England no government but that of an audacious threat, to renounce law; the King himself was only her just right to a participation the administrator of the laws, in the throne of these realms. and; ere the crown was placed it concluded by praying that his on his head, he must swear to Majesty would institute such an

fully. He thought that to address the Queen at all on this occasion was erroneous: they should have gone to the King at once, to tell him that he had been imposed upon, and to pray that he would separate himself from the counsels of those who. had deceived him. He never could believe that the man who had been beloved by Fox, and revered by Erskine, was such as ministers had endeavoured to represent him to the country. With this feeling he had prepared an address to his Majesty. which he had intended to submit to the meeting for their approbation; but, as he understood that another address would be proposed, he should merely read his own as a part of his speech, without moving that it be adopted by the freeholders. He then read the address to which he referred. It commenced by congratulating his Majesty on his accession to the throne. After claiming the right of petitioning the throne, it expressed the sorrow and indignation of the petitioners that, without his Majesty's sanction, though he was aware that this or that of the legislature, cerhad of late become a common tain overtures had been made In the to her Majesty Queen Caroline, phrascology of Mr. Canning, his by an agent acting under the immediate direction of his Mathe government of the country; jesty's servants, which had for but they were so, in fact, no their avowed object the treasonable design of inducing the Queen, by an illegal bribe and

result of the money Green Bag | believe those statements." system. He would now touch on the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act a short time ago, which measure, with all its mischiefs, was to be traced to Green Bag information—to the information contained in a Green Bay of a different description from the present, but no less replete with filth and falsehood. That Habeas Corpus Green Bag accused persons of all ranks throughout the country with treasonable and wicked designs. These accusations were founded on well-calculated perjuries and femible falsehoods. Well, a committee was appointed to examine its contents, and five members of opposition were no-The committee minated ou it. made their report, and they were unanimous in declaring that the situation of the country was such as rendered a suspension of the Habeas Corpus necessary. (Shame, shame.) But, from what had since appeared, no farther information." (Apthose whom he addressed must plause.) At length the Green feel, that the Green Bag of that Bag relative to the Queen was day was just as false and un- laid on the table of the House of founded as the Green Bag which | Commons, and language was occasioned them now to assem- held which created alarm in the ble together. He had a conversation on this subject with Moore), after witnessing what an hon, friend of his (Mr. Pon- had been the result of former sonby), who was then the leader Green Bags, told the House, of the Opposition, and to whom | that, to save trouble, instead of they had given their will con- referring the Green Bag shen fidence. He said to that indi-produced to a select committee, vidual, "My good friend, what it would be just as well to turn kind of evidence had you as to it upside down at once, and the treth of the contents of this write Guilty upon it. Laugh-Given Bag?" "Why," said (en.) But a report had been 'he' "they ure founded on dis- made elsewhere on this foul and patches—they are supported by filthy bag, as it had been preevery kind of formality—and we therely denominated by an hon. . 15 Sec. 14.90

(Mr. Moore's) answer was,---"Then you believe what is false; but I will not tell you why I think so till the rebott in brought before the House : " and when the report was presented he stood up in his place; and declared that it was a libel on the nation. (Applement.) "The Habeas Corpus Act was, however, suspended; and they aff knew the mischief that followed. —The Manchester business had a Green Bag of another kind? It was an open one, containing the statements of magistrates! informers, constables, spies, and he knew not what other parties! Their depositions went through all the letters of the alphabet. three times told. But when it was asked, "What people are these? Who is Mr. E.! Who is Mr. K.? and who is Mr. X.?" the answer was, "O! we cannot tell you; there is the matter before you, and you can have minds of ministers. He (Mr. 1.101.6 5.25

dett (cheere); and he looked upon that proceeding to be a gross stratch of authority, an eninetifiable distum of power. Ne tyreat on the face of the earth, enuld; have gone a shorter on a more effectual way to work, (Applause) A pause took place m, the House of Commonseven Hypochity came forward townsduce that panea. (Lough-(er.); What was proposed !--Ministers found it necessary to take another course, and instead of insisting that the House of Commons should write Guiltu ga, the Green Bag, they were advised, like hypocrites of the shunch to fall down on their knees and pray for forgiveness. (Appleuse.) Let that advice come from what mouth it might, it had done good. Here he thought it would be proper, smonget, other/ppints, to look to the canduct of the church. At was penessery to consider what their churchmen were They ought to afford about. consolation to the distressedthen ought to administer comfort to those who were persecuted; and yet, he believed, they would find that some of in the most unnatural manner, and Panalties. (Shame, chame.) he alluded, and who seemed to insturned a verdict of "Guilty" had advised that all intercourse on the back of the Green Bag. between the mother and the . If the bill which he had just daughter should be prohibited. ispokes of passed away went! (Cries of read, read.) It would -their whole code of laws-the be sufficient to read few of the Constitution was gone, and they mames, and the first on the list would only have to lament that would show the connection be-

and worthy baronet; the greatest they had not taken up the busipatriot of England. Sir F. Bur- ness sooner. Ministers had explicitly told them that they were not going to try this illustrious person by the laws of the country, but that they were going to make laws for the purpose. They could not regulate their proceedings according to the existing law; but they felt it necessary to form laws that would sanction their unconstitutional conduct. The hon. gentleman proceeded to observe. that he would excuse the formality of a grand jury in this case: he would overlook the formality of having the witnesses' names on the back of the bill-he would even overlook the interference of a petty jury; but, he demanded what was of more importance than all, who were the accesers? (Applause.) He was sorry to say that all the persecutions the Queen had undergone were aided and countenanced by the first and highest orders of the church. He held in his hand a list of those whose duty it was to console the afflicted and support the distressed, but who, in violation of that duty, had come forward and proposed to sever, them were the supporters and the ties of nature. Those digprojectors of this Bill of Pains nitaries of the church to whom Some of them had some into look more to their rent-rolls the Secret Committee, sand had than to their rubrice (a laugh),

said to that adjust body was, I shortly afterwards came forward * Gentlemen, we cannot masinge you you have insulted us by kicking out our green bagwe shalf therefore take it ourselves to another quarter, where we can be certain of having our darling secret committees." (Cheers.) What might be the consequences of that measure it was impossible for him to tell; could not look upon it without experiencing sensations of the utmost horror. It was not they the eights of her Majesty who could be justly accused of creating riot and disorder: it was created it, and he believed that nothing would excite greater satisfaction in their minds than any tumult which would give them new reasons for enacting only to inform them that he accede to their request, and to her royal husband in the langaage of Queen Catherine:---

"Ab, I desire you, do me, right and "justice,

the front of the hustings, but whom they wished to erush,

and said that he had forgetten one of the subjects on which he had intended to address them. His colleague (Mr. Byug) had gone with his family abroad. some weeks ago, and there had not been time since the meeting had been called to give him noties of it.

Mr. MILLS then rose, and said but, happen what might, he that he had an address to his Majorty in his hand, which, whether he moved it or not, he could wish to read to the meetwho stood forward in behalf of ing, in order to record the sentiments which he entertained upon this most important subject. He would preface what these who amailed them that he had to say upon it with a remark or two upon the constitution of the House of Lords. He. was not sufficiently acquainted with the history of that body to say when it became possessed new laws against the liberty of of judicial authority, not would their country. He had now he give an opinion whether such authority did or did not should be extremely happy to rightfully belong to it. This, however, he would say-that passent the petition which they he called in question the right ad just adopted. He thought of twenty-eight members of that that her Majesty might address [House to decide upon the point whether her Majesty should or should not be put into possession of a list of the witnesses who were to appear against her. Even supposing the House collectively to have the power of making such a decision, still he thought that a part, and a small part of it too, could not be equally possessed of it: if they could be so personed of it, then ministers were also posses-After a for other remarks on sed of it; and, whenever there the same subject, he retired from was any obnexious individual

[&]quot;And to bestow your pity on me; for a most poor woman, and a istranger,

Born out of your dominions, having

[&]quot;No judge indiff'rent, nor no more

of agent friendship and proceed-

would only have to erect them- He thought that they ought, esselves into the characters of judges, jupers, and accusers, in onler to de.it. He could see no reason why there should be a call of the House on the 17th of August, when there bad not been one on the day when they had previously done a judicial action—he meant the day when they had refused her Majesty the names of those who were to appear as witnesses against her. The language of ministers to her Majesty was this :-- "We will first examine witnesses against you, and will afterwards give you time to examine into their conduct and character just as long as you please: in the course of the proceedings you will learn where the witnesses live, and that circumstance will help you in your examinations." But supposing that, upon inquiry, no such person as the witness was described to be was to be found in Venice, or in any other part of Italy, what would Sir R. Gifford say then? He would "You observe that you can't make out who the witness is whom I have produced against | you: it may be so; but what then? Have you any thing to say in contradistinction to the evidence produced against you, and can you prove what has been alleged against you to be entirely untrue! Good God of her Majesty. Heaven! what woman, if accused of adultery, could be acquitted on a trial conducted upon such circumstances? Ought -not the witnesses to be crossexamined in the very box, and splither very time, in which they mose committing their perjury ! should be guilty of a shameful want of

pecially when he recollected the fate which had attended on the Douglasses, and the perjuries which it appeared to him that they were daily in the habit of swearing, What, he would ask, was the reason why Lord Eldon had screened them from such prosecution? To prevent a recurrence of similar scenes in future, he could wish the address which he had in his hand to be read over to them.

" To the King's meet excellence MAJESTY.

"The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, in county meeting assembled,

" May it please your Majesty, "We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the inhabitants of the county of Middlesex, approach your Majesty's throne with feelings of the most profound sorrow at perceiving that your Mujesty's advisors are carrying on an unfair, an unjust, and a cruel prosecution against your royal and long-oppressed Consort.

"We cannot but remember the former foul attempts to destroy her Majesty's fair fame; and, in the present proceeding, we but too clearly see a revival of those attempts. We remember the perjuries that were committed against her, and we also remember the

impunity of the perjurers. Evidence collected in the dark, communicated in scaled bags, submitted to a secret committee, and hy that committee moulded into a charge of crime, is so abhorrent from our ideas of justice, that we cannot refrain from praying that it may never be suffered to be a ground of proceeding against

"To punish by bill is, in our apprehension, wholly contrary to the laws and constitution of England: / but when we see the accusers also the judges and jurors, and when we well know that a decided majority of the whole assembly are, at all times, disposed to act in conformity with the miches of your Majusty's advisers; we

servants as might bring to punishment those persons who should be convicted of these treasonable proceedings.] concluded by moving the following amendment to the resolutions :-

"That the Government of these realms is administered by the King, whose power is limited by law; but that a regal power so Hiblted is hicompatible with an arbitrary legislature?

This amendment was agreed to, and all the resolutions having been but serialim, were carried unanimously. ...

"Mr. Moore next moved an address to her Majesty, founded on the preceding resolutions.

The address to the Queen, founded ripon the above resolutions, was then read, put, and carried without any dissentient voice.

Mr. P. Moore then begged leave to propose that the address Should be presented by Mr. Sheriff Parkins, and the two Members of Parliament for Mid-

Mr. Mills was of opinion that Sir F. Burdett and John Cam Hobhouse, Esq. should be requested to attend whenever the address was presented to her Majesty.

Mr. P. MOORE thought that it might be advisable to have the address presented by a deputation of freeholders.

inquiry into the conduct of his Those who were inclined to ro up with the address would be thoroughly welcome.

> The motion was then put. and carried unanimously.

> Mr. Sheriff Parking informed the meeting, that he was ready to attend upon her Majesty with the address which had just been adopted at any moment which her Majesty might think it good to appoint. Of course he could not answer for the line of conduct which his colleague, Mr. Rothwell, might be inclined to follew:

Mr. S. Whitbread then came forward, and said; that as he had been desired to go up with the address which they had just voted, he must request their attention to a few electrations which he felt it mecessary to make to them on the present oceasion. The answer to the desire which they had intimated to him might be conveyed in one of two words, "Yes." or "No." To him it appeared both more just and more advisable that he should say " Gentlemen, I have great pleasure in obeying your commands:" but to others, with whom he had no right to quarrel on account of their political opinions, it seemed still better to say, " Gentlemen, I will not obey your commands." It was his opinion. that, even if he differed from them upon this question, he was Mr. Sheriff PARKINS thought at least bound to present their adthat, if a deputation should be dress, however opposite it might appointed to wait upon her Ma- be to his own feelings: but as, jesty with the address which instead of being opposed to their had just been read to the meet belings, he went all the way ing it ought not to be limited with them, he should incur the as to the numbers composing it. imprudence of saying a few more

present meeting was holden was rather awkward, on account of the demise which had recently happened in the Royal Family. By meeting at so early a day after the occurrence of that event, they rendered themselves liable to be charged with having a design to excite tumult and disaffection in the country. those individuals who were ready to raise that cry against them? He would tell them: they were weak enough to think that, as they had tyrannized for so long a period over the peoble without meeting with the slightest resistance, they would be able to typennize in the same manner also over her Majesty. (Cheers.) The courage and fortitude of the Queen had, however, frustrated all their expectations: in coming over to England, in spite of the memades which had been thrown out against her, she had not excited less admiration in her friends, than she had terms and (Lord cheers;) The Queen, he alarm among her enemies, who, was glad to say, possessed too whatever other could not be charged with that mendation. of possessing too much courage. ministers had taken after this Those individuals, soon after fully proved to him that they they had uttered their threats, were well aware how much found that they had got them they had been beaten in the selves into a dreadful actape, House of Commons. Indeed, and wished to get out of it by the last thing which they had

words to them than were about persuading the country that they littly necessary for the explantwere ready to come to a comnation of the opinions which he promise with her Majesty. But entertained regarding her Ma- what was their manner of enterjesty's conduct. Before he engling into a compromise? Why, tered upon these observations, they said, " We will retract he could not help remarking, nothing, but you must concede that the time in which their every thing." Before they will make the country believe that they were in earnest in making such a proposition to her Majesty, they must make a law to throw a cloud ever the good some and intelligence of England; and, indeed, if they were determined to exercise their tyranny long, they must have recourse even to stronger mea-But what was the meaning of sures than those which they had recently adopted. What was the next step which they had taken? Nothing less than a recommendation of the House of Commons to her Majesty to abstain from asserting and vindicating her own innocence. to the proposition which had been made and carried to that effect, he must be excused for saying that he could put no other construction upon it than this ... that in addressing her Majesty on that subject they had said. " We have insulted you most grossly; but we cannot be happy until you shall have coninsult yourself." sented to weaknesses much spirit and fortitude to might be attributed to them, submit to so insulting a recom-The step which

the best interests of the court-the expression of public sentitry; and sorry he was, that, in ment and public feeling instilled delivering his septiments on this into the minds of these who occasion, he was obliged to call held the reins of government. to the minds of his afficted (Appleuse.) Under these circountrymen a tittle full of wab- countrances it was that the same he misfortune and private suf- reports of Secret Committees. fering—a time when innecent the same modes of secret acoublood had been shed by that sation, were made use of to ossword which should only be used press the Queen, that had the against the enemies of the country, but which had been wielded against the people, peaceably and legally assembled. The present period was replete on every side with party feeling and political animosity, and fletelore was one of extreme danger. He might say further, that it was one of extreme weakness on the part of the people, and of extreme power on the part of their oppressors. Though they had now arrived at the seventh year of peace, the present period was more cruel than a time of absolute war. That so much vaunted period of peace was a long term of unmitigable suffering. (Applanse.) They saw the sword still brandished in the eyes of the peaceable citizens. government would not lay down this was done with no pretence were nothing but acts of atro-

was intimately connected with apprehension save that which metly been resorted to for the oppression of the people. . The people had been the victim of green-bag information, and their laws, rights, and fiberties, had been suspended on the reports of secret committees. The lives of many of them had been risked in consequence of their attempts to propagate constitutional principles; the health of some had been sacrificed by long protracted confinement for the same cause; and accumulated sufferings were heaped on all those who had dared to think for themselves. Individuals been incarcerated for two, three. five, and one individual whom he knew, for seven years, without being brought to any trial-without being called to The face any acceser. Therefore it was that he called their attenits arms, and yet they had no tion to the mode of trial adoptother enemies than the people ed in this case, because if they of England. (Applause.) He did not make a stand against well knew what every English- the extraordinary danger with man must feel when he saw that which they were threatened, no a government of the sword had man in the land, from the highsuperseded the government of est to the lowest, could hope to the laws—when he saw the escape such treatment. To call land covered with barracks, and it a judicial proceeding would beheld fortifications rising in be an abuse of language. What every part of the country. All ministers quoted as precedents of foreign danger, without any cious tyranny; but not one of

ha strong by condemned ... It of misfortunes, that, let her conauthors of those bills—more to enemies. the honour of the Revolutioncame into nower after the Revolution, and more conducive tox the mafety of the government of King William, if a more constitutional course had been laws in order to reach one individual, a precedent had not been found which exposed the liberties of posterity to destruction. There were other acts of a similar nature besides those to which he had adverted; but they were to be found only in reign of that monster Henry Vill., who had a short way of getting rid of his wives. Times, however, were now changed: the public mind would not bear such proceedings; ministers could not get into that bloody course which those precedents pointed out. What were all those precedents but so many acts of tyrannical power wreaked on the victims which | of royal vengeance, should be pointed out as shoals were bound to believe her in to be avoided, as beacons of infamy, instead of being made use this country and defied all the of by ministers to justify their statements of her most virulent own conduct to the world? (Appleuse.) With respect to to this lady, she seemed, of all against her, to bring her face to human beings, to be placed in face with her accusers, or else to

them was to be compared to that | the most extraordinary situamonstrous acme of injustice tion; she appeared from the which was attempted in the first to last, attended by a train present instance. (Here the of misfortunes, which nothing hon, bart, alluded to the hills but her, own magnanimity and against Bishop Atterbury and courage could, enable her to-Sir John Benwick, both of which stand up against, such a train would beye been more to the duet berself in whatever way honour of those who were the she might, she was sure to create Whatever actions were attributed to her-whatmore to the honour of those who lever qualities she was said topossess, whether they were good or bad-they had had the sure effect of inducing some persons to take part against her. Her amiable qualities were no pursued, and if, by violating the protection to her; "her virtues were sanctified and holy traitors to her;" one party persecuted her on account of the batred they bore to her vices, and another party abandoned her out of love and affection to her virtues. (Applause.) She was, however, in his opinion, entitled to the support of every honest and every manly mind: he thought the decision she bad evinced, the firmness she hadexhibited, the magnanimity with which she had come forward to meet the charge made against her, by throwing herself on that sense of justice for which the people of this country ever were and ever would be renowned, demanded the confidence of the nation. nocent, when she came enemies. She called on them substantiate the charge

frem from expressing to you our conviction, that, in this case, the world will never be satisfied with the decision of that assembly, whose disposition has been but too clearly manifested in its refusal to furnish her Majesty with the names of the witnesses to be brought against her—in a like refusal with regard to the names of the places where the alleged offences were committedand in the monstrous measure of promulgating the bill so long a time be-fore it permitted her Majesty to offer any thing in her defence, and by which promulgation it must necessarily have been intended to cause her Majesty to be prejudged by the world, and to bring her to trial already covered with infamy.

"Therefore, relying on your Majesty's gracious disposition-appealing to your Royal justice against the machinations of your advisers—we most humbly pray that your Majesty will be pleased to restrain those advisers, and to afford your Reyal Consort the means of fair and open trial before a lawful tribunal.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray."

Mr. Sheriff PARKINS could not allow this resolution to be put in silence; the subject on which it was founded was not once mentioned in the requisition.

Mr. MILLS maintained a contrary opinion.

The requisition was then read, upon which

Mr. Sheriff Parkins said that he was willing to give the most liberal construction to it possible; but it certainly could not bear the construction which was now attempted to place upon it. If gentlemen wished to call another meeting on that point, he should be happy to give them an opportunity of doing

(Cheers.) Lond cries were then heard of "withdraw, withdraw," af he had arrived in town late last.

duty towards your Majesty if we re- ter which Mr. Mills withdrew his proposition.

> Mr. Alderman Walthman declared, that when he first entered into that room, he had no intention of addressing them; and vet, when he told them that he had at last risen with considerable reluctance to place his sentiments before them, he trusted that they would not attribute that reluctance to a want of that common feeling which actuated the whole country, but to other causes, which were of a temporary and transitory nature; and which he had on a former occasion explained at some length to the electors of Middlesex.-He had, however, been asked to move one of the resolutions and as it was one well calculated to obtain and secure the approbation of the people, he thought it right to say a few words regarding it. It was to propose a petition to the Lords. founded on the resolutions which had been just read to them; and that petition-whatever might be the fate of the petition proposed to be presented to the King, was fully within the scope of the requisition.

The Petition was read, and carried, with only one dissentient voice. The reason of that dissent was afterwards stated to be, that the gentleman who expressed it did not think the Lords to be worth petitioning, and that no good could be effected by it.

SIT FRANCIS BURDETT, being loudly called on by the meeting, came forward, and was greeted with general cheers. He suid

a general and spontaneous burst attended at one place should appear and take the lead at others. But he thought, at the same time, he should not pay proper respect to the indepenident freeholders of the county of Middlesex, if, being in town, he did not attend a meeting so convened. He had hoped, as the business had that day been discussed with so much ability , by many individuals, that he would not have been called on to address the meeting; but as an . bon. gentleman (Mr. Waithman) had expressed a wish that - he should deliver his sentiments on this exhausted topic, he would state these observations that occurred to him at the moment. The worthy alderman who called him forward rendered the task imposed on him somewhat difficult, he having himself discussed the question with great force and eloquence. To address any assembly of Englishmen on this occasion, on a political subject, he felt to be more incumbent on him than he had ever felt it to be before, because it was a duty that could not be performed without some risk and danger. The government under which they now might be, certainly possessed

night, and had then, for the first ments which had recently from time. heard that the present inflicted on individuals looked meeting was convened. He was, rather like the paying off of old at first, rather unwilling to et- scores than visitations for pretend, because, on such occasions, sent offences. In such a state he conceived there ought to be of things innocence was no protection, caution was no secuof feelings, and that those who lity. No sagacity that any manmight possess could induce him confidently to say, " I will perform my duties to the people of England, because I am secure under the laws of my country." (Applause.) For his own part. he was in the situation of those persons who had proceeded to such a length, that " to return was as tedious as to go on."---Undoubtedly no honour could be gained by retreating, whatever danger might be incurred by proceeding farther. The principles he had adopted were well known to the country, and he hoped he should always have the fortitude to maintain them with firmness. (Applauce.) He considered this subject in precisely the same light as the honourable member for Coventry: he did not look on it so much on account of any particular individual, however elevated the rank of that individual might be; he did not view it with such deep anxiety because a Queen of England was mately connected with pending proceedings, although that was a cause sufficient to intorest every manly mind. These circumstances were undoubtedly of moment; but they were inlived, whatever its incapacities significant when compared with the great cause of public. justhis capacity—that it well knew tice. It was not difficult to adwhen to owe and when to pay dress one's self to an assembly (applause;) and the punish- on a topic like this, because it

sate her innoconce to the depriving a sovereign of rank. public, and pay to her that re- and power, none but a saint spect which was due to her could sit with safety on a throne. high rank. Fortunately for her But, admitting the validity of Majesty her cause had been the argument attempted to be taken up by the great body of founded on morality, was ex-. the people at large, and had ample on the part of the Queen. been supported with great force only of importance to the naand ability by the uncorrupt tion? Surely the conduct of the and honourable part of the King was in this respect at press. Before ministers pushed least an object of equal conthis measure further, let them sideration? Whether ministers, look at the gulf that was yawn-in the dangerous path which. ing at their feet. If they were they were now pursuing—a. not as blind as moles—and their path beset with dangers both. work was equally dark and to the Crown and to the country dirty—they would see that the —would attend to the warning. same pit that buried the crown voice of the public, was not the of the Queen might also swallow up the crown of the King. When precedents were new people to express their opinions formed, for arbitrary and oppres- fearlessly and openly, whether sive purposes, there was no secarity for the length to which lected. (Applause.) After some they might be carried. It was further observations, alleged by Ministers that this course of which he condemned was a national question, and that the state was interested in the investigation which they had been pleased to institute. But how could any act committed by her Majesty on the banks instancing the sentence of Mr. of Como be said to be a national Hunt, which he described to be question? And was it to be endured that this construction was Baronet concluded by declaring, to be given under the cant of re- that he was happy to lend his ligion and morality? Could mo- assistance on this occasion to rality and religion say, that the nation were to be shocked at the knowledge of her Majesty's conduct in Italy, which knowledge was only communicated to the country through the amidst general cheers. He begrepresentatives of that religion ged leave to assure them, in and that morality? If such cir- conjunction with his honourable cumstances were calculated to and worthy colleague, Sir. F, shock the feelings of a nation, Burdett, that his being present and to become the grounds of at the meeting was purely acci-

question to be considered at present. It was the duty of the: they were attended to or negthe punishments that had recently been inflicted on individuals who had been found guilty of exerting themselves in the cause of reform, particularly cruel and undeserved, the hon. oppose a system of government under which no man could possibly be safe.

Mr. HOBHOUSE was then loudly called for, and came forward

room he had no intention of ment-he meant his Majesty's troubling them with his sentiments on the momentous ques- power to do so, which embeldtion which had called them together. If it had been thought difficult by those who had precoded him to secure the attention of the audience, he must feel that difficulty in a still greater degree; but, connected as he was with a large portion of the inhabitants of the metropolitan city, it was his duty to obey the call which had been made on him, and to speak his mind freely, without looking to any personal consequences. It was impossible at the present juncture for a man to know whether he was committing a crime or not; and perhaps he was at that moment subjecting himself to such punishment as his Majesty's Attorney-General might be pleased to inflict. He was convinced that those individuals who were now suffering in the cause of reform. and whose names had been mentioned by the hon. baronet, had been no more conscious that they were committing a crime upon the hustings at Manchester. or at Birmingham, than he was of violating the laws in addressing them at present. But, were he even sure of the same punishment that had been inflicted on these persons, he should not refrain from expressing his senti-

dental, and that on entering the only the conviction of governministers—that they had the ened them to make the attempt. But they had the satisfaction to know that even all the present. ministers of the crown did not approve of the measures which had been pursued towards her Majesty: one of them had, inhis place in parliament, expressed his reluctance to join in the prosecution, and had stated hisopinion that her Majesty was asdeserving as ever of affectionateregard (applause). And were not the people of England to believe so till the contrary were proved? Were they to be deterred from doing justice because the ministers deprecated and cried out against popular clamour? That which was now called clamour was the same voice that had been raised from one end of the country to the other when innocent persons had been sabred and trampled to death while legally and peaceably assembled in the exercise of their undoubted rights. The same arguments had been used on this. occasion to prevent public meetings as had been urged after the Manchester massacre: requisitionists had been told by certain sheriffs, and other official persons, that they were not for prejudging the question. ments, and discharging his duty in the case of the Manchester to his country (applause). The affair, when meetings were represent attack on the Queen of fused, had inquiry been ulti-England was no more than had mately instituted in parliament. been seen on other occasions: and had redress been obtained it was only one additional in- for the injured? No; the anstance of open injustice, perpe-|swers of ministers in parliament. trated by open force. It was had been, that the conduct of

the Magistrates and Yeomanry would become the subject of investigation in a court of law, and that therefore the question would be prejudged by a parfamentary inquiry; but when the trial of these accused by the government came on at York, no evidence could be admitted respecting the conduct of these who had committed the murin the same manner. when the bill at present pending in parliament against her Majesty should be passed, the people would be told that it was as absurd to express their opinion on the subject after the bill was passed, as it was improper to prejudge it before (applause). The prosecutors of her Majesty, in producing precedents for the course of proceeding which they had adopted, said they would not go farther back than the revolution. He would wish the people to go no farther back than the period of the revolution (applause). If ministers thought they could find, in the proceedings of that period, certain rules by which their conduct was to be regulated on the present occasion, the people might also think that they could find something which their ancestors had done with glory to themselves, and with benefit to the nation, and the example of which they might do well to imitate (applause).

Mr. FLANNAGAN moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Alderman Wood for his conduct in all the offices which he had hitherto filled, but particularly for the manner in which he had acted

The resolution was received with loud acclamations, and was unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Alderman Wood stepped forward to return thanks, but the expressions of approbation prevented himforsome time from being heard. He had found it necessary, for reasons which they would excuse him for not stating. to remain eliest on this question, not only in the Please of Commens, but at all public meetings, and even in private society; yet he must not be altogether dumb in returning thanks for the honour they had done him. There was not a man, he was continued, in that county, or in this kingdom, who, if he had been in passession of the same facts which had been known to kim for several months, would have noted otherwise than he lited slows. He had knowledge that this illustrious: lady: was in the hands of betravers she had been placed in that altraffon, in which, if something, had not speedily been dope, she postape would never have reached those shures. She had evinced a bold and determined feeting; and in his printer she was right to coming to England (applause). The whole einpine had felt the justice of that sentiment; even ministers, who had attempted to prevent her from coming here, admitted, now that she had arrived, that she had acted correctly (cheers). In doing what he had done, he had merely performed his duty as an Englishman. Circumstances emanating from a high quarter led him to believe that this illustrious individual was to be sacrificed. He had in consequence proceeded to the continent, and he was sure there was no man who towards her Majesty the Queen. heard him who would not, under the

same cises metances, and actilated by the same feelings, have proceeded to the most distant puri of the world, for the purpose of giving her every assistance in his power. He would have mone to the continent at all earlier peried if his afficied duties had not detained him in England." Her Majesty. previously to his leaving this country. being determined to meet the charges brought against her, be they what they might had wrdered him to send a skip to Laghern to bring her over. He hewestr ald not think it right to take that step! without consulting other individuals, and that circumstance along wabshe seems of the delay that had taken place. Every day, every hour, her bause were a more favourable appearance. The evidence to which mirsons; of distinction had deposed was so secitledly for her favour. that he thought it was impossible, notwithstanding the strong opinion which had been given by his tion, friend of the corruption of the two Houses of Barliament for any tribunal to find her guilty (charre). Those who supported her cause looked not for place or preferment, while those who were arrayed against her were supported by pensions;drawn from the labour of the people. The persons to whom he alluded received more than three mil-

lions annually out of the public funds (shame, shame). He was sure it would give them great pleasure to hear that her Majesty was at the present moment in the highest possible spirits. Within the last & hours, he had heard her express herself in these words--- "I would not exchange my situation with any weman in the world." (Cheers.) She said this while reasoning on her signation-arguing on it with that talent which she was well known to possess. and with a full knowledge of all the enemies she had to encounter. Yet, under such circumstances, these werethe magnanimous expressions that fell from her (applause). He could inform the meeting that on the first day of the trial she meant to go down to the House of Lords at 10 o'clock in the morning, and she never would leave it as long as the proceedings. were going on. For strong reasons which induced him at present to be silent, they would not expect that he should enter into the merits of the case; and therefore he should only add again his thanks for the hobour which the meeting had done him .- Great applause).

Thanks having been voted to the Sheriff, and to the Members of the Committee, the meeting was dissolved,

POLITICAL REGISTER

. TO THE

MIDDLE CLASS OF PROPLE. (Whe are enemies of Reform)...

on 7

The Letter, and on the Trial. of her Majesty the Queen

London, 17th August, 1890,

COPATRAMEN

August last, from the shores of I am not living in what I doesn America. I then told you that a state of freedom is and, by it soulied, to you the cause that of the contents of the Letters dottly who does not now see, however, how great are here

King, and also on the Trigh which is this day to begin, and which will make the 17th of August a day manapable in the annals of England.

With respect to the facts of the Letter of her Majesty, or, with respect to the language of it, I shall say nothing; or, ra-. Laddressed a letter to you in ther. I shall, offer an anining your ruin bres at hand. I do dare not say that I approve whose hading to it, and ander so I will not say that I disvoused to impress on year minds approve of them. I, publish, the abcordity: of exercism your-the Letter intellat because all actives for the purpose of stoiding other periodical publications, that I was correct in my calca-Majosty's disadventages in this ntions. But stressing injulif contest, as list; at the prope is to say stone, by sind by, upon concerned. : No mendorus, on is subject, suffer me now to pain at his destruction, to spepolices at your formentation plant this believe while that e Better 306 det diajesty to the main 'may' safely condents. By

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call it falso, and abuse the illus-). That is to say, he will pair over

trious writer. Any man may the very foundation of the safely praise the Bill of Pains Queen's complaint; and of all and Penalties, which accuses the mischief that has followed the Queen of the foulest crimes and preceded from the separabefore trial; but no man dares tion! This, however, is what praise the Queen's Letter, put the nation will not pass overforth in the way of complaint It is, in order to come at a fair and remonstrance. Any man view of the subject, absolutely may say, and many, in print, necessary to go back, not only do say, that the Queen is a bad to the causes of the separation, woman but ho man dares to but to the inducements to the say, in srift, that the person in marriage. The Queen, Ris whole belief the in prosecuted, pretended, is to be prosecuted is a bad than! For my part, I and dishonoused for the sales of do not desire to say it; but, the State : that is, disuppose; strely; the Queen herself must for the sake of the matich. Now, be allowed to have a right to the nation paid about 780,0000; make her complaints and re- in consequence of the mainings; monstrances in her own lan- and, surely, the mitien has as right to know, since things "Ne setious attempt has been have done to shell mount made "to deliber this Letter, peer, who it was that was the Mach has been premiert in this course of the separation:

way, but nothing has been per- | In short, no enemed has been formed! One pert pretender attempted. Henty of abuse has sets out by observing; that he been beened on it; but it abune shall plan ever all that refers to is not to answer. / However, what took place provious to the that I may not be arraised of separation of their Majestice partiality, I shall insert, directly jed, for the "tresson," committed in writing this Letter! so that, she is, according to these men, to have all the disadthe of the last.

I her you to look well at the nature of the prosecution. Bill in, when pested, an Act of Parliament; and this set, if passed, is an act made after the commission of the alleged offonce. It is therefore, what is called an ex post; facts, this? and the Bill of Rights says, that no ex post facto law" shall be passed. An angest facto law is ene; that makes a thing a crime,

after the Queen's Letter, two or | I laugh upon seeing Castlereaghthree of the articles that have In a fright. This is no crime at. Been 're-putstished against her the time when Planett; but and Majesty in consequence of it. In act may be passed to-morrow these it is asserted, in one place, making it a crime in me to have that a Queen cannot be tried by so laughed to-day, and punishthe ordinary courts and juries; ing me for such laughing. This but, in another place, it is as- would be an ex post-facto law; serted, that she is a subject and and the laws of England say, can be tried, like another sub- that no such law shall be passed.

Now, either the Queen has committed something; which the law makes a crime; or she has note. M she have, where is the vantages and none:of the bone- law? Why not find out the law k Why not try her by that law? If she have not committed any thing, which the law makes a crime " then this Bill, if samed. must be an ex-post facto law; it must make the crime as as award the prinishment:

The Bilt says, in its prejumble; that her Majesty has been guilly of highly honouring with marks of distinction a man, who was w menial servant. This is no crime. Possys, that the Queen which was not a crime befores has led a Heentlove life. This and punishes it. For instance, is no crime known to the laws:

ubon a great many men, whose duty it is to set a good example. It says, that the Queen has carried on an adulterous intercourse. Even this, in such vague words, is no crime known to the lenes. And, therefore, if the Bill become a law, without alteration, it must be an ex-post facto law.

Adultery is, indeed, a crime langwa to the laws; and it is punished by divorce; that is to say, in the case of a wife, by taking from her her rights as wife. But, then, there must be s trial according to law; and, upon this trial, the wife may produce evidence to show, that the husband was the first breaker of the marriage sow; and, if the show this, the verdict will be against the husband, who cannot, in such case, obtain a divorce. Would it not be monstrous if he could? Would it not be 'unjust beyond expression! Upon such conditions what woman, not absolutely mad, would ever marry?

Yet this mode of proceeding by Bill will shat the Queen out from the possibility of the sort of defence, to which she would be entitled in the courts of jus-

if it were, Lord have mercy produce nothing to show the acts of her husband. Nay, & will not be necessary for her accusers to prove even the adultery on her part; for, the Bill proposes to punish her, not for the act of adultery; but for intercourses adulterous which may mean something. short of adultery. To look at a man, and to wish to be more closely connected with him, may be called an adulterous interes course. To live upon intimate terms with persons guilty of adultery may be called adulterous intercourse. In short. any circumstance, however trifling, may be twisted into acta, worthy of this appellation. And, therefore, according to this Bill, the Queen may be divorced and degraded without any act of adultery being proved against her.

Such is the nature of the proceeding against the Queen. As to the nature of the evidence). as to the enspiration of the court; as to the refusing of the names of witnesses and even of times and places; these, the public are aboudy well informed. give some account of certain preparations that have been tice. She will be allowed to made for the trial; for, I wish

correctly informed of these things; and it is right that we should have some record of them; in order that we may know hereafter what sort of judgment to form of those who now unhappily conduct the nation's affairs, and who have brought the King, the Queen, the people and themselves into the present situation. I, for my own part, have for many years been endeavouring to warn the nation of the consequences of the present system. If the things which we now behold be calculated to alarm, the fault is not mine; for, I have plainly foretald that such things would take place unless the system were abandoned. That the system has been unheld has been owing to the apathy of the middle classes of the community, who have, in fact, done nothing to change the system, but who have, on the contrary, been estively instrumental, in many cases, in despitefully treating, and in destroying those who have laboured so ardnously for the preventing of these evils. To you of the middle classes, therefore, I address myself upon of facts; let's simple record of this occasion; and, if you read what the system has now manged

that all you who live at a dis-| what I say of yourselves with tance from London, should be disapprobation, your disapprobation will give me no pain, My feelings of compassion are confined to those who have suffered from this system, in consequence of their endeavours to change it; and it is their approbation and not your approbation that I seek,

> Look then, if you have any thing worthy of the name of public spirit left about you; look at the scenes which now prosent themselves before Shameful they are; but they reflect no shame upon me, nor upon any of those men, who have laboured with so much zeal and disinterestedness to prevent the like of them, and many of whom have suffered so severely for labours. Many of you of the middling classes, Merchants. Master-manufacturers, Tradesmen, and above all, Farmers: many of you, and indeed the far greater part of you, have been the revilers of those, whose labours would have preserved you from the terrors of the approaching crisis: let these terrors he the reward of the revilings; and let a plain narrating

to be done, be in the eyes of was not we who advised her to posterity, the justification of leave the country, because her those men whom you have ungratefully treated with revil-Section Landing

The Queen is on her trial. Remember that it is not those. who you have revited under the appellation of Jacobins and Radicals; remember that it is not we who produced the separation of her Majesty from her Musband, it the time when the Wife had an infant child in her arms: that it is not we who est on foot the tribunal to inpulre fitté bet conduct in 1806: that it is not we who discovered that the tribinal which was competent to administer oaths and to bear withbooks upon oath: to forse the evidence into alldavits, still make it's ground of action, was incompetent to make false swearing Before it subject the bise swearers to the penal-

fascinating manners were calculated to make her popular : that It was not we who, having given her that advice, advised the instituting of the Milan Commission, and the ill-liteatment of her, the insulting of her by every Court upon the Continent': that it was not we who advised the expunging of the name from the Littingy, the tender of money and the threat at 'St. Omers: that it was not we who sent down the Green Bags against her; that it was not we who offered her lifty thousand pounds a year with acknowfedgment as Queen at a Foreign Court, and a Golden Yacht to sail in, together with hapundly for all the alleged offences that the had committed, it she would but quit England; that it was hot we who induced the Home ties of perjuty; that it was not of Commons to declare to her. we who forbade the insther to that a trial. Let the result of it have free communication with be what it might, must be will the child, that it was not we gutter from the dignity of the who advised the forbidding of Grown, and injurious to the the Mother to appear at court, best interests of the county. even after she had been sequit- and who, with this declaration ted of all crime, and after the on the Journals of the House of hate King had for a suries of Continons, resolved upon the years received her at his court prosecution of that very trialz and visited her himself; that it that it was not we who advised the Green Bage, and who, when we now behold on this spot !-the request of that Committee. To such of vott of have never brought be Bill to plantal the hope at Wortniester to met me Shows by sandat of Pardinages, 1906 sany Welcharlie Mings and which proceeding ambiguithe as there midestly at This millet of causes to be becomen the fuitor Withings Winteringthis, this and judges: remember, Lang Courts of Jamile is the Monde of know it abate suscenber it al- Purliantente and beveralt other maya, quadria it mater forgettisi, efficie uffangetisse firm eac system day been carried out.

a recret committee to examine tained unto them. What do that areo the unimmistall, the stank. They are all ander what persecuted. The applience if the may be called one work wolf attacking creatly sufficient diversión for a like (1864 dre one building with Referentianisthe dimme of Cani, work deprining war initially to month, deavermover hand the sheet back officer. The entrances to lost slaming hard of things, these different comparements Besitembes that las this as we are phintendal Os three tige have been able we have op of this immente with of buildpaned show alle and therefore inge there is an upon space y on remember that, if the things I eric side New Palace Yard on ant morrepont to record and cat- the other side Cld Paluce Yard: cula tud to : fulbet: dispuice, do on another tide a sort of square part of the diagrade belongs to luclosed with liten pullifieder. ms, but that away considerable and planted with trees; and on borthunds it belongs to yes, the water, which is the waterh who gither from spetty; or from side, he the sever Thimes. He an antimity: mostile. to tas, in closes the trailings and the opired by grandings or by abl- Thines 11 dd open space; pill. fair foar, have assisted in up- ly gurden still partly yard. The cholding and in giving vicese to space Af about, neverty, vertile the arm of these by whom the from the buildings to the water. at the edge of which, the ... Wastenide too Citil, the Mouth's ground Which forms the gurden of Pastiaments the wests of just said the yard in preserved field which their places which were the westings of the water by a 'sigmody's votorsted, together well about their ligh. -wiell goody thing that apper. This apen spot in inavenielle

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on the fund side, except over al prime, or, at least, in exhate proxery high wall in one part, and tection, you have allow stimed over the tops of the buildings hand as longited Bemember, in the other mane. This spot that if this edicte sinht is more has regently had aureorous ton- exhibited to the trendshinishing moracu, buildings, appeted; on it works of these, whom would have for the murnon of spoking for maintly (supported and) encourthe Corepation Benguet. These regard, per communication and a part temporpus, buildings, pare pary - in This chosen apot, from which extensive, forming alterether a excup macion to out a faure if spread out into millame. Lutonthis (place, have) been brought in such a meanin of not to be seen; except by the that; satisfies a harse abidiores: conductors and other, official borns notice; fost notices and agents, those famous Italian by innumerable police, official witnesses, the proceeds of the Milan Commission. The Coronation huildings have been appropriated to the lodging, the feeding and the dressing and preparing of these witnesses. And, mpya my good: " loyal" comtrymen, I begreat to remember that if the cooking mastment, made for the mannese of famileing forth a Banquet for the Royal Husband Ihas been converted into a place for gotting messes for the witnesses against his wife: A beg you, to remember that, if this thing has been done, it has bundled yards are stationed auheen done not only without the morpus homenten in a place calinstrumentality; but against the led the Horse Stands. .: At the wishes of these whom you have distance of about six y bundaid hean so, busy is assisting to op- yards tertile month of the Phriin-

there is a subterrandone pearageinto the buildings respected with the House of Looks in dofepdestron the dant side shar traces of various descriptions: and constables. Every avenad. AMPSI doot-ways avery willdem; which can possible be agreeasted from without, is amended-This immense fortross has one works, of timbets. Posts read. ean, bein heapened and and placed served the streets, wif the appoints of all author store expected: it would be imposible to make preparations of siefence, more formidable without actually tearing up the ground. and making (ramparta

At the distance of chantifour

racks called the mews, filled defended spot there are two srith feet soldiers. At about houses, dwellings of great Offi-Averbundted yards to the west cers of the Parliament. These of the library in a harmck filled have been evacuated by the temith feet soldiers; at about four nants; or, at least, they have handred wards to the west there been filled with bedsteads and is a regiment of dragoons. At bedding sufficient for a great a mile from the House to the number of persons. What permostly-worst is the horse-barrack some those are we gre not inof Knightsbridger; at about two formed. We could guess; but miles from the House to the as guesting might be a little northwin the house burrant in too much, you, as you are such Resistant street. The soweps- wise people, and have so pruness given account of negiments dently kept aloof from, or assistmarched up, in every dissection ed to oppress, the Badicals, the into the rigidity of London .- Radicals may leave you to guess and we see a comp of yeomanry for yourselves. actually paraging the streets All the preparations being legitorn dissection from Westminutes bridge, which crosses the Thames, at about three hunshod yards from the House.

A Such is the state of things on .the land side; but, as you have ment the chosen mot before mentioned is open to the water, -except that there is a wall of about twenty feet to scale. the Thomes; just opposite the : stranction, village before destailed, is placed a vessel, which has a deck above the em-doble and which carries, to nell appearance, from eix- remembered, that these tears test to twenty guns! On the came from those who have been

ment Mouse is a closed-in bar-1 skirts, or flanks, of this well

with their sweeds drawn on the made, the trial, or rather the preliminary steps towards it. have begun this memorable day: a day which you will have good cause to remember to the last moment of your lives.

To describe the multitudes accompanying the Queen to and from the House is what I shall not attempt. Never were such multitudes seen before upon any occasion. Never was feeling so intense. Hundreds of women were seen crying in the streets; and, let it be recorded and ed the " lower ofders."

During the whole of the day military scouts were galloping for mid trom the several Bar-Tacks, depoils of troops, regments, parks and depots of at-Timby Within teh 202 mileen mileirdit London: "Ale nede un can fidige there is no interval of more than a mile or two upon a circle." the "circumstribuce" of which is the most is that dreil hills: without troops of den in ken dende derrot senot Sach Erbeth very faiht! picture, affer all; of our present situation. Look at the picture. Consider the Immense sums of money that von wift have to pay for these gigantic preparations: for the Bilan Commission and all'its appendages; and for all the manifold outgoings on account of this prosecution. know Well that foo feel no disgrace. But I khow that you do feet in your potliets; and that you also feel ou account of the dangers to which you may be expeced: Remember then, I say, once more, that this cost and danger mould nover have some upon you, had you not, tacifly or actively done your best to of Commons, which would have Castlereagh, Sidmouth, and Li-

despitefully and implicatly term-1 effectually prevented, that wante you will now have to deplete.

The proceedings in the House of Lords of this day have likely projety stellahary. The bale of Lieffister professed to set this thing and allogother. This was refected with an overwhelm the majority! Some other than tions were made a and distant the day, Mr. Denogliain siade a speech against the preside of the BINI which speech with to read with while ental sipperbution. Whether the proceedings will be stilled by the preventage of To tadion as is commided a them, is more shand can say. A have already had they there of enifering on account of the line fility to the system; and 16 & suffer again, it shall not be in the manie of the less, and adov rate: 10 shall be from some act or bther that shall give jour no thom to snigger and to how votifselves in the security which you are deriving from invitations. while you have the bush kursutithde to applied the pains and penalties, saffeted apout me You have purposed the president course, as you have always said : you have made the system your own by the sucit or active respprevent that reform of the House port that your horning iten . .

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your day of selfish comfort : take forts to obtain that reform which troubles, and is fliere now no confusion? You have upheld the glorious system; but have you secured harmony, peace, and safety? One thing above all others ought never to be forgotten: you applanded Sidmouth who applauded the Magistrates, and Yeomanry of Manchester. Your applause was cited by the prime Minister as a proof of the propriety of the Manchester killing and wounding. Well, then take without contorsion of countenance any thing further that has to be performed.

verpool are yours; only them try, were endeavouring to perand their works. You have had suade you to join in lewful efthe days that are now coming. Would Tong ago" put an end T. Driny own part, see no to ruid and starvation you unground of anxiety for those, who leetingly curied up with his and have been for so many years ob- accused them of designs wooh jects of your sneers and your your property. When such men callumnies. But, this may be a endeavoured to represent to you "It time for them to remind you how then evous it was to place of the folly as well as the infins- rour sole remained upon mere tice of Four conduct. You have force, you turned from them with all slong been crying out against a jeerling look, saying in vour the danger of reform; against hearts, that that force would the troubles it would give rise always be for you. Events broto against the confusion that duce a correction of error some-It would make. Is there no dan- times; but I am quite satisfied ger now? 'Are there now no that your errors are to be cortected by nothing which will not compel you to feel! You have quietly and even confplaisantly seen your country men sent off to fait! or conveyed to the gallows thick military escorts." You have nothing to find fitth of you have hobody to blame. Whatever you may suffer you are the cause of your own sufferings. Hid you acted your part well; we should long ago have had a reform of the House of Commons. and then, we should all have been safe : King, Queen, Lord's When men of talent of the and people. But you could not purest public spirit, of the most indure the thought of suffering ardent devotion to their coun- the labourer and artizan, those

whose labour and ingenuity yield | work along till it has produced and whose arms protect you in the possession of them; you could not indure the idea of suffering these to participate with you in the enjoyment of political rights, You preferred being slaves to others; you cared not for this, so long as it gave you the power of domineering over another class. This was the feeling by which you were actuated. Has your policy been crowned with success ! Oh! no.; but the result of your selfish conduct is, and will be precisely what is merited by that conduct.

The stupid and selfsh crew that huzzaed the frothy Canning at Liverpool, while he was ca-Jumpieting the Reformers, and making jests of what he supposed to be their everlating defeat, would now be taught. if any thing gould teach them, ing bowels of the Reformers. to repent of their baseness. He will never again set the They have seen, in the course house in a roar by making a of five short months, all the great bodily affliction the subpredictions of their prophet ject of a despicable jest, in He blown into air. They have would not be the gequeer of the seen that that very system Queen, he said, so help hime which he applauded to the God. At the time when he akies, and which they, even to made this declaration, accomthe very tearing of their throats, penied with an eulogium on her cheered him for applauding; Majesty, who did not suppose they have seen that very system that he meant to quit the cabi-

you all your comforts and righes, events already, which have filed their hearts with fear, which have made their coward knees knock together; which have caused their pillows to be haunted with visions, at the sight of which a Radical may smile. And, what would put them, to shame, if any thing could put such men to shame; they have seen their here take hight upon the first appearance of danger.

He is gone to the Continent: but to what part of it no. man . can tell! He is the very first to decamp; he, who called upon his sturdy hearers to " take their side," and to fight to the last breath in defence of what he called their Constitution. He is gone! The hero of: Liverpool is gone. Thank God for that. at any rate. We shall hear no more of his jesting on the burst-

Majesty's defence ! With this understanding; I regarded his conduct as " manly !" but did I imagine that he lind given his sitiont to the witholding of ber nume from the Liturgy, which it has since appeared that he had: and was it possible for me to ithanisti that he intended to rebinet! and merely to withdraw bihacilf flow the country, while the work of accession; procecution, and punishment was carried on by his colleagues ?

been pursuing, he, though he retains his place as a minister. takes his carcase from beyond the confines of the kingdom.

This affair relative to the Queen has, for the moment. swallowed up every other danget. But, this affair wholly out months of duration; but none

net, and to do his best in her of the question, the dangers, the dangers inseparable from the system itself; have gone on increasing. They keep standaly on their base! and as far as I myself am concerned, i should be serry to see them interrupted by any thing of this nature. Let the system go on. Let it come to it's netural termination; and tain his phice in that same Ca- then every one will receive that reward due to his conduct. all the betitions presented by farmers, by merchants, by mail nufacturers, by traders of every sort, what answer has been This man has been one of the given? What reduct has been most unfeeling of the persecui afforded? What felief has any ton of the fliends of reform, one obtained or does he hope His exertions against us have to obtain: what has been the been constant; his recommon- answer of this unreformed pardutions of measures has been limment to all these petitions? such as to mark him to the pos- Why, that it can neither give sessor of aurelenting cruelty; relief nor hold out a hope of rein his language he has been her; that the sufferers; like the uniforcely calciumious and inco-spiders must spin their means lent. And, upon the very first of reflef from their own bowels. appearance of danger to himself or that they must go unrelieved. from the measures which he has All the promises of improved finances have been broken : every expectation has been disappointed; and amongst the most sanguine of the supporters of the system, you find indeed those who calculate

who are hald enough to other propertating government. has late uponly estrations on the property of the Bultic the - "While this is the case at home, the Mediterranean water terrain tesses are remained. When the emposes himselfite any risk with wass had anded in a netco a view of delivering you, Conliance, and, also produced the exertions of your hun is, more restoration of the Pope, the In- than I can say; ; but I shall alst quinities the Bourbons and the ways think that suffer what you Josuite-how-you laughed in our faced a What : a - malicious grip were dayou me to Many you tried umphed over us! How von heistock the nicture representing the dates of Kings ! More you bugged: your chains !. Like the officers of the Inquisition, of Spain and Postneyl, hope you naked the burning temb, in our faces! Well; how stands the Two countries matter new! are already revolutionized; and I heartily wish that you want I am not to be understood as sautinus in your delusion till re- including in the objects of my;

Wie grand has vent of all our sea- Every man in his senses must erificon is untien the process of sea that them can be no story distraction from the winds and for may length; of time, until all, warman are the con- anakind have their rights tinent, surla; emerger to; allo our Hings we have wented nothing; complaints tof the weight of that the lawner our forefathers. three, we have been constantly did not give on; and you have: told of the lasting society, for tackly or eclinely persocuted as the future, which what is salled for endearouring to obtain that the constitution has obtained by which was not loss accesses for these wasseld same on which you then to surrely on. The page was constructed that debt to do sons autom is your own works froy the interest of which the The man is a foot that again, which produced the boly al-lit. Whether you will giver make will, you are entitled to none of my compositor. By suffering enly are you to be taught your, duty; and no man can say that he does not with that that duty should be performed.

. The system is going on full tide, scattering all, it's natural consequences about it. Let, it proceed, and let those who have prepaged the materials of which it is composed keep clear of these consequences if they anna

and I say to the mass; this is this has all arisen from your own sellish abothy a or from your totive hostility against these who are labouring to obtain a restoration of the liberties of the people, and on that basis to eslabilish the security of all ranks, and particularly of the Phone. Whatever we see in the present state of things to lament; whatever there may be in the Brostiect of the antito the excite peur: cleans (. whatever:/-there may be to fill you with doubts, uncertainties, and inquietudeall is to be ascribed to a want of that reloting for endeavouring to obtain which we have been perseculed.

exulted; you have chuckled and grinned, when you have seen your countrymen dragged off to jails for most laudably exerting their talents through the means of the press. As a disguine for your baseness and cruelty: as it were to drown the security.

address every morehant, muster, tion and functions, here been manufacturer, big trader, or wicked, seditions, blasphemous big farmer: I speak generally agitators, who bad views of advantage to themselves and of all the work of your own hands: muty to you. What advantage sould they derive from their tabours? Had they been actuated by selfish motives, they might easily have pocketed your taxes as the price of their silence or as the price of their cudes. vours to hopp, you everlastingly enthralled. These ought to be the object of every behevolent feeling on your part; of your level memoration and gratitude; but instead of this they have been objects of your affected contempt in some instances, and in every instance of your talumny. Such need not men Care for your need care sothing with regard to what becomes of you. You have rejoiced; you have Never were such men objects of your generosity; never were they upheld or encouraged by you; and let what will happen to vou, never ought you to be objects of their compassion. You have outled yourselves up at the very best, in selfish imaginary While the scourge chaking of your own chains, has been unsparingly laid upon you have affected to believe the zealous levers of their counthat these sufferers, these mar- try you have in the best intyrs in the cause of truth, jus- stances of your conduct drawn

yourselves into your shell, and have not uttered even a word of comfort to the sufferers; and, therefore, when the season of your suffering shall arrive, I trust that no man, who has been a victim of the system, will be so unjust as to bestow a thought of commissionation on you.

Again, I say the system is your own, and that to you and the rest of its supporters its ultimate consequences may be confined; and that those consequences may be unmitigated by any of the victims, is the sincere and fervent prayer of

WM. COBBETT.

PEEP AT THE PEERS

Is in the press. It will be published at nine o'clock on Monday morning.-The work is much more extensive than was imagined.—The result is enormous.—It will be in the pamphlet form, and not on an open sheet, as was intended.... The price will be Two-pence. " The Compilers flatter themselves that they have performed a work of universal interest and utility.-They have dedicated it to the Queen; and they hope that it will be graciously received by her Majesty.

Letter from the queen .TO THE RING.

Six MAfter the unpatalleled and unbrovoked persecution which, during a series of years, has been carried on against me under the name and authority of your Majesty, and which persecution, instead of being mollifled by time, time has rendered only more and more malignant and unrelenting, it is not withself to address this letter to your without any cause Majesty. But, bearing in mind other than that of your own in-that Koyalty rests on the basis of public good; that to this par-jesty was pleased to allege, were ramount consideration all others not under your control. ought to submit; and aware of denity of your crown, the sta- female honour. bility of your throne, the trandiffity of your throne, the tranquillity of your throne, the tranquillity of your throne, the tranquillity of your throne, the trandiffity of your throne, the tranable society tendered to me by
your Majesty formed, in my
mind, but a poor compensation
for the grief occasioned by conpression and cruelty, and especially, then perpetrated by a
perversion and a mockety of the
laws:

A sense of what is due to my character and sex forbids me to refer minutely to the real causes of our domestic separation, or to the numerous unmerited insults offered me previously to that period; but, leaving to your Majesty to reconcile with the marriage vow the act of driving, by such means, a wife from beneath your roof, with an infant in her arms, your Majesty will permit me to remind you, that that act was entirely your own; out a great sacrifice of private that the separation, so far from feeling that I now, even in the being sought for by me, was a way of remonstrance, bring my- sentence pronounced upon me assigned,

Not to have felt, with regard the consequences that may re- to myself, chagrin at this decisalt from the present unconstitution of your Majesty, would thinkel, illegal, and hitherto have argued great insensibility unifeard of proceedings; - with to the obligations of decorum a mind thus impressed, I cannot not to have dropped a tear in refrain from laying my grievous the face of that beloved child, wrongs once more before your whose future sorrows were then Majesty, in the hope that the but too easy to foresee, would justice which your Majesty may, have marked me as unworthy of by evil-minded counsellors, he the name of mother; but, not sulf disposed to refuse to the to have submitted to it without claims of a dutiful, faithful, and repining would have indicated injured wife, you may be in- a consciousness of demerit, or a duced to yield to considerations want of those feelings which compected with the honour and belong to affronted and insulted

templated the disappointment of the nation, who had so munificently provided for our union. who had fondly cherished such pleasing hopes of happiness arising from that union, and who had hailed it with such affectionate and rapturous joy.

But, alas! even tranquillity and comfort were too much for me to enjoy. From the very threshold of your Majesty's mansion the mother of your child was pursued by spies, conspirators, and traitors, employed, encouraged, and rewarded to lay snares for the feet, and to plot against the reputation and life, of her whom your Majesty had so recently and so solemnly vowed to honour, to love, and to cherish.

In withdrawing from the embraces of my parents, in giving my hand to the son of George the Third and the heir-apparent to the British throne, nothing less than a voice from Heaven would have made me fear injustice or wrong of any kind .-What, then, was my astonishment at finding that treasons against me had been carried on and matured, perjuries against me had been methodized and embodied, a secret tribunal had been held, a trial of my actions had taken place, and a decision had been made upon those actions, without my having been informed of the nature of the charge, or of the names of the witnesses? And what words can express the feelings excited by the fact, that this proceeding was founded on a request made, and on evidence furnished, by dignation was lost in pity for him

more especially when I con-lorder of the father of my child. and my natural as well as legalguardian and protector?

> Notwithstanding, however, the unprecedented conduct of that tribunal; conduct which has since undergone, even in Parliament, severe and unanswered animadversions. which has been also censured in the minutes of the Privy Council; notwithstanding the secrecy of the proceedings of this tribunal; notwithstanding the strong temptation to the giving of false evidence against me before it: notwithstanding that there was no opportunity afforded me of rebutting that evidence; notwithstanding all these circumstances, so decidedly favourable to my enemies, even this secret. tribunal acquitted me of all crime. and thereby pronounced my principal accusers to have been guilty of the grossest perjury. But it was now (after the trial was over) discovered, that the nature of the tribunal was such as to render false swearing before it not legally criminal! And thus. at the suggestion and request of your Majesty, had been created. to take cognizance of and try my conduct, a tribunal competent to administer oaths, competent to examine witnesses on oath, competent to try, competent to acquit or condemn, and competent. moreover, to screen those who had sworn falsely against me from suffering the pains and penalties which the law awards to wilful and corrupt perjury. Great as my indignation naturally must have been at this shameful evasion of law and justice, that in-

who could lower his princely and to ensure my humiliation. plumes to the dust by giving his You took to your councils and countenance and favour to the vour bosom men whom you most conspicuous of those aban- hated, whose abandonment of, doned and notorious perinters.

Still there was one whose upright mind nothing could warp, in whose breast injustice never found a place, whose band was always ready to raise the unfortunate, and to rescue the oppressed. While that good and gracious father and Sovereign remained in the exercise of his royal functions, his unoffending daughter-in-law had nothing to fear. As long as the protecting hand of your late ever-beloved and ever-lamented father was held over me. I was safe. But the melancholy event which deprived the nation of the active exertions of its virtuous King, bereft me of friend and protector, and of all hope of future tranquility and safety. To calumniate your innocent wife was now the shortest road to royal favour; and to betray her was to lay the sure foundation of boundless riches and titles of honour. Before claims like these, talent, virtue, long services, your own personal friendships, your royal engagements, promises, and pledges. written as well as verbal, melted into air. Your cabinet was founded on this basis. You took to your councils men, of whose persons, as well as whose principles, you had invariably expressed the strongest dislike. The interest of the nation, and even your own feelings, in all other respects, were sacrificed size to aggravate my sufferings, bodily violence that can be in-

and whose readiness to sacrifice me were their only merits, and whose power has been exercised in a manner, and has been attended with consequences. worthy of its origin. From this amprincipled and amatural union have sprang the manifold evits which this nation has now to endure, and which present a mass of misery and of degradation, accompanied with acts of tyranny and cruelty, rather than have seen which inflicted on his industrious, faithful, and brave people, your royal father would have perished at the head of that neonle.

When to calumniate, revile, and betray me, became the sure path to honour and riches, it would have been strange indeed if calumniators, revilers, and traitors had not abounded. Your Court became much less a scene of polished manners and refined intercourse than of low intrigue and scurrility. Snies. Bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed in those palaces which had before been: the resort of sobriety, virtue, and honour. To enumerate all the various privations and mortifications which I had to endure, all the insults that were wantonly heaped upon me, from the day of your elevation to the' Regency to that of my departure for the Continent, would be to describe every species of personal offence that can be offered to the gratification of your de- to, and every pain short of

reft of parent, brother, and fatherin-law, and having my husband for my deadliest foe; seeing those who have promised me support bought by rewards strained from accusing my foes in the face of the world, out of regard for the character of the father of my child, and from a desire to prevent her happiness from being disturbed; shunned from motives of selfishness by those who were my natural associates; living in obscurity, while I ought to have been the centre of all that was splendid; thus humbled, I had one consolation left; the love of my dear and only child. To permit me to enjoy this was too great an indulgence. To see my daughter; to fold her in my arms; to mingle my tears with hers; to receive her cheering caresses. and to hear from her lips assurances of never-ceasing love; thus to be comforted, consoled, upheld, and blessed, was too. much to be allowed me. Even on the slave mart the cries of "Oh! my mother, my mother! Oh! my child, my child!" have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice. But your, advisers, more inhuman than the slave-dealer, remorsplessly tore the mother from the child.

Thus bereft of the society of my child, or reduced to the necessity of imbittering her life by struggles to preserve that society, I resolved on temporary: absence, in the hope that time pier days. were never to come. To mo- but on the measures which have

flicted on, any human being. Be-I thers, and these mothers who have been suddenly bereft of the best and most affectionate and only daughters, it belongs to estimate my sufferings and my wrongs. Such mothers will to be amongst my enemies; re-judge of my affliction upon hearing of the death of my child. and upon my calling to recollection the last look, the last words, and all the affecting circumstances of our separation. Such mothers will see the depth of my sorrows. Every being with a heart of humanity in its bosom will drop a tear of sympathy with me. And will not the world, then, learn with indignation, that this event, calculated to soften the hardest heart, was the signal for new conspiracies, and indefatigable efforts for the destruction of this afflicted mother? Your Majesty had torn my child from me; you had deprived me of the power of being at hand to succour her; you had taken from me the possibility of hearing of her last prayers for her mother; you saw me bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted; and this was the moment you chose for redoubling your persecutions.

Let the world pass its judgment on the constituting of a commission, in a foreign country, consisting of inquisitors, spies, and informers, to discover. collect, and arrange matters of accusation against your wife, without any complaint having been communicated to her: let the world judge of the employment of ambassadors in such a might restore me to her in hap- business, and of the enlisting of Those days, alas! foreign courts in the enterprise:

been adopted to give final effect | metaly upon that report, have to these preliminary proceedings it is for me to speak; it is for me to remonstrate with your Majesty; it is for me to protest; it is for me to apprize you of my determination.

I have always demanded a fair trial. This is what I now demand, and this is refused me. Instead of a fair trial, I am to be subjected to a sentence by the Parliament, passed in the shape of a law. Against this I protest, and upon the following

grounds:--

The injustice of refusing me a clear and distinct charge, of refusing me the names of the witpesses, of refusing me the names of the places where the illegal acts have been committed; these are sufficiently flagrant and revolting; but it is against the constitution of the Court itself that I particularly object, and against that I most solemnly protest.

Whatever may be the precedents as to Bills of Pains and Penalties, none of them, except those relating to the Queen of Henry the Eighth, can apply here; for here your Majesty is the plaintiff. Here it is intended by the Bill to do what you deem good to you, and to do me great harm. You are, therefore, a party, and the only complaining party.

You have made your complaint to the House of Lords. You have conveyed to this House written documents sealed A secret committee of the House have examined these documents. ceeding; and then the House, yourself, and almost the whole

brought forward a Bill containing the most outrageous slanders on me, and sentencing me to divorce and degradation.

The injustice of putting forth this Bill to the world for six weeks before it is even proposed to afford me an opportunity of contradicting its allegations is too manifest not to have shocked the nation; and, indeed, the proceedings even thus far are such as to convince every one that no justice is intended me. But if none of these proceedings. if none of these clear indications of a determination to do me wrong had taken place, I should see, in the constitution of the House of Lords itself, a certainty that I could expect no justice at its hands.

Your Majesty's ministers have advised this prosecution; they are responsible for the advice they give; they are liable to punishment if they fail to make good their charges; and not only are they part of my judges, but it is they who have brought in the Bill; and it is too notorious that they have always a majofity in the House; so that, without any other, here is ample proof that the House will decide in favour of the Bill, and, of course, against me.

But, further, there are reasons for your ministers having a majority in this case, and which reasons do not apply to common cases. Your Majesty is the plaintiff: to you it belongs to appoint and to elevate Peers. They have reported Many of the present Peers have that there are grounds of pro- been raised to that dignity by

greater number of the Peers hold, by themselves and their families, offices, pensions, and other emoluments, solely at the will and pleasure of your Ma-Majesty can take away whenever you please. There are more than four-fifths of the Peers in this situation, and there are many of them who might thus be deprived of the far better part of their incomes.

If, contrary to all expectation, there should be found, in some peers, likely to amount to a majority, a disposition to reject the Bill, some of these peers may be ordered away to their ships, regiments, governments, and other duties; and, which is an equally alarming power, new peers may be created for the purpose, and give their vote in the decision. That your Majesty's ministers would advise these measures, if found necessary to render their prosecution successful, there can be very little doubt; seeing that they have hitherto stopped at nothing, however unjust or odious.

To regard such a body as a Court of Justice would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress an expression of my opinion on the subject would be tacitly to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition upon the nation and the world.

In the House of Commons I can discover no better grounds of security. The power of your in both Houses; and your Ma- to which the female character is

can be, at your will and plea- josty is well acquainted with the sure, further elevated. The far fact, that a majority of this House is composed of persons placed in it by the Peers and by your Majesty's Treasury.

It really gives me pain to state these things to your Majesty, and these, of course, your jesty; and, if it gives your Majesty pain, I beg that it may be observed, and remembered, that the statement has been forced from me. I must either protest against this mode of trial. or, by tacitly consenting to it. suffer my honour to be sacrificed. No innocence can secure the accused if the Judges and Jurors be chosen by the accuser; and if I were tacitly to submit to a tribunal of this description, I should be instrumental in my own dishonour.

On these grounds I protest against this species of trial. demand a trial in a Court where the Jurors are taken impartially from amongst the people, and where the proceedings are open and fair. Such a trial I court, and to no other will I willingly submit. If your Majesty persevere in the present proceeding, I shall even in the Houses of Parliament, face my accusers; but I shall regard any decision they may make against me as not in the smallest degree reflecting on my honour; and I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a Court of Justice.

I have now frankly laid before your Majesty a statement of my wrongs, and a declaration of my views and intentions. Majesty's Ministers is the same You have cast upon me every slur

nouring, and cherishing me, agreeably to your solemn vow, you have pursued me with hatred and scorn, and with all the means of destruction. You wrested from me my child, and with her my only comfort and You sent me sorconsolation. rowing through the world, and even in my sorrows pursued me with unrelenting persecution. Having left me nothing but my innocence, you would now, by a mockery of justice, deprive me (From the New Times, of Tuesday, even of the reputation of possessing that. The poisoned bowl and the poniard are means more manly than perfored witnesses and partial tribunals; and they are less cruel, inasmuch as] life is less valuable than honour. If my life would have satisfied your Majesty, you should have had it on the sole condition of giving me a place in the same tomb with my child: but, since von would send me dishonoured to the grave. I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall please God to give me.

(Signed) CAROLINE, R. Brandenburgh-house, Aug. 7, 1830,

(From the Times.)

Sin,—In your paper of Tuesday last you have the following remark upon a passage in her Majesty's Letter to the king:—"When bereft, forlorn, and broken-hearted by the death of her only child, this was the moment, as her Majesty declares, 'which was chosen for redoubling the persecutions against her.' We dare only hope that this is not a fact; for, if it were, there never yet lived a language containing in it words of reprobation strong enough for a treatment so inhuman."—Namerous facts, in the long catalogue of disgraceful operations abroad, might be doubt not, has been prevailed

Instead of loving, ho- cited to prove the correctness of the statement of her Majerty as to this point; but what do we want more than this-that, in the superscription on the coffin of her child, which contained the names of the illustrious persons from whom she had descended, the name of her mother was omitted! What stab more cruel than this was ever given to a mother's heart? Let the people of England say what her feelings must have been when she, in reading the English papers, saw this proof of the obduracy and malice of her enemies ? I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant.

August 15.)

It is with the most painful feelings that we have to notice the Letter to which the Queen's name has been affixed, and which was yesterday published, as it were officially, in the Journal devoted to the worst purposes of her Majesty's worst adherentz.

Persons of all parties have done us the justice to admit, that whenever we have had occasion to speak of her Majesty's personal conduct, we have most studiously preserved the respect due to her exalted station, and the candour which prohibits all prejudication of her guilt or innocence.

But we cannot remain silent when other persons employ her as a tool of treason. We cannot see the torch prepared to set fire to the four corners of the metropolis, and not cry aloud to every man of property, of respectability, of integrity, to take We are compelled warning. for the information of our readers to lay before them the Letter in question. Her Majesty, we

on to sanction it by her name, afforded in it by two successive but it would be fally to suppose for a moment that she did or could write it. It neither is her. style, nor can it contain her sentiments; for they are the sentiments of a deadly enemy to the House of Brunswick and to the English Constitution. Whathe writer is can only be matter of conjecture. The name of Cobbett has been mentioned; and certainly the composition betrays all the malignity of that writer against the established laws and institutions of the kingdom. Perhaps a more classical pen may have here and there polished off the vulgarity of the author of the Twopenny Register; but upon the whole, we know no person so likely as he, to have given at least the sketch of this most detestable Letter.

It is addressed ostensibly to the King, but really to the mob. Its true object is to rouse the mob to action; as they have recently been acting at Palermo, and as Thistlewood meant them to have acted in London. Let ns never forget the declaration of that traitor-that he honed to see the Shops of London shut up, and those Aristocrats, the Shopkeepers, well plundered. This is the hope of the writer of This is the effect the letter. which his labours are calculated to produce, if the middle class of people persist in blinding themselves to the real nature of the impending danger.

The Queen is either innocent

investigations by the two Houses of the British Parliament. the writer of the letter makes her act as a guilty person, reviling and defying the Sovereign, and the Legislature, but offering not one syllable of argument to remove the suspicions which notorious circumstances have attached to her conduct. We say, therefore, that the object of the writer cannot have been to justify the Queen in the slightest degree. It must have been to excite the mob of London to resistance against the laws and the Legislature. The Times praises the composition, as "calculated to rouse every generous and manly moral teeling. We say it was calculated to rouse Sedition, and nothing else. What! Is it and nothing else. generous and manly to tell the whole Peerage of England that no justice is to be expected at their hands? This is supposed to be said too, by a person who in the same breath complains of " outrageous slanders." Whether the Queen has or has not been standered we shall certainly know a little better when the evidence has been examined, than we do now. If she has been so, we fervently hope that her character may be effectually cleared; but at all events, the Letter writer outrageously slanders the most august assembly in the kingdom; and he manifestly does this to bring them into hatred and contempt among the people, to create popular or guilty. If she be innocent, it discontent and disaffection; in is utterly impossible that her short to bring about a revoluinnocence can have a better pro- tion, and make London a scene tection than that which will be of pillage and bloodshed.

In one passage, a directly however, will be on their guard treasonable menace is held out. The Queen is made to say, with reference to the Bill of Pains and Penalties now legally and constitutionally depending in Parliament, "I will not, except compelled by actual force, submit to any sentence which shall not be pronounced by a Court of Justice "+and again, " Since you would send me dishonoured to my grave, I will resist the attempt with all the means that it shall nlease God to give me." Coupling these passages together, we do not hesitate to say, that they avow a doctrine clearly treaspnable. The Queen is a subject, and is as much bound, as any other subject to submit to the laws which may be passed by the Legislature, and she has as little right as any other subject to resist those laws. By the Constitution of England, a Bill of Pains and Penalties is as much within the competency of the Legislature as any other law. and to resist it is as criminal as to resist any other law. The Queen might as well say that she will resist the Bill of Rights, or the Act of Settlement, as that she will resist the Bill of Pains and Penalties, in case it shall be passed. We repeat, that though these seditious and treasonable dogtrines are avowed in the Letter bearing her Majesty's name, we do not attribute them to her, for we believe that she cannot even comprehend them; but her signature has in all probability been surreptitiously obtained to this document for purposes totally foreign to her Majesty's wishes. The public, to fancy two grave doctors,

against the prosecution of purposes so diabolical; and since threats of popular tumult are so distinctly held out, we trust that every loyal man will be prepared to cut down the Insurrection the moment it is attempted.

Calvin monipolitical than rule (From the Courier.)

The Queen's Letter, says her partisans, has produced a great It certainly has-but it is one which she and her inflammatory counsellors did not anticipate.

We know not whether the blindness and violence of her advocates were capable of receiving any addition even from this libel; but we are satisfied from the alarm of all the prudent, the disgust of all the virtuous, the indignation of all the loyal, have been excited in a powerful degree by that shameless publication—a publication as shameless as its authors, and as shameless as its object.

It affects to be written by the Queen-it is notoriously written by her. The cant of maternal feelings with which it is filled, are the cool suggestions of a hired penman. The tears it talks of were never shed, but in the libeller's ink. The tender feelings of the female heart which it describes. are the florid inventions of a big-wigged rhetorician. short, it is, although the Queen has written her name at the bottom of it, an impudent fabrication and fraud; and it is at once ludicrons and disgusting,

who, as Shakspeare says of Car-1 moved from her influence heads together, to describe the throes of a mother's afflictions. and the niceties of femule de-But let us leave the licacy. "woman's tears" of Doctor Parr, and the "feminine sighs" of Doctor Reynolds, and turn to other topics of this letter of much greater importance.

The Queen is made to recur to the former investigationsfatal advice! On the part of the public, it had been announced, that her late conduct only should be examined; in mercy to her, in mercy to public decency, it was resolved to draw a veil over all her former life. But the Doctors now tear off that veil-they insist upon reviving all those discussions;they drag the guardians of the public interests and honour back into a contest which the latter had, in pity, and charity, abandoned.

We know not what the effect of this amazing challenge may be—we know not how far forbearance may be pushed; but we know what might, and what, in strict justice, since she demands it, ought to be done. Her whole life ought to be reexamined-it ought to be shown that, charged with a thousand tations, save that one, which risen up in odious succession, and that her daughter was re-stances, cannot be worth much.

dinal Campeius, "never had a save her morals and character. child," laving their wigged This is the effect which the zealous Doctors did not foresee -They think that the friends of the Crown are to be strictly confined to one point of time. and one kind of charge; while they may fly round every point of the compass, and through all portions of time, and may endeavour to bully their antagonists, who, as they suppose. cannot step out of the narrow circle of the family of Bergami. For ourselves, it is not for us to say whether this deliance ought. with a view to public morals, to be accepted or not. enough for as to show that it has been made, and to have given a slight sketch of the consequences which might justly follow it.

One other observation we. cannot help making; the letter of the Doctors abuses, in the grossest terms, the Commission which conducted the former investigation—it libels the witnesses on that investigation, and involves the whole proceeding in one sweeping accusation of falsehood and illegality; and yet it is of a supposed acquittal by this very Commission that the Queen is made to boast so loudly. We beg pardon for attempting to call to Doctor offences, sho never was acquitted, Parr's recollection his forgotton but of one—that all the impu- logie; but he, surely, as well as all mankind, must be aware. have for a series of twenty years that if the witnesses were all perjured, and the evidence all were none of them ever dis- garbled, and the tribunal all proved—that his late Majesty corrupt and illegal, the acquittal publicly reprobated her conduct; pronounced, under such circumADDRESS OF THE MARRIED LADIES.

" MADAM - Whilst thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-subjects are approaching Your Majesty with assurances of homage and affection-whilst addresses even from the remoter parts of the kingdom are laid at your feet-permit us, your Majesty's neighbours, as wives, and the mistresses of families, in and near the metropolis, to approach you. We are unaccustomed to public acts, and uninfinenced by party feelings; vet we cannot be excluded from offering to your Majesty's notice our sympathy and devotion. Grateful to the Constitution under which it is our happiness to live-saved also by our rank in the middle classes of society, from the dangers attendant on high ty's cause to the integrity of rank or poverty, and protected your own great mind; to the by our husbands, we may hardly zeal, to the honour, and the be supposed judges of all the ability of your legal advisers, value of your Majesty's conduct; who will have for their reward but, Madam, we admire your a nation's gratitude; but, above magnanimity, and we adore that all, to our all-seeing and merwomanly feeling which has ciful God-to that God whom made your Majesty treat with no one can prevent our addresscontempt every offer, the ten- ing, and teaching our children dency of which was to compro- to address, in fervent prayers for mise your honour, and we thank your protection. you for it in the name of our, eex.

treated with the respect due to selves your exalted rank, our hearts: would have throbbed with ardent interest in your cause, and with love to your person; and, leaving to our husbands and sons all public expression of pleased to return the following feeling, we should have confined ours to our domestic circles;

but now. Madam, the indignation we feel for the crael treatment of your Majesty bursts every barrier between us, and we hasten to express at your feet the warm, the almost overwhelming interest with which we are inspired: and be assured, Madam, our judgments are quite as much enlisted in your Majesty's service as our feelings: to the dreadful for. added charges against you, are not new crimes found out by your enemies? and new modes of judging them, unknown alike to common law and common sense? Under these circumstances. scarcely less than a miracle, we think, can procure your justification, refused a your Majesty has been every means of fairly meeting the accusations against you. We commit your Majes-

" And now, Madam, in simplicity of style, and sincerity of " Had your Majesty been heart, we beg to subscribe our-

" Your Majesty's dutiful, affectionate, and loyal subiects and servants."

Her Majesty was graciously answer:---

" In this honest and affection-

are wives and bours. who mothers of families in and near the metropolis, I gratefully acknowledge the sympathy which they express for my many sorrows, and the indignation which they feel for my unnumbered wrongs. The approbation of my own sex must be ever dear to my heart; and it must be more particularly gratifying when it is the approbation of mothers of families in and near this enlightened metropolis.

"When my honour is attacked, every loval Englishwoman must feel it as an imputation The virtues of upon her own. sovereigns are not circumscribed in their influence or insulated in They put in their operations. motion a wide circle of the imitative propensity in the subordinate conditions of life. Thus the virtues of the great become the property of the people; and the people are interested in preserving them from slanderous contamination.

" The present procedure against me is like a wilful attempt on the part of blind phrenzy or improvident malice to destroy the moral character To lessen of the monarchy. this moral character in public estimation is not merely to degrade the Queen, but to shatter into atoms that reverential respect which gives strength to the sceptre and dignity to the Sovereign.

" I shall never sacrifice that honour which is the glory of a

ate address from my female neigh- in the world would be purchased too dear if they were obtained at the price of self-condemnation. I can never be debased while I observe the great maxim of respecting myself.

"In this era of ceaseless change, and of violent agitation. when whole nations seem tossed. like individuals, on the ocean of storms, no circumstances, however menacing, shall shake the constancy of my attachment to the English nation, or estrange my affections from the general good of the community. fature is wisely covered with an opaque cloud; but whatever may be my destiny, I will cherish in all vicissitudes, and preserve in all fortunes, that resignation to the Divine will, which, in propertion as it becomes an habitual sentiment of the mind. improves all its virtues, and elevates the general character."

ANSWER TO THE GREENWICH A DDRESS.

" In this cordial, this friendly the inhabitants Greenwich have strongly excited my sympathies, and interested my heart. In the most vivid manner they have recalled to my memory those times over which oblivion will never throw a veil. They have reminded me of those past days when I lived among them, when I visited their houses and traversed their fields; when I partook of their social festivities, and was woman, and the brightest jewel united in their sacred rites: of a Queen, for any earthly con- when I was rendered happy by sideration. All the possessions ministering to the wants of

some, and by adding to the cordial thanks for this impressive comforts of others; and, above testimony of their affectionate reall, when my heart was lifted gard. Whatever may have been to God in gratitude because my the afflictions which I have ears were cheered with the benedictions of the poor. that period which the kind hearted inhabitants of Greenwich so powerfully recall to my recollection: nor can I ever be unmindful that it was a period in which I could behold that countenance which I never beheld without vivid delight, and to hear that voice which to my fond ears was like music breathing over violets. Can I forget! No; my soul will never suffer me to forget that, when the cold remains of this beloved object were deposited in the tomb, the malice of my persecutors would not suffer even the name of the mother to be inscribed upon the coffin of her child. Of all the indignities which I have experienced, this is one which, minute as it may seem, has affected me as much as all the rest. But if it were minute, it was not to my agonising sensibility. It was a dagger directed by unrelenting hate, not to the surface, but to the very centre of a mother's If little circumstances mark character, that which I have mentioned will not fail to fix a note of indelible infamy upon that ferecious persecution which has troubled my peace and imbittered my days."

ANSWER TO THE BOROUGH OF AYLESBURY.

"The inhabitants of the bo-

been visited by Providence, I' This is know my duty to Heaven too well to murmur at any of its' dispensations. The sorrows that are scattered over the surface of human life are usually transient, though often recurring. They come and go-they depart and return, like the wind and the rain; but my sorrows have not been of this kind. They have not merely flitted over my nerves in the shades of the evening, to disappear when the East reddened with the dawn: they have been a long, a dark, an almost interminable night, which malice, like that of a fiend, has thrown over my soul for a quarter of a century. But the people of England think that I have been sufficiently tortured maligaity, and saddened by woe. Their vivid sympathies and their glowing affections hegin to dissipate the thick darkness that covered my prospects, and to announce the day-spring a life more serene, when my wrongs shall be redressed, and my persecutions come to an end.

"Those persons who could instigate or advise that the name of the Queen should, contrary to all usage, be omitted in our national prayers, must have had their hearts far from God. Such an omission is at variance with that charity, without which, all our adoration is mere mummery, and all our Hosannas only emp-

ty air.

"The injustice of my enemies rough of Aylesbury have my has been so great, and indeed

so monstrous, that the account! of it will hereafter be numbered among the prodigies in the moral history of man. It is the extremity of barbarism in an age of high civilization. cause I have violated no law. a Bill of Pains and Penalties has been introduced into the House of Lords to destroy me without But the people of England have not minds of inert clay, or hearts of impenetrable stone. They know, they see. they feel my unparalleled wrongs. Every man, every woman, nay, every child, is alive to the sympathy they have inspired. Oppression always sanctifies its object. In this order of things the Almighty has written his decree against cruelty and injustice."

ANSWER TO THE TOWN OF WYCOMBE.

" The worthy Mayor, Bailiffs, Burgesses, and other inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of High Wycombe have a claim upon my gratitude, for this honest demonstration of their affectionate regard. I read with a melancholy interest their unaffected expressions of condolence for the sad chasm which the death of so many dear relatives has made in my domestic affinities. With respect to some of these numerous losses, Time has drawn his mitigating touch over the lacerated surface of my agonised breast: yet others have left a painful impression upon my memory which cannot be effaced while memory remains. But I bend with reverence, and I submit with equanimity to the

Power, whose moral government cannot be wanting in benevolent design, even wherethat design is inscrutable to the human understanding.

"After a long absence fromthese realms, my return hasseemed to my own feelings almost like the renovation of the Spring. Wherever I have been. whether in cities, towns, or villages, I have heard the transporting sounds of popular joy: and in every countenance which I happen to pass, I can tracea vivid expression of complacency, and perceive an exhilirating smile. This is that aweet. satisfaction which I would not exchange for any other grosser pleasure which life has to bestow...

"The love of mankind is the noblest ambition of sovereigns. The consciousness of it is a permetual feast. It is security in the day, and repose during the night. It inspires a delight, which never cloys, and it will be a ray of comfort in that parting hour, when the messenger of THE ETERNAL reads a lesson of wisdom to the thoughtless, and teaches even kings that they are but men!"

ANSWER TO THE MIDDLESEX. ADDRESS.

affinities. With respect to some of these numerous losses, Time has drawn his mitigating touch over the lacerated surface of my agonised breast; yet others have left a painful impression upon my memory which cannot be effaced while memory remains. But I bend with reverence, and I submit with equanimity to the wise decisions of that Highest

patriots so pure.

age, which is seen in the intellectual advancement of man through all the gradations of the social scheme, is particularly visible in this metropolitan countv. Here the dissemination of knowledge is found to have the most salutary effects. Here moral worth is most resplendent. Here beneficence most abounds. Here those sentiments and affections are most operative, that exclude intolerance from the mind, and give the most comprehensive charity to the heart. Here liberty finds its most impenetrable shield; and tyranny has to contend with its most determined foe.

"My frank and unreserved disposition may, at times, have laid my conduct open to the misrepresentations of my adversaries. Conscious that my motives are pure, and my heart upright, I have never sought any refuge even from the infuriated eye of malignity, in the coverts of duplicity, or in the obscurities of fraud. I am what I seem, and I seem' what I am. And, though calumny, aided by perjury, is now making its last desperate attack upon my character, yet I feel no fear except it be the fear that my character should not be sufficiently investigated. I challenge every invigilant scrutiny.

that has not elevated my cha- forsake me in the tomb."

gard from men so enlightened, racter, and humbled that of my philanthropists so generous, and enemies? During a period of twenty-five years I have been. "The improved spirit of the exposed to the most persecuting inquisition. In private life virtue is thought to bloom like the primrose in the shade; but I have been placed in circumstances where temptation operates with double force, and where vice assumes the most fuscinating lures; and yet what credible proof has yet been produced that I have once crred from the nath of innoccuce.

"The Freeholders of Middlesex could not make use of expressions more gratifying to my pride, or more sacred to my soul, than by telling me that I occupy in the affections of the people that place which the Princess Charlotte so eminently possessed. It inspires me with a sort of hallowed ecstacy when I perceive how much and how tenderly this generous nation still cherishes her vegerated

memory.

"The voice of the people, which has been so generally expressed in favour of my integrity, has cheered me in the most trying circumstances; and if I were to reach the fatal moment of my expiration on the morrow, it would still murmur pleasure in my cars.

"When the Freeholders of Middlesex congratulate me upon having such fair associates as Truth and Justice in my train, quiry. I deprecate not the most I must implore the Author of all good, that as they have been "My life has been a life of my solace in time past, they may trial. But what trial is there remain my inseparable comwhich I have yet undergone panions through life, and not

ADDRESS FROM ST. LEONARD'S, [ple of faithfulness to your mar-SHOREDITCH.

- " TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY CAROLINE ELIZABETH, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.
 - " The dutiful and loyal Address of the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch :--
- "We, your Majesty's loyal subjects, the Householders and Inhabitants of the Parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, beg leave to approach your Majesty with our sincere and affectionate congratulations on your accession to the dignity of Queen of these realms, and to assure you of our zealous attachment to your interests, and of our profound respect for your exalted character.

" It cannot but occur to your Majesty that the peculiar and anxious situation in which your Majesty is placed leads us to approach your Royal presence with the expression of our joy at your arrival, our sympathy in your afflictions, and our confidence in your ultimate triumph over your enemies, in the triamph of justice and of truth, over vice, indignity, venality, and falsehood.

" Sensible of the lustre which virtue gives, and which virtue only can give to Royalty, strong-Iv impressed with the importance of the example set by those who are called on to fill high stations in society to the preservation of the religious and moral character of the nation, we hall your Majesty's return the means of refutation, and with joy, convinced that your founds your trial upon the war-Illustrious and dignified exam- rant for your degradation.

riage vow, under circumstances the most trying to the female heart, will strengthen the influence of that honourable institution, check the demoralizing influence of an opposite example. and the consequent circulation of corrupt manners, and bring the dispositions that are lovely in private life into the service of the Commonwealth.

" Our sympathy has, in common with the great mass of our fellow subjects, been powerfully and painfully excited in your favour by the unjust and cruel persecution to which you are again subjected; and our minds' have thus been naturally led to dwell on your sufferings; and while we admire your humble resignation to the severest afflictions of the Divine Will, we rejoice to see the lofty energies of your character as displayed in the high-minded resistance you have opposed to the rancorous fatuity of your enemies.

"We cannot view the unconstitutional mode of attack adopted against your Majesty without feeling grieved that under circumstances calculated to excite the best feelings of humanity in your favour, and to give a generous impulse to the manly feelings of your natural Protector, you should be subjected to a mode of prosecution almost bidding defiance to vindication from the vagueness of the imputations, which, while it enlists your accusers in the hlimber of your judges, refuses' you

"We have hitherto conceived, ! and we still presume to think, . that the preparation to sentences should follow, and not precede, the trial of the accused. In the instance to which we refern this principle is inverted, and we see that the act for your degradation is the foundation of your trial; that that proceeding, which necessarily pre-supposes guilt, is the first step towards inquiry into its existence.

"We have heard of the omnipotence of Parliament, but we presume to doubt its power to invert the principles of justice, and to convince society in the present age of the prophety of its proceedings.

"Be assured, Madam, that while your enemies thus seek to bind their victim, that they may secure its sacrifice, they betray their consciousness of their own weakness, and of your strength, that in your absence the people of England have learnt from sad experience how to estimate the reports of Secret Committees, how to appreciate the contents of sealed bags, and are convinced that every one that doeth evil, hateth the hight, but that 'he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest.'

While addressing you in your constitutional character of Queen of England, we may be allowed to add, that when we contrast the present proceeding against the first subject of the realm, with the refusal of all inquiry into a recent outrage against the poorer subjects of act upon it in approaching your

this kingdom; when we see that neither the magnanimens and dignified boldness of your behaviour, the conviction, in the expression of which your anemies have unblushingly joined, that their proceedings are injurious to the best interests of the empire, can check an anomalous and unprincipled mode of inquiry in the one case-nor the supplications of injured poverty procure it, by the ordinary and constitutional modes, in theather -it induces the melancholy conviction, that the love of justice, and the good of this country. are not the objects which influence those whose proceedings we are now canvasting. seek not, Illustrious Lady, to obtain from you, in your present aituation, the expression of any sentiment foreign to the subject which leads us to address you. It is, however, but natural in us to contrast the inconsistencies of your persecutors, when expressing our sympathy in your sufferings—our regard for your interests -- our affection for our Queen.

"The people of England have been accused of rallying round your Majesty, and prejedging the circumstances of your aitua-We have been taught. tion. Madam, until now, that to rally round Majesty was the first duty of subjects, and an evidence of loyalty; that it was a first principle of justice, and one on which the administration of English jurisprodence was founded. to preserve the innocence of the accused until guilt is proved. We admire the principle; we

presence; and beyond our jus- of our hearts, that you may exsification on this principle, we pose their machinations, and accrifications, in the present in-triumph over their malice, and runnie. by the knowledge that that we muy see you restored to . ibuhare before vindicated your-- self from similar aspersions, and . that the pation, under the guidando of our late venerable Monaich, your father-in-law, then pronounced them to be found-- aid in takehowe and approrted "by perjurate " ' " ' " ' " '

- 134 dt is the property of thath to consound its adversaries, and in the validations of your enenies we sed this exemplified. this are evidently imable to appreciate ligh principlesfelding that, among the grovelhind south arrayed against vol. every man had his price, they con--ceived that 30,000% ber annum would purchase selumission to any brinciple, bowever base, to sany imputation, however gress. We winise the noble determiwation which led you to answer this offer in the British capital, and to reject the misdirected dddrass of another assemblyin shows to us you estimate the people of England as superior to so wicked, so base a compre-Third.

Be assured, noble Lady, that the strongest and the best sympathies of our nature are excited in your favour, and enlisted in your cause—that though forbidden to aspirate your name in the public forms of religion, we need not the flat of earthly majesty to authorise our appeal to the common Parent of man, that you have our prayers the more fervently, because they are opposed by your enemies; and that it is the earnest wish of any particular allegation. the confidence of the

all your constitutional rights, and crowned Queen of these realms.

"W. JENNIEGE, Churchmardens," " Rt. Pearce,

ANSWER.

"The householders and inhabitants of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this affectionate address. The long series of persecutions by which have been assailed, though they have been successfully defeated, have been as constantly renewed. The present atrocious attack upon my moral character and upon my royal dignity, is designed by my enemies to produce that catastrophe which is to terminate this drama of iniquity. But the good people of England are not willing to sec. a new reign open with a tragedy.

" The inhabitants of St., Leonard, Shoreditch, will remark, that the charges against me are of the most vague and indefinite kind. They have no palpable form, no distinct individual cha-Such vague generaliracter. ties of accusation are the common refuge of slander, when it asperses without evidence and condemns without proof In the present instance, the charge against me is so indeterminate, that it is more like an inquisition into the conduct of a whole life, than into the truth

condemn me without proofrefinement in legislative science, proceed to inquire whether there is any proof to justify the condemnation. They first pre-judge my case, and then attempt to colour the injustice by a sort of judicial parade, which this age will never approve, and which posterity will abhor. Instice has been denominated even-handed; but what should we think of that emplemetical of whose hands the acquier had put not only a green bag of perjury, but a yellow bag of gold."

TO THE MECHANICS AND ARTISANS.

" I am much gratified and unfeignedly obliged by this warm and affectionate address from the Industrious Classes in and about the great metropolic of these realms. It affords me unspeakable satisfaction to find that this mighty city contains myriads of such persons, among whom there is a large stock of virtue and of intelligence, who condole with my sorrows, and who kindle with indignation at my wrongs. The Industrious Classes have shewn that they still retain that independence of mind which is inflexible to external circumstances, and which was once the proud boast and characteristic property of every of subsistence by the sweat of Englishman. Though the gan-the brow, is the institution of grene of corruption has en- Providence for the benefit of

"In their Bill of Pains and gendered a deliasing venality Penalties my adversaries first and a few sing chanquiousness, in detached portions of the comand then, with a sort of novel munity, yet Britain still retains a large portion of that heart of oak which for so many ages has made its name glorious and its appear bright.

> "The Industrious Clarses of the nation constitute the vital energy of the state. In the great fabric of society they are the strongth at the bettom which supports the ornament at the

ton

"The productive powers of figure of judicial purity, in one the country are its real newers. For out of what other source is consumption supplied 1 What olse is it that muitiplies gratification of all kinds? To what else is affluence indebted for its splendour, or heauty for its decorations? Where rank is measured by usefulness, no reflecting mind will say that the Industrions Classes occupy the invest step in the ascent of honeurable ambition or estimable Gerne.

" There have been times, and perhaps those times way still be, which the hard-carned bread of the long-toiling peasant or mechanic is insufficient for his numerous family, when the per pary of the day has been seicceeded by the inquietude of the night, and when night and day, and day and night, have been only a sad succession of pining wretchedness and hopeless woe. That order of things, which, in a large portion of the community, necessitates the acquisition

man; but who does not see ! , that it is not evering to the wisdom of the Deity, but to the -hard-heartedness of the oppresser, when the sweat of the brow during the day is followed doy the tear of affliction at its close, when the labour of the hand only adds to the aching of the beart, and what ought to she a source of joy is an aggrawation of calamity? But if these things have been, I may pershaps be permitted to hope that they will be ere long only as the troubled scenery of a dream, and that happier times are approaching, when commerce will prowd our rivers, trade be busy in our streets, and industry mmiling in our fields."

TO THE INHABITANTS OF HAMMERSMITH.

"I am sensibly impressed and deeply obliged by this affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Hammersmith, amongst whom I have my present temporary residence. I have always rejoiced in the folicitations of neighbours and in the charities of neighbourhood.

"The day on which the remains of the Princess Charlette splendid were committed to the silent shame."

. 450 1.3

temb was a day of deep sorrow to the nation. Birt'if the nation wept, it was not merely because youth and beauty had withered, and wit and elegance had vanished in the grave. These were common occurrences; but it is not a common occurrence to see every virtue in a successor to the throne; and, in the mirror of those virtues, to behold the mation emerging from wretchedness, "servitude, and disgrace, to freedom, to glory, and to happiness.

" All Europe has its eyes fixed on the present procedure in the House of Lords. I shall have to appear at the bar of that House; but that House itself will have to appear at the bar of public opinion throughout the world; I shall have to defend myself against their accusations: but they will have to defend themselves against the proaches of individual conscience, as well as the impartial condemnation of the age which . now is and of that which is to come. To have been one of the Peers who, after accusing and condemning, affected to sit. in judgment on Queen Caroline. will be a sure passport to the splendid notoriety of everlasting

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COBBETT'S WEEKLYPOLITICAL REGISTER.

LONDON, SATURDAY, August 26, 1820. or. 87 .--- No. 6.1

TO

THE CLERGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

Their Conduct relative to the Queen, and on other Matters in which they are deeply concerned.

London, 22d August, 1620.

REVEREND SIRE.

You, who act so conspicuous a part in all other questions of great public interest, have kept yourselves close and snug upon the present occasion, while your flocks have been uncommonly active and zealous. When the late war was like to flag, continuation of it with vigour as you? A sort of panie seized case?

additional vigour. Who so forward as you in obeying the injunctions of Sidmouth arainst the press? And who so active in all the measures of hostility against the Reformers?

To what, then, are we to ascribe your silence upon the present occasion? Here, is a Queen attacked, and your loyalty is dormant. Here it is proposed to dissolve the marriage of a King and Queen by a mere act of Parliament; and you are silent! The Queen is not even accused of adultery, and yet it is proposed to put her away. Now, you know well, that Jesus Christ positively forbids the putting away of a wife on any account other than that of her having committed adultery. If we are to disregard his words in who so eager to urge on the this case, what is to induce us to attend to them in any other If the Queen be put you at every prospect of a away, or attempted to be put sheathing of the sword. Is away, upon any other than this 1812, when the nation in gene-one ground, and if you continue ral sighed for peace, you came silent on the subject, what are forward with addresses, urging we to think of the matter? We pushing on of the war with have seen you active enough on

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your pulpits resound with denunciations against the French and against the Reformers, neither of whom pretended to attempt the violation of any precept of the Gospel; and, therefore, if you continue silent now, what is the conclusion that we ought to draw? Your parishioners are, in every quarter, expressing their attachment to the persecuted Queen, and their abhorrence of the conduct of the persecutors; but never has one of you been seen at the head, nor even at the heels, of any body of the people, engaged in so truly a religious work.. One would think that this was, of all cases, a case to call for your interference; and yet you are silent as the tomb.

one has dared openly to assail her Majesty, and that, too, with a degree of malignity worthy a Dominican Monk. The Queen has been assailed by the editors of the Morning Post, the Courier, and by other hacks, notoriously the tools of corruption. pamphlet; and the county of mity with this advice. Lancaster, which contains so

other occasions: we have heard | many good men, contains this base and savage assailant; this son of corruption and hypocrisy, who pretends that the Queen was not acquitted in 1806, and who has the audacity to say, that she ought now to be set aside for the sake of the morals of the country!

> As these are, probably, the grounds that you all take, I will endeavour to place them in their true light. You do not need this: you know how false these grounds are: but it may be useful to shew their falsehood, in order that those who may affect to act upon them may be duly estimated; that is to say, that they may be loaded with public execration.

The Lancashire parson (who dates his infamous publication Not all of you, however, for from Manchester) affects to believe that, although the Queen was acquitted of the charge of having had a child, she was not acquitted of levity of conduct; that the four Lords found ber guilty of that; that they advised the late King to remonstrate with her on the subject, But it was reserved for the and to request that she would Church to send forth a champion be more reserved in future; and of corruption in the shape of a that the King did act in confor-

This is true; but this reve-

rend slanderer chooses to forget, of the proceeding just then lowed to appear; that she had the charge; that she was, in short, never made acquainted with the existence of the inquiry, until after the inquiry was all over, and the tribunal dissolved! The reverend reviler chooses to forget, that the moment this innocent woman heard of this charge of levity, she repelled it; she declared it to be false; she wrote to the King complaining that justice had not been done her; and dea foul conspisacy against her; full investigation, the opportunity.

for this were, on his part, matural enough. He knew, that who had been the instigators " these wretches to be per-

that this finding guilty of levily closed. He convinced the Prinwas Jy, a tribunal, before whom coss that he was satisfied of her the accused person was not al-innocence. He received her at his court; he frequently visited no means afforded of rebutting her himself; and he prevailed on her to let the matter rest, To this she, in her great goodness and generosity, consented; but, she is now punished for that goodness and generosity by the foul accusations of men like . this reverend slanderer.

This foul-mouthed priest would have us believe, that the Queen received a reprimand. from the late King; that she took it in silence; that she too. citly pleaded guilty to the charge manding a full and fair inves- of levity of conduct. But, the She asserted, that fact is, that she did not receive those who had sworn to the the reprimend; she rejected it; levities were as much perjured she repelled the charge; she as those who had avery to the said it had proceeded from the child-bearing: she asserted, that lips of perjured witnesses; and the whole had proceeded from she, accordingly, requested a that ..she pledged berself to might prove this. Did this arprove this, if she were allowed gue guilt? Did this argue truth on the side of her accusers? She The King was advised not to said, "I will not receive this grant this request. The motives " reprimand: it is unjust: your " Majesty has had the result of " false witnesses laid before such inquiry must operate, in "you: give me a full and fair its result; injuriously to those "investigation; and I will prove

she should not be heard before an open court; and they also found out, that the tribunal know not, was of a sort, that to swear falsely before it was not to commit perjury!

Upon what ground, then, does this malignant hypocrite pretend, that her Majesty was convicted of levities in 1806? If. indeed, she had submitted to be reprimanded, it would have been another thing; but she never did; and, there was no more ground for it than there was for sentencing her to death on the charge of adultery. The witnesses, who swore to the levities were, some of them, amongst those who swore to the childbearing. A Fanny Lloyd was one of these. And, here we have an instance of the manner. in which the affair was conducted. Lord Moira, now Marquis of Hastings and Governor of India, acted a conspicuous part in this affair. He had the tribunal. Fanny Lloyd was was suppressed. The Doctor's brought, by some means or other, name was never more mea-

" fured." In answer to this, the | induced the "high-minded" nosame persons who had advised bleman; who it was that prethe secret tribunal, advised, that vailed on him to act in this capacity (he being Master General of the Ordnance at the time) & Well: Fanny was which they had before devised before these two personages; and, so being, Fanny swore. that, in 1802, an Apothecary at Greenwich, who used to attend at the Princess's, told her, that he was sure, that the Princess was with child. Oh, oh! Here came in a Doctor! The Doctor was sent for by Lord Moira, and the Doctor said, that Fanny had sworn to a lie; for, that, not only had he never told Fanny any such a thing; but that such a thought had never come intohis head! This was strange: But, the Doctor had a partner : and it might have been he. No better luck here. So that Fanny's evidence, as to this point, remained a lie: a clear, sheer, unqualified lie. Nevertheless (and now mark!) Fanny was sent before the Tribunal after this! There Fanny swore stoutly to the levities. But, that which Fanny had sworn about the a hand in collecting evidence for Doctor and the child-bearing to his house, and before him and tioned; and, while the King Lowten, the attorney. What had a full account of what Fanny

had sworn about the levities, " field's garden with Mr. Chesshe had before sworn to about the Doctor!

through the means of discussions made .to: the King respecting these levities; and, amongst other things; he stated this matthe Doctor. Lord Moira wrote a letter to Mr. Whitbread, explaining his conduct; but, that letter only proved the fact: it did nothing at all towards rethe fact was calculated to make.

Fanny Lloyd's is merely a which the charge of levite was founded. In the documents, tail of the evidence; but, the answers only of the witnesses were given, and not the ques-

he had no account at all of what "ter, who is a pretty young "man." But, Mr. Whitbrend showed, that, in fact, Mrs. Little These facts came out, in 1813, had meant no such insinuation as the one here contained. Havin parliament. Mr. Whitbread ing been asked, whether the then showed how unfair was Princess did not walk out alone the representation, that had been with Mr. Chester, she said-"Yes." She was asked: "Mr. "Chester is a handsome young "man, is he not?" To which ter relating to Fanny Lloyd and she answered, " he is pretty." This is very different indeed from saying, that the Princess walked out alone with a praty young man. And, in short, Mrs. Lizle, upon seeing an account of moving the impressions, which her evidence published, in 1818. went to Mr. Whithread and told him, that she never meant to exspecimen of the evidence, on press the insinuation, contained in the report of her evidence; and, which reports let it be oblaid before the King, was a de- served, she had never men, until THE BOOK was published in 1813.

This is a specimen, and a more tions which produced these an- specimen, of the means by And, all the world which the late King was inknows how very different things duced to send a reprimand to appear in consequence of the the Princess. This reprimand, suppression of questions. For I repeat, she never necessary instance, in the report of Mrs. that is, she never acquiesced in Lists's avidence, there was this: it; she never allowed it to be "the Princess walked out alone, just; she denied the facts on "for some time, in Lord Shef- which it was founded; she said: " fair trial: let me be heard in Sing defence : I will show all "this evidence to be false." This full and fair trial was refused; and, of course, she was to be regarded as a salumniated woman from the Meginbing to the end; and all the charges were to be regarded as totally groundless.

The incentity of malice and the greediness to profit by carsuptions have :discovered in the apprental of the child-change a Droof of the truth of the charge of levely, or, in the felsehood of the linding of the levity, a proof of the falséhood of the acquistal of the child-charge. The Tribunal; say the corrupt, if it skil senong in deciding upon sharife. This is a very poor a Ratheal. What! is it any thing man, then, for men to acknow- tence of reprimand a little more letige, that one false charge is closely. Suppose the four false and to persist that another Peers had found evidence dalse charge is true? When the support the charge of child walf: was besten on his first bearing; that would have to be supposed, that the four you say, that, upon their making

"I will not submit to this re- | had no pamer to hear evidence "primand; give me a full, and on the offier side. It was an emparts thing altogether. Agrand jury may acquit on the capital charge, find on a mindrehance; and yet the pasty may be act exitted of that charge too on trial, when he kinself comes to be heard. But, the Green never was heard : and this was the error of those four Poers; that. they recommended the King to reprintmed the Princess. without having beardiher in her defences which is much about the same thing as it would be for:a grand jury to recommended the punishing of an booused party (against whom they hadfound a bili) without betting the party have a trial; and this, I suppose, is what the severend Manchester shunderer would the charge of levity, also wid handly have the impudence to earning in devialing on the child- call justice, except in the case of

But, let us look at this vencharge against the lamb, was he been high treason in the Prinat a loss to find a second? It is cess. But, reverend Sirs, will worthy Poers were deceived by the King a report of this evithe witnesses. At any rate, they dence, and recommending to

him to cause the Princess to be dent to all eyes: it must be beheaded and quartered, the as clear as the noon day sun. King pught to have ordered her And, therefore, to find guilt fer blacky execution? I do not here was impossible, unless the know, that the reverend slanderer evidence had fully beene out the sav. that the King ought to have a charge that must be proved to been advised to act upon such a be true, or false, at once. But, not? Why, not, seeing that he room for opinion, for estimate. There is no atgument, by which the latter can be justified, that would not have justified the former: if the sentence of pillory can be indicted upon the recommendation of a grand jury, cause the punishment of death would be anywet, it by no means pillery would be rust.

There were two charges cowl.

of Monchester: would not say charge; and to acquit was imeven this; but will the nation, possible also, unless the evil! will any just man in the world dence had been clear. This was recommendation? And yet, why a charge of levity gave at much was, upon a report of those for taste, in the judges; and for' Pears, without any thing further, humour, for sinister motives, for advised to cause to be executed likings and distikings, for whim. the Sunishment of reprimand? for many little movements of the heart; so much depended upon trifling differences of expression, upon surmises, upon the eves with which witnesses see, and upon their own aptitude of judging of others by themselves: without subsequent trial, so can in short, this was a charge, that the sentence of death; and, be- might, with a judicious selection of witnesses, be sustained against any woman that ever breathed. follows, that the punishment of not excepting the holy sisterhoods that wear the veil and the-Therefore, any body against the Princess before the but a wretch fed with the lar-Secret Tribunal in 1806: one gesses of Corruption can easily was that of child-bearing; the perceive, that, while the acquitother that of levity of conduct. tal on the charge of child-bear-The first was of a very specific ing was just, the finding on the mature. It rested on facts of such score of levily might be erroa description that its truth or neous; and, when we see the hishood must, at once, be evi- Princess rejecting the reprimand, demanding a fair trial, sincere, and generous. compelled to believe, that it was suspicious. erroneous.

Besides all this, the finding guilty of levity was not likely quences of a serious nature. No exposure was likely to follow, if the Princess could be hushed. She was, through the advice of those who afterwards abandoned her cause, hushed and persecuted too. Enough was done to leave the ground of future stain; but not enough to provoke open inquiry. The late king naturally wished to keep things quict; but, he would certainly have preferred another course, if he could have foreseen, that forbearance on the part of the Princess would Pitt himself. have been the ground of future reproach and imputed guilt. He never could believe, that what, has come to pass would come to pass: he never could believe. grave. those who had so strenuously espoused the cause of his injured daughter-in-law would, even in his own life-time, make the sacrificing of her the ladder country. of their own ambition, and the

and refused that trial, we are contrary to her nature to be She was, in 1806. without experience, and by her want of suspicion, she fell into the snares of her pretended friends. to be attended with conse- Had she, when the reprimand was conveyed to ber, and when a full and fair investigation was refused; had she then published the BOOK, her enemies would have been so completely defeated as never to dare to shew their heads again. The BOOK was prepared for publication; but the edition was burnt by PER-CEVAL as soon as he had again entered the Ministry! It was that grand intuigue that gave him the power he possessed to the end of his life, a life as mischievous to England as that of

Thus, then, for the herefit of the Church, I have exposed the malignity of this reverend reviler as far as relates to what he calls the Queen's having been, that, though he might be in the found guilty on the charge of levitu. Let me next come to his audacious assertion, that she ought to be set aside for the sake of the marals of the

A parson has generally an means of cramming their own excellent nose, and can smell pockets. The Queen is frank, danger or difficulty much farther

than common mortals. This malignant hypocrite suspects, that no, specific act can be brought home to the Queen. He has conned over the Bill of Pains and Penalties; and he can smell out, that there is no direct charge of adultery contained in it. Therefore, he is for providing before hand a sort of state necessity for doing what he supposes will be done to the Queen. He is fool as well as hypocrite. That which he supposes will be done, will not be done; but no matter; he has, upon the supposition, been getting up a justification; and this justification is, that the morals of the country require the Queen to be " put aside:" how he does not seem to care any more than the slave of the Morning Post, who was for making her yield at all events, either as a criminal, or as a martur!

la seeing this uncommon solicitude in a parson lo get rid of the Queen for the sake of our morals, we naturally call to mind the part which the parsons took in the affair of Mrs. Clarke. Upon that occasion they were all compassion for the frailties of the lady and of her friend.

lover, they called every one a Jacobin, who thought it wrong. that Mrs. Clarke should help to dispose of commissions in the army: or that she should send her foot-boy from behind her chair to command a part of a regiment and bear a commission. There was one parson, at Winchester, who, repeating an observation made by Burton in the House of Commons, apologized for this step of Mrs. Clarke, by asserting, that, though he boy was her menial servant. he was the natural child (alias bastard), of an Officer; which, in addition to its profligacy, was a falschood! Be it observed, too, that the mother and father of the lad were then living at Woolwich,

Upon that occasion, though no one attempted to deny the facts; though proofs of all sorts came out even in the own hand writing of the parties; though the public were nauseated with the proofs: upon that occasion the parsons were all indulgence. They were then in no alarm about the injury to morale; and their pulpits resounded with censures on those who took any part in bringing to light and in They were all indulgence; and, endeavouring to punish the acse Jacobin times were not then cused parties. We were then

told. that we had no right to imemory, and has made me laugh pry into such matters; that we a thousand times, ought to draw a veil over foibles and frailties of the kind; that we were Jacobins and Rebels: that we, through the sides of the Duke of York, attacked the House of Brunswick!

Alas! how changed the tone now! The facts were, in that case, open, flagrant, notorious, under our own noses, in the midst of our dwellings. And vet, where was the parson then to cry out for an example to protect our morals? On the contrary, not only did the reverend guides reprobate our complaints, but some of them were found to have been intimates with Mrs. Clarke, and, what is more, objects of her patronage! And, which really beats all that the worldever heard of one Doctor of Divinity obtained from Mrs. Clarke, through the channel of her illustrious friend. the honour of preaching before the King! A famous selector of preachers for his Majesty! What office, or offices, the reverend divine had performed in Mrs. Mary Anne Clarke's household, I never heard; but the billetdoux, in which her request of our morals? It is not seen here. honouring the reverend person It is passed. It is not certain. was answered, is fresh in my It is neither proved nor confess.

The Clergy made no inconsiderable figure in the exposures of that memorable period. At a public meeting at Winchester. the object of which was to censure the doings of Mrs. Clarkeand her immoral associates, the only persons to papose such censure were parsons, who had the effronters to come boldly forward and tell us, that we had no right to meddle with such matters; that the Royal Family were not to be subject to such scrutiny; that we had to mind our own affairs; and that all those who called in question the propriety of such conduct as that which we condemned, were enemies to the House of Brunswick, Jacobins and Rebels.

However, you, reverend Sirs. of the present day, may be, perhaps, of a different way of thinks ing. You may hold adultery in abhorrence, and not only adultery, but even levily. But, suppose, for argument's sake, (and I use the supposition in no other way) that there has been what is called "adulterous inter-How is it to affect " course."

one side and indignantly denied on the other. If attempted to be proved, the proof is attempted by the Government. If the tale is brought us, they are the tale-bearers. If we know any thing even of the charge, the foundation of the charge has been laid by the government, and at the nation's expense. But the ugly part of the story is, that the Queen might have got rid of all trouble at ence by receiving 50,000l. a year and quitting the kingdom, after the charge had been made! She might have gone, honoured with a royal vacht for a conveysace, introduced as Queen of England at a foreign court, and have a princely income, paid by m, to spend with her alleged paramour; and, after some years, passed in this way, she might have returned and been sealed on the throne as our lawful sovereign. This is the ugly part of the story; and it proves as clear as day-light, that all the pretences about a regard for the nation's morale are the offspring of the vilest hypocrisy.

ed; but it is merely asserted on we hear of no priest. With me that would be a strong presumption in her favour, even if I could discover, in other respects. grounds for doubt. She has kept clear of this description of persons. She is unpolluted with this pest; and this is a shield of ten-fold security. There has hardly been a single instance of sublime, magnificent turnitude. in which a priest, of one sort or another, has not had a hand. She has had priests and lawyers, and men notoriously unjust. and cruel for her enemies. She is hated by those, who hate a freedom and all merit. These are strong recommendations, if she had no other; and, as to her ruin being necessary to the preservation of our morals, it is the most base pretence that ever came from the lips of hypocrite.

Slender indeed is the right to reign, if it depend on such a doctrine! This doctrine would give a people a right to inquire into the chaetity of every Queen and every Princess. It would give them a right to reject a King as well as a Queen. It would give them a right to de-Amongst all the persons throne one as well as the other, whom her Majesty is said to unless we were to adopt the have had in her suite, in her maxim of this profligate parson; confidence, or in her household, that, in the husband, that is to

deemed criminal in the wife; a sake of the morals of the peomaxim in the teeth of reason, in ple, is to open a field of danger. the teeth of justice, in the teeth to the cause of Royalty. of the law, in the teeth of the soriptures, and in the teeth of that very prayer book, which this parson does read, or ought to read, every Sunday in the church.

This person growls most wolflike against the Radicals. It is very provoking, to be sure, that they should be able to prove by their conduct the truth of what they have always asserted in words: that they are the really loudl part of the king's subjects. They endeavour to protect the Queen, while they utter not a word against the King. enemies attack the Queen. This, at once, shows who are the loyal and who the disloyal. This must be very provoking to our revilers; and it is as pleasing to Those revilers have been now driven into a strange dilenima: they must side with us and the Queen against her persebutors, or they must side with those persecutors, and bear a portion of the hatred, which the heart of man allots them. They their path thorns. To maintain, that a

be overlooked, which is to be Queen may be set aside for the if a Queen can be deprived of her rights; if she can be divested of the protection which the law gives her beyond other women, upon the ground, that the measure is required by the national morals, what security is there for a King? He may be an immortal man; or may be falsely accused of it, and, there can seldom be a pretence wanting for setting him aside. Now. no Radical has ever broached a doctfine like this; and, the pretended loyal men have the exclusive honour of the invention.

Blackstone, in speaking of the Revolution, says, that it was right; but, that it is impossible to conceive the existence of another case when it would be right. Thorough-paced lawyer, as he was, he did not say, that it might never be possible to find out a justification for a revolution again; but, if he had lived 'till now, he would have been told, that to preserve the national morals might, at any time, be just cause for doing what he bave, chosen the latter; but, then, found it so very hampering to is strewed with reconcile with law.

If it be necessary to unqueen

a queen for the preservation of sides, empty, vain, conceited, morals, why not unking a king with the same object in view, if it should ever happen, that the king's example was calculated to injure the morals of the people ? So, really, this new doctrine is a complete oversetter of all our notions of hereditary right and of the sacredness of the king's person. I deny the doctrine: I say its false: I say, that the king's right to reign is not to be taken away upon a charge of immorality: I say, that let a king be, in morals, what he may; if we should ever have a king, who was not only a bad and savage husband and father; not only debauched and abandoned as to women; not only a contemner of the marriage-vow, a seducer of other men's wives, the reputed father of a whole litter of bastards, and, in short, who pursued his debaucheries till he became the sport of his mistresses and their favourite paramours, till his embraces became disgusting, endured only for the pecuniary advantage to be derived from them, and till all the nation was shocked with the odiousness and passeousness of his filthy and ladicrous amours; who was not

drunken, faithless, eruel, and cowardly, and all these in the extreme: even if we were ever to have a king of this horrid description, in whom should be met all the vices without one single virtue; if there were to meet in him passion without tenderness, vindictiveness with outgratitude, greediness without economy; and, in short, suppose what you will, if you can suppose any thing worse than this, suppose all the fooleries and faults of all the silliest of women joined to all the sins of all the wickedest of men; suppose all this, and even then, I say, that it would be high treason to propose to unking even such a king as this, upon the ground that his example would be injurious to the morals of the people. This is an extreme case, to be sure. It will be said, that I have supposed a monster, ruther than a. man, and that I have only to clap a tail to him to make him a devil; but devil as he might be, still I say, that to propose to set him aside for the sake of the morals of the nation would be high treason. What would be to be done, then? Why, he must remain, to be sure, and only all this, but who was be- the 'people must take care of

their sun morals. But, if this | For the purpose of making her son have for endeavouring to persuade us, that the national morals ought to be put forward Are a queen's morals every thing, and those of a king nothing? Is her example of such yast consequence, and his example of no consequence at all? is the example of the sovereign himself of no importance to us. while the example of his consort is of such tremendons importance? There is great delight exhibited by those, who talk of the Queen as a mere subject. The debauched crew seem to enjoy themselves in pulling her Majesty down to the state of a mere subject. She is something more. It is high treason to conspire against her life, and, besides, she is one of the contingent claimants to the throne itself. But, if she be nothing more than a mere subject, why in such a fuss made about the moral evils of her supposed exemple? Faisehood should albut, the truth is, falsehood canor it is sure to betray it's nature. of adultery.

be the case with regard to a supposed example of importking, what ground can the par- ance, the Queen is a great personage : but, for the purpose of preparing the way for her degradation, she is a mere subas cause for setting aside a queen? ject. Such tricks only serve to show the badness of the cause. in which they are employed.

Suffer me now, reverend Sirs. to remind you, that the Scripture says, that " it is not lawful for "a man to put away his wife, " save only for adultery," Nowa then, the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposes to put the Queen away; and, if it be not proved, as I am sure it will not. that she has been guilty of adaltery, will you approve of this Bill; and will you not petitien against it? But, indeed, the Bill does not accuse her of adultery. And yet the reverend calumniator of Manchester highly approves of the Bill, and he bite terly reproaches the people hecause they do not approve of it too. He calls upon the noble. the rich, and the strong " to " put on the whole armour of "the Lord of Hosts," and to ways have a good memory; fight those who are opposed to this Bill! And yet this Bill pronot long remain consistent: it poses to put away the king's must confine itself to one point, wife without even accusing her.

asunder." says the parson's prayer-book; but, the parson is of a contrary opinion. The parson is for putting away the Queen by the hands of men. though he has many times taken his fee after forbidding such an act in a voice the most solemn. In short, the attempt of this párson is a most forious blow at derical sincerity.

It has been a subject of astonishment with many, though not with me, that the clergy should have discovered such a feeling, or, rather, such a want of feeling, in the cause of the But, men in general take things for what they appear to be. There is a great deal in habit too. We are accustomed to confound religion with those who profess to teach it; and we naturally wonder. that parsons should not friendly towards the Queen. seeing that such friendship is called for by every principle of religion. The same may be said as to the question of reform.-We know, that a reform, though great in its political effects. would be still greater in its moral effects. We know, that

"Those whom God hath join-| quantity of britiery, perjury. ed together, let not man put lying, drunkenness, and, by removing much of the poverty, greatly lessen the quantity of thievery, robbery, marder, and suicide. And, as all these things are directly in the teeth of religion, we are quite surprised, that the clergy are amongst the most bitter enemies, instead of being the warmest friends, of Reform.

The mystery in both cases admits of the same solution. In our notions of clergymen, we sublimate and refine too much. We forget, that they eat and drink like other men. We, in short, forget their temporalities, and this is a part of their con-cerns which we ought never to forget. They have most comfortable livings. They do little, and have good cheer. It is natural, therefore, that they should have great hatred against any body, whose efforts tend to the disturbing of this state of things. It is very certain, that' some men must undergo bodily labour. Without this the world could not go on. But, there is a desire in every man to live without this bodily labour; to live at ease, while others labour, and, of course, to live on that labour. So that the parsons are by no means singular in their teste. They enjoy a large portion of the good things of this world: perhaps the choicest portion of all. It is, therefore, it would infinitely lessen the very natural, that they should

dislike any thing that might, not excite a fellow feeling in even by possibility, expose them those who have been oppressed to the danger of loosing these by the same hand. Being pogood things. They are born pular, she would be, of course, with hearts like other men; but habit gives their hearts qualities different from the general mass. They do not approve of the bribery, perjury, drunkenness, and lying at elections; or, at least, many of them do not. But, when they consider, that, without these, that system which insures to them ease and plenty, could not exist, and that they might not find the same security under a better system, they are very apt to console themselves with the observation, that "nothing is perfect under the sun;" and that we must wait with patience for perfectibility another world. In the mean while, when times become **cr**itical, they become alarmed: and, they do from a feeling of fear that which they would not do from a less powerful motive. In the reformers they imagine they see the besiegers of their temporalities: they get frightened, next angry; they appeal to the sword instead of the phenry!

This is the whole of the mystery. It is nonsense to talk about towards the Queen has been, sence of the Queen: but you, reverend Sirs, imagine, that her men's conduct should be well presence, and particularly her observed, and their motives astriumph, would make a great certained. You were, just now, stir, and you wish to keep all lying snugly out of sight. You know, that she would be light. popular, because it is impossible that one oppressed person should

a rallying point. This was what Canning confessed he feared in 1814. He described her as affable, frank, gracious, and fascinating; and therefore it was, as he confessed, that he wished her out of the country. Her sin, and her only sin, then, is This is evident her being here. from the endeavours made use of to get rid of her. would have gone away, even after the Green Bags had been laid upon the table, and after Castlereagh and Liverpool had described their contents: if she would have gone away, she might have had a princely income, a Royal Yacht to sail in. and might have been announced as Queen of England at a foreign court. There she might have lived with all the imputed crimes on her head, and in the enjoyment of them still, and might have enjoyed them too at our expence. No fear on the score of morals was apprehended in this case. The whole of word: they fear the loss of the Queen's sin, therefore, cleartuthes, and they cry out blas- ly is her being in the country.

I have now, reverend Sirs, pointed out what your conduct danger to morals from the pre- and have explained the true cause of it. This is a time when still and quiet as the grave. have brought you forth to the

WM. COBBETT.



ANSWER

TO THE

SPEECH OF THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

AGAINST HER MAJESTY THE QUEBN.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

London, 23d August, 1820.

We have at last, in a tangible shape, the charges against the wife of our King and Sovereign. Rumours and backbiting are, at last, put an end to: I have the report of the speech made by the Attorney General, on the 19th and 21st inst. now lying before me. I have read it with attention. And, in it olone, without waiting to hear any contradiction of its assertions, I see enough to convince me, that the charges are false. Aware of the influence of prepossession; aware of the power of our wishes to mislead our judgment; and feeling a strong desire that the charges against her Majesty should prove false, I have subdued in myself the propensity to yield up my reason and integrily to this desire. I have per-

used the speech with a sincere desire to come to a just conclusion; and that conclusion is, that the charges are as false as they are foul. I do not want to hear any of the evidence for or against the charges: I take the speech, and suppose that The Attorney General will produce witnesses to swear to all the facts which he has stated; I am convinced, by reasons which I submit to your attention, that, even if all and singular the facts be sworn to, the conclusion ought to be, that the charges are false.

Something in the way of narrative will be necessary before I enter on the arguments contained in the speech. The Queen went to the Continent in the year 1814, not long after the late Queen had, at the instigation of the then Regent, signi-

fied to her a wish that she same month she went from Tuwould keep away from the his to Athena: from Athena she drawing-rooms held at that went to Ephesus, thence to Jctime. She first went to Brans- rusalem, thence to Jaffa, where wick. She was accompanied by she embarked for Italy, and ar-Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Lady rived in September 1816, taking Elizabeth Forbes, Mr. St. Led-up her residence in the palace ger. Sir W. Gell, the Honour- D'Este on the Lake of Como. able Keppel Craven, Captain In February 1817, she made a Hesse, Dr. Holland, and Mr. tour into Germany, and returned went to Milan in Italy, at which which she went to Trieste, and place the Attorney-General says returned in August 1817. she arrived on the 9th of Octoremained about three months the Attorney-General; and, on at Milan, when she set off for this you will please to observe, Naples by the way of Rome; and arrived at Kaples on the that the Queen was almost con-8th of November 1614. vember till March, when she This is an observation of great quitted it, and went successively to Rome, Leghorn, Genoa and Milan, where she remained until the middle of May 1815. She length of time. Her object evithen set out for Venice, and returned to Milan in August 1815. She now travelled on the moun- than August 1817, the Attorneypart of Italy, and settled, for a short time, at L'Este, near embarked on board the Levia- her conduct towards Bergami than, Capt. Briggs, and, after was the same even until the day visiting Elba, reached Palermo of her finally parting from kim; in Sicily, where she remained which is an assertion that we till January 1816. She then ought to bear in mind; for it embarked on board the Clorinde frigate, Capt. Prchell, and importance as to the inferences went to Syracuse, from which to be drawn. she returned to Sicily, going first to Catania, and then to Augus- lieve, that the Queen is an addi-Tunis, in Africa; from Tunis is the Baton Bergami, whom to Utica, in a small vessel which the Attorney General endeavous she purchased; and returned to to exhibit as, at once, the most Tunis in April 1816. In the beloved and most unworthy of

From Brunswick she to D'Este in the Spring; after

This, as far as relates to times ber 1814. He says, that she and places, is the account of and to bear the fact in mind. She tinually travelling, or preparing remained at Naples from No-for, or resting after, travelling. importance to bear in mind, as we shall, by and by, see. She was settled no where for any dently was to see as much of the world as she could. Later tains and about the lakes of that General gives us no account of her movements, or of any of her conduct; except that he says, In November 1815, she in one part of his speech, that will be found to be of great

The object is to make us be-From Sicily she went to teress, and the man fixed upon

question of fact; and all that, principally managed her affiles. we shall have to settle is, whethe witnesses on her side. but, that, upon the Attorney Genefacts he has stated and the inferences he has drawn are false.

In order to lay a broad founhe came into the Queen's service, a menial pervant. It is he must have been a paramourt in order to account for his great and rapid advancement in her service. But, besides that this is a very uncharitable presumption, is it any M'MAHON, whom the Regent time, if you like.

men. He relates more wonders I suppose, that any man might of this man and the Queen than get made a Baron for five golden romance over contained before : guineas; and, in countries where and, we shall find, very soon, men without titles are looked. that, if what he says and what upon and treated as soum of the his witnesses will, doubtless, earth, it was very natural for w swear, be true; then human na- the Queen to wish to get some ture herself is a ligr. It is a sort of title for the man, who

But why was Bergame the. ther the voice of nature, or that principal person about the of the witnesses in the Fortress, Queen? He is called a Courier, be the most likely to speak the or Postrilion. But words have : truth. There will be the cross-different meanings in different. cxaminations; there will be countries. He had been a milia; tury Courier: or, what we should without waiting for any of these almost call an aid-de-camp, or, we shall, I think, determine, at least, a Messenger. So that's this degrading appellation of ral's own showing (including Courier is made use of merely: what is notoriously true) the for the purpose of contrast: An the Queen's intention to travel, :: an intention which she put into ' full execution, we see a wery: dation for the charges, Bergami good and sufficient reason for: is represented as being, when employing a man of this description; but, yet, we, who bave never travelled on the Con-; on that fact, presumed, that timent, can have but a very imperfect idea of the necessity of such a person on a journey. 'It i is not calling a post-chaise, or., rather, driving up to an inn gate, and waiting five minutes, and being taken on again in perfect; thing uncommon to see men safety; and thus, from stage to rapidly advanced from very low stage, as from Southampton to to very high situations? Sir John Edinburgh, sleeping half the. This is not made a Right Honourable, and the case upon the Continent. placed at the Council Board with But, on the contrary, to phtmin-Dukes, Earls, and himself, was horses, to secure lodging, and: notoriously, at one time, a foot- to secure your threats from beboy! Numerous instances of the ing cut in those lodgings, is a kind might be mentioned; but, business to be entrusted to none in the next place, what were the but elever men, and brave men titles: of distinction, which the too, To fill such an office with. Queen conferred and obtained ! ability is no small merit; and, R.

was precisely this sort of ment, this had without taking the smallof which, at that time, her Market presention to dispuise the jesty stood in need. A man of fact; and this, too, as constantly a thousand times as much merit as a with sleeps with her husin other respects would not have band.. Not by night only, was: been so valuable to the Queen this love affect going on; but atothe period to which we are by day; also, and at theatres. alluding . She was bent on tra- balle, at time, penty in the vel; and to travel with con-streets, before the face of all venience, or even with safety to the world. The Queen break, her life, she stood in need, in Justed with Bergiami alone and absolute need, of a person like in short, they were openly pion Beegami. It. was necessary, and wife, except that they were; that he should have zeal and so excessively fond. It was a fidebity as well, as ability a and pain of Thrile Doves, continually was not to reward, bits, highly billing and cooking, the hest and most effectual way, how sobserve, all this while of securing that fidelity and Lady Charlotte Lindsay, Lady zeal ? Same of the same

recommendation the Attorney and Gapt. Heate were Hung in ... General does not know) taken the tome house with the Queen! into the Queen's service in the is it possible, that the shorefall, of 1814, at Milan. There mentioned seemes a could be must be some mistake in this going on; and they know nothing part of the speech; for it says, of them 2. I sak if this be poon: that he entered the Queen's ser, sible? Remember, that thesevice about 15 days before she seenes were going on not for a quitted Milan, to go to Naples, day, a week, or a month, but, and that she had been three from November to March sinmonths at Milan before she quitted it, though she arrived on the 9th of October, and arrived at Naples on the 8th of November. However, the Attorney General says, that Bergami, as soon as the Queen arrived at Naples, became her. Paramour. On the 9th of November begins the history, of these wonderful amount From this time, just three weeks after he entered the Queen's service. he became her bed fellow of indecencies. Their conduct was lef there six persons, all living in

Elizabeth Forbes, Keppell Crif. Bergami, was (upon whose ven, Sio W. Gall, Dr. Holland) clusive; that is ton say, five. months. These English Ladies, were maids of honour nand the Gentlemen were chamberlains: and equeries, and one a Physician. Where were their gives and ears? They were living in the same house; under the some roof; and yet they never almo, or heard, any thing about these open and flagrant and shameful doings! Will you say; will any man of sincerity say. that he believes, that such things They carried on openly all souts could be going on without and so flagrant that every syg ob. the same house with the crimiserved it. The Queen slept in | nal parties, hearing any thing at

and the Gentlemen pimps.

clusion, the Attorney-General, in order to guard beforehand swearing of Italian witnesses to against the objection I am now the facts? Shall we believe taking, says, that, doubtless, their oaths sufficient to set aside these Ladies and Gentlemen evidence of our own senses? did hear rumours. What Hear Shall we believe, that their remours? From what quarter? swearings are sufficient to make And why talk of rumours, when the amours were carried on, not only every night, but every day, and that too far more shamelessly than the amours of the common street-walkers? Why talk of rumours in such a case? Can that which is open, flagrant, notorious, be a subject of rumour? We may as well say, at this moment, that it It is impossible, that they should is ramoured that the Queen's not have come at the facts in an trial is going on; for, if the hour at farthest. Their own Attorney-General's statement observation would have been were true, the Queen's amours enough; but, there were their at Naples were as notorious as servants, all living in the same this trial now is. . It is the most house with the Queen's serourious thing that the world vants, and all necessarily hating ever heard of, that rumour the paramour from feelings of should tell the inmates of the envy. The facts must have Queen of what was passing un been ascertained in an instant; der their own eyes. The and, yet these six Ladies and Queen's servants saw all that Gentlemen, hear the rumour, was passing. They must have and never make any inquiry at talked of it. And were not all; though all the means of some of those servants about ascertaining the facts were at the English Ladies and Gentle- hand; and, what is more, though men I is it possible, that Ber-they all very well knew that pami could have slept with the they should run no risk of dis-1. Queen every night; breakfasted favour at home by denouncing with her every morning; toyed and exposing their Mistress. with and kissed her every day; They remain quiet; they hear the she go openly to his bed-side; rumour; they make no inquiry; is it possible for this to be going the English Ladies remain in a 10 Jet 77 north the north man min nine barra large a large

all of the matter? Yet, they on, and under the same roof could not have heard any thing with six Ladies and Gentlemen, of it; for, if they had, to have and these Ladies and Gentlemen remained in the house would never know any thing of the have made the Ladies bands matter, except from mere rumour? I ask if this be possible? In spite of this inevitable con- And, if it be not believed to be possible, shall we believe the impossibilities truths?

> However, if there were a rumour that reached the ears of those English Ladies and Gentlemen; if we suppose that this was so, how are we to account for their conduct during the whole of this history? A rumour would naturally and unavoidably set their inquiring powers to work.

word about the matter; and, in evidence. infamous state, they continue! Englishman believe this; and yet this he must believe, or he must believe the Attorney-General's statement to be false. supported ρA the though swearings of a thousand witnesseš.

It is a monstrous imputation. that the Attorney-General casts on those ladies and gentlemen. He is compelled to state; that they remained five months under the same roof with the parties, who were carrying on the intercourse which he so mimutely described. He sees clearly the imputation that he casts on them; and he endeavours to eveuse their unaccountable conduct by observing, that some of them left the Queen. Left her! months of this scandalous work! No: they did not leave her. of the some of them that went Forbes had heard remours. her, lived with her as inmates,

house, which the Attorney-the Lords to mark well the cir-General represents as worse cumstance of the Queen's Engthan a bawdy-house; they hear hish attendants leaving her; and it rumoured that it is such, but he begs them to regard that still they remain, and say not a fact as corroborating his Italian Now! Lady Charthis state, this disgraceful and lotte Lindson and Dr. Holland went with the Queen from Nafor nearly fire months! Will an plea, and accompanied her as far as Leghorn. Why did the others stay at Naples? Why did they not go along with the Queen? They, in all probability preferred the pursuit of their own taste to that of translling about, which the Queen delighted in, and which they must have known that it was her intention to pursue; for, as we afterwards find, she kept constantly fambling by sea as well as by land. which, doubtless, presented a series of toils, that those ladies and gentlemen did not chuse to encounter. For, upon what other ground are we to account for a part remaining at Naples, and a part going with the Queen! The Attorney-General would have us believe, that the When? Why, at the end of five separation arose from rumours. which the ladies and gentlemen had heard. But, what we we They staid at Naples when she to think, theh, of Dr. Holland, went towards liome, on her and, above all, of Ludy Churway to Genoa. So that she lotte Lindsay? Or, are we to left them; and not they her, be such sots as to suppose it But, what are we to think, then, possible, that Lady Elizabeth with her: that followed her which did not reach the cars of from the scene of her amours at Lady Charlotte Lindsay. I M we Naples; that still went with could possibly suppose this; we must set Lady Elizabeth Forbes though Bergami still occupied down as guilty, not only of a his place and still openly and gross and shameful neglect of flagrantly carried on his amours daty; but as guilty of somewith her? The Attorney-Ge thing very little short of misneral, over and over a rain, begs prision of treason. What! she

hears a rumour, and a rumour course, before she saw Bergami. so strong, and of such a nature; This fact is slipped over. Why in short she hears what makes did this gentleman stay behind? her believe, that the Queen is Because he did not choose to fiving in a state of doubte adul- travel further, to be sure. These tery; she thinks it not safe or persons were all going on their decent to remain any longer own pleasure; and it was not with such a woman; she hears their taste to keep travelling and believes and acts upon this about. It is impossible that intelligence; and yet she never Mr. St. Ledger could have taken communicates it to her sister any offence at the amours of maid of honour! Nay, she Bergami, and yet it is certain never gives her a hint of it, and that he staid behind. Why, lets her go off to continue to then, are we to impute the staylive in that same infamous state ing behind of the others, one which they have all so long been after another, to any other living in! Will any man say, cause, than that of their own that he believes this? Yet this taste; or, probably, the state of he must believe, and a great their health? Look at the deal more than this, before he Queen's tours, and you will see, believes the Attorney-General that it required no common and his witnesses.

leaves the Queen (that is to say, are we to look for the cause the Queen leaves her) at Leg- of her attendents dropping of horn. We shall find, I dare from her, as it has malignantly say, that the lady was weary; been called. that she preferred rest and ease But, to return to Lady Charto travelling and toil; and, par- lotte Campbell, how came she to ficularly, that she had no relish join the Queen at Genou, after for a sea voyage, which the Lady C. Lindsay had 't dropped Queen's now became, to Ge-off' at Leghom? Had the runoa. However, Lady Charmours never reached her? Ru-lotte Campbell joins the Queen mours could reach the wellat Genoe, and goes on with her dressed rabble at the west-end 'afterwards to Wilse, where (let of London, but they tould not it be observed) Bergami's fa-mily lived. This is a very ma-terial fact. The Attorney-Ge-vants of the Queen were there! netal dwells upon such persons It is impossible to believe, that leaving the Queen, as he has the Lady C. Campbell had heard of foulness to call it; but he never the rumours; and yet it is next. dwells on such persons joining to impossible to believe, that ker. You will have observed, she should not have heard of . that one of her English follow- them, if it had been they which ers, Mr. St. LEDGER, left her, as induced Lady C. Lindsay to drop it is called, at Brunswick, be off at Leghorn. But, there is fore she entered Italy, and, of something of much more im-

strength of body to endure the But Lady Charlotte Lindsay Satigue of them ; and here alone

portance than this in the fact of male servants; hippe in a state his bey's gaming the Queen, the besendescription of which and seach more worthy of our would excite a blush pyen in a best attention. The lady could brothel; and we see this woand join the Uncen of her own man taking onto her hause an remarenmetion. She could not Regulah lady to be a witness of come into her house and trat her way of life, and to convey zeel in ther carriage, along with an account of it to England; wher, wand, live , with ther, of and doing this too, when she was when own authority. Who sent on her way to the neighbourhood her to the Queen? in coase, of Bergami's family! To believe quience of what did she "join" all this is impossible. There is hen? Ta hear the Attorney-Ger, no man living who can believe "mered, ime would think that the it. And yet all this must be be-Ducen was sort of army, that lieved, and firmly believed too, man to be deserted from and before we believe the Italian " " " goined" at pleasure. No I witnesses and the Attorney-Geino & Itimoust be believed, that the neral engineen did not keep; an Isn, or lift the Queen's conduct, and wa Bosern agit must be believed inclinations had been what the is that people could not come and Attorney-General says they were willing with her at their pleasure , at Naples and on the goad to wait must be believed, that Lady Ganoa; and especially, if the Q. Campbell joined the Queen other English ladies had "dropin the Aucen's own, request, or, god off' in rousequence of that at the very least, with her Ma- conduct, which they could not · tipisty's, content; this must be have done without her swenectit believed; and, believing it like on the onese; if such had been impossible to believe the the case : (and who so apt to incherings Lagainst: the Queen support as those conscious, of -::theight invorm to by her times guilt?) if such had been herese.
-- the immber of creatures, now; Linut it to any man (and more win the redeast, and interpreted particularly to the waging whoso by an intermediate diving in ther the Aucen, would, have stine driven, and using under wanted quother linglish Lady subsecimetrations of the Soliciton is her buse? No ; she would of shocksonry. have rejoiced at having got of those what have we here be trid of those who had "drop-

fore at !! As wiman parrying ou ped of ; she would have kept lthe most indecent intercourse them, in shture at a distance; with her general ; sleeping with she would have a voided them as in him every wight a helling enjoy thiever, avoid watchmen and him and hanging about his neck police-officers; she would no by day to more loxestek than more have when Lady C. Campand wirl of sinteen over was; bell into her house than a hen mable to live out of the night would take a wearle into her of her paramour; mable to re- nest. atrain herself even before her! This one notorious fact is an

answer to all the statements of the same roof without hearing. the Atterney-General, and to of things, or of any of the the swearings of all his witnesses; things, such as those alleged and this fact is stated by the against the Queen? No man can Astorney-General himself. "The believe it. Yet, this Lady re-Queen night take Lady C. Camp- mained more than a whole year bell as a blind." For what, when in the house! If she did hear she is represented as, having, of the amours, she was no beteven at this time, and long be- ter than a band to remain under force, set all appreurances at de-the roof; and she was besides fiance; as having lost all shame; guilty of misprision of treason, as being completely infatuated Therefore, we are to believe, and besitted; as having, in short, that she did never hear of those given berself up wholly to the amours; and yet we cannot beembraces, day and night, of lieve this, without believing Bergami. she take an English Lady? For enciety? no: for she hated all society, but that of her para-She gould endure no interruption: and yet she vo-Jantarily took this English Lady Attorney-General'scharges were true, and the swearings of his witnesses any thing but what journey to Venice, However, her husband a faithful and detailed account of her amours with her servant! Can we be-Lieve this? Can we believe such athing of any woman breathing? And yet this we must believe; or we must disbelieve the Attorney-General and his wit-Desses.

At appears, that Lady C. Campfrom March, 1815, to May or June, 1816. What! was she all this while in the same house with the Queen without hearing of the adulterous intercourse? Can any one believe, that a lady would be so long under completely they shut our ears

Why, then, should that the amours are a fabrication.

The Queen went from Genoa to Milan. Here was a fair opportunity for Lady Charlotte Campbell to stay behind. Yet she did not. She went after the Queen to Milan. She followed into her house; which, if the her thither! and she garapped off," that is, staid behind, when the Queen set out on a long they are, she could have done the Hon, Mr. Burnell joined! for no earthly purpose other than, the Queen before she took this. that of enabling Lady C. Camp- journey, accompanied her in the bell to witness, and to send to journey, and "dropped off" as she was returning. But she was, about the same "joined" by Mr. Howland and Mr. Flynn, who had been in the King's service: two officers of course. When these "dropped off", we are not informed: probably when she was about to go on her sea-voyages, they having, perhaps, had enough of bell remained with the Queen sea-voyages before to last them their lifetimes.

> How loudly do all these "join-" ings" speak in refutation, how conclusive are they in condemnation, of the statement of the Attorney General, and how

Is it possible, I ask, for Messrs. May, 1816, to have been ignorent of the rumours, if such had been affoat at Naples from November, 1814, to March, 1815; and if the facts which gave rise hourly increasing in number and person so conspicuous as the Queen could be hidden. Her actions would, if of a scandalous nature, necessarily be the topic of every conversation, especially amonest the English. And. though men might be less delicate than women on this score. it is not to be believed, that, if these gentlemen had heard such rumours; and had had the smallest reason to believe in them. they would have gone of their own accord to "join" the Queen; while, as in the case of Lady C. Campbell, it is impossible to believe, that the Queen would have invited them, or, indeed, 'nermitted them to live under the same roof, where she was leading such a licentious life; and that, too, while she well knew, that the proof of that licentious life was eagerly sought after as the means, the sure and infuli-- ble means, of her ruin, degradation, and everlasting infamy.

Thus, then, in order to believe the assertions of the Attorney

against the testimony, collected for, that they were all completely by the Milan Commission, and blind and deaf; and we must marshalled under the banners of further believe, that the Queen, the Solicitor of the Treasury! while she was carrying on an adultorous intercourse, the proof Burrell, Howland, and Flynn, in of which borne to England, would be sure to render her infamous, and even deprive her of the means of enriching her paramour, availed horself of every opportunity of securing to her to them had been daily and lenemies the means of producing that proof! These are the monin flagrancy? No action of a strous things, whileh we must believe, before we can believe the Attorney General and histroop of Italian sweaters.

The thing harped upon by the Attorney General, from the beginning to the end, as the great corroborating proof of the guilt of the Queen, is the poteer which Bergami pouserned over her-The swearings pre, he sees, worth nothing without corroborating facts, proved by English witnesses, or, notorious in themselves. For this purpose it was, that he introduced the English Ladies and Gentlemen, in order to make their "leaving" the Queen corroborate his insinnation about rumours, and those rumours corroborate the swearers drawn out of the Fortress. He was compelled, however, to notice " joinings" as well as leavings; and, upon the whole, instead of a corroboration, he has produced the most conviacing proof of the falseheed of his statement. At last he gets rid of all his English attendants. General and the swearings of his land asks; whether this be not a. witnesses, we must believe all, proof of the erintinal internay all, these English Ladies course. The simple fact, as apand Gentlemen to have been pears from the dutes, is, I dure bawds and pimps and traitors; leav, that the English attendants

had no relish for voyages by sea; mony of other witnesses, or on and that they preferred remain- facts of notoriety. The only ing at ease in Italy to visiting one of the former description deressiem at the expense of certain toil and great possible danger. But if their "leaving" the Queen be to be looked upon as a corroboration of the Italian swearers, ought not the "join-" ing!' of other English to be looked upon as refuting those She is not accused swearers ! of ever having dismissed an -English attendant; and we see, that she is always ready to take such attendants. And therefore the circumstances relating to the Buglish attendents are, as clear as day-light, proofs against her enèmies.

The power of Bergami over the Uncen is, as I observed before, the other grand war-horse of the Attorney-General; and I abould say, that, if it were elearly proved by credible wit-.. newes, or by notorious facts, that - he did possess and exercise great power over her, that ulone, without any swearing at all, would convince me that he had been absolutely her bed-fellow. · Por, when we consider the relative situation in life of the parties, it is impossible to believe, that he could have obtained power over her by any means but one, and to confess the existence of that one is to confess ·the truth of the charges.

The Atterney-General says, that his Italian witnesses will power, and they may, for me,

that is brought forward is this: that the Queen, when on board the Clorinde frigate, preferred sitting at table with Bergami (now become her Chamberlain) to sitting at table with the Captain (Pechell), to the exclusion of her Chamberlain. The story told by the Attorney-General is this; that Pechell, who had. sometime before, known Bergani to be a mere servant, standing behind the Queen's chair, had the impudence and inscience, I call it, to tell her, that he would not sit at the same table with Bergami; and that the Queen, instead of resenting this, took some time to consider. and then resolved, that she would have another table, and sit with her Chamberlain. "The Attorney-General devells greatly upon this, seeing that is to be proved by l'exhell. He says that her going on board, and not resenting the conduct of Pechell. is a strongly presumptive proof of consciousness of guilt; and that her resolving to disc and sit with Bergami is a proof of his power over her; as much as to say, that she dared not exclude him from the table at which she herself should at.

Now, in the first place; the Queen had no choice as to going into the ship. She must go in that ship, or in mone. swear to a great many acts as to not resenting the insolunt proving the existence of this conduct of Pechell, what could she do more than she did! She swear till doomsday. I shall could not knock him down, as notice no proofs of this power, he deserved. She did that hewhich do not rest on the testi- nour to her Chamberlain, which rshe did not do to kim; and this I not a feather in the scale. could do nothistr less, unless she had submitted to the dietution of this justlent Captain. course. In this he was disappointed; and, therefore, he might ·likely enough ascribe to the power of Bergami, a step which it was absolutely necessary for her to adopt, in order to shew. that she was not under the power of Peckell. It may not be wholly unnecessary to add, that this Pechell is a son of a Sir Thomas Peckell, who was, at that time, a Gentleman Usher to the late Queen, from whose court it is well known the prosent Queen had, not long before, been excluded.

The facts of notuniety, brought forward to prove this power of Bergame over the Queen are, as · far as I can discover, only those relating to the introducing of his own family into the house of the Queen and to the riches heaped on him by her Majesty. The Attorney-General insisted strongly on this. He returns to it again of the unlimited power of the Chamberlain over the Queen. And, in order to impress it strongly on our minds, asks if it be common for whole tribes to be thus fastened upon employers. To which I answer, that your proof of the power of Bernothing is either more common) or more natural. As to all the

was all she could do; and she had got a good fat place himself: he was diligent, zealous and faithful; and, it required no great pains to persuade the This was what he wished, of Queen, which might also be the fact, that all his family were of the same description. men, or women, get into place themselves, they are always striving to edge in their rolutions. There is nobody, rich or poor, who does not know this well. He, or she, who first gets. in and finds good picking, instantly calls the relations to partake, as naturally as a hera elucks her chickens to her when she has found any thing good for them to eat. In proof of this we, in this country, need, ouly open our eyes. No sooner did Addington (now Sidmouth) who had been a mere sessionslawyer, get into the Treasury. than he clucked in brother Hiley, brother-in-law Bragge, his own son, Golding, Bond, and every creature belonging to him. Mr. Canning clucked in Mrs. Hunn and Miss Hunn. Huskisson clucked in his wife. and again. He insists upon it What has Castlereagh and what as complete corroboratory proof has Liverpool clucked in, good God! Whole families of children have been clucked in by some. Six or seven children at once. Look at the " Peep at " the Peers:" look at that. Mr. Attorney-General, and blush at gami over the Queen! He will say, that it has been the King's stuff about the rank that the pleasure to settle pensions on parties filled, I care not a straw. Inhumerable relations of men in Whether the women were call-place and power at different, ed maids of honour, or cook times. And is not a Queen to maids, or milk maids, it makes exercise her pleasure as well as

Look at the "Peep at the Peers." education, while the Bergamis and you will find, that the court- were wholly uneducated. This favourites, who feed upon us, last may be as false as the rest are not content to cluck round of the story; but, if true, what them brothers. they have fastened upon us, been bred in courts, they might uncles, aunts, cousins, relations be much more agreeable and near and distant, from the fourth instructive companions than to the tenth degree: wife's rela- courtiers; and much more tions: wife's brother's wife's likely to be faithful too. "Mr. relations; daughter's husband's Alderman Wood and his family were seen, except of the Chilthe words, Hertford, Liver pool, Westmoreland. Londonderry. Balcarras, Beaufort, Lauderdale, Sydney, Gordon, Wellesley, Waterford; and, in short, look into any page of the work; and then say, what impudence it was in the Attorney-General to cite this introduction of Bergapower founded on an illicit intercourse with ber Majesty.

It will be observed; that the Queen's situation was a very singular one. She was not only in a foreign country, but, as she knew well, she was living amidst spies, and, as she had but too good reason to suppose, was exposed to even bodily dan-It was, therefore, very natural, that she should draw round her a particular family, amongst whom she found, whether from motives of interest or not, a disposition to be obedient and faithful to her. She, the

a King is to exercise his pleasure. English gentlemen and ladies of mothers, sisters, and ground of charge is here? s. You will find, that Though they might not have relations. In short, we are sad- are not courtiers; but who will dled with such tribes as never say that they are not more worthy of the society and confidren of Israel. Look at the dence of the Queen than are the "Peep at the Peers," under heroes of the "Peep?" Recollect, that it was a polished courtier, who tendered the monev and uttered the threat at St. Omers. The family of Bergami might be, and I dare say was, composed of very agreeable and useful persons. The Queen was merely passing away her time in Italy; and, it was mi's family as a proof of his perfectly natural for her to prepossessing over the Queen a fer the society of persons, amongst whom she could live without that restraint and formality which she must have observed amongst courtiers.

So that, even supposing what the Attorney-General says to be true with regard to the low birth of Bergami's family; here is no proof at all of his power over the Queen. But, there is a child introduced! " A second child. And the Attorney-General seems to wish to have it believed; that this child was really the Queen's. The child was, he says, in the summer of 1815, about two or three years old : Attorney-General says, prefer- so that, if this was the Queen's red this Bergami family before child, she must have had it, at

she left England, and, of course, arms a child that he had had reflection, know that, upon such an idea must appear monstrous; but his business was to prevent reflection; to blacken her Majesty in such a way, that no one should take time to reflect on the subject. To assert all manner of evil things of her, and leave those assertions to work upon the public mind in preparing the way for her destruction.

Malignity, bowever, sometimes works against itself; and that has been the case here; for, of all the persons of the drama, this little squaling lady, of only three years old, serves the cause of persecution the least. The Attorney-General tells us, that Bergami brought this his child to the Queen. What man is not ready enough to show his pretty children, and what man does not think his own the prettiest ! in the world? Besides, he might would do something in the way of providing for the child, espeher fondness for children, because it is impossible, that he was perfectly natural: it be- amiable trait? spoke a man of sense, and one should gain in the affections of ture. There is scarcely one of

least, a year and a half before his mistress by putting into her before she saw Bergami! We by another woman? Children are called the pledges of love; but was it ever before heard of in this world, that a lover made his court by bringing to his mistress a child that he had had by another woman!

Nevertheless, the Queen is. in order to keep up the exhibition, said, by the Attorney-General, to have been very fond of this child; excessively fond of it; that she called it princess, and that the child not only called her mama, but cried after her when she left it, preferring the Queen to her nurse. All this I can easily believe, though. coming from the lips of the Attorney-General. It shews bow fond the Queen is of children, which, indeed, was well known before. Every father and mother knows how cunning the little creatures are. They distinguish, even at six months old, persons fond of children from naturally hope, that the Queen such as are not. Their sagacity in this respect is quite surprizing. I have observed it, cially as he must have known and remarked upon it, a thousand times. The Queen is one of the persons who are excesshould not have found out the sively fond of little children: history of little Austin. Thus, and, let me ask, what, in wothen, as a father, his conduct man or man, can be a more

Thus, upon the supposition, anxious to get a good provi-that the Queen had no improper sion for his family. But, as a feelings towards Bergami, the lover, as a paramour, his con- conduct of both was natural and. duct was the most unnatural consistent; but, if the Attorthat ever was heard of. Gould ney-General's assertions were this man, this keen and clever true; then the conduct of both man, possibly believe that he was a monster in human naexcessively fond of a child that at Greenwich! that person had had by another? But the Queen gave the Beryer, this Ex-officio Geutleman, of Bergami than ever woman before was fond of man; so exbelieve, that this doating wokiss the ground that this man walked upon, was almost equilconnexion with another woman!

This is too monstrons to be believed. It is a thing which cannot be true. It is against na-

us, except, perhaps, the Attor-ladopting of the child were ney-General, who has not, first proofs of Bergami's power over or last, been in love; and, did the Queen, why should we not it ever enter into our hearts or ascribe a similar power to the minds to be deatingly fond of a father of little Austin, which person, and, at the same time, father is, I believe, a pensioner

Williams says, that, when a gamis un estate. Why not? woman is fond of a man, and She did not place them on our Why not? especially when she has had the pension-list; she gave what she possession of him, "she will go gave out of her own savings. above half way to hell, to pre- And, what more proper and vent another from participating just than to make the future life with her." Nothing can be easy of a man and his family; to truer than this; and will she, whom, probably, in that cutthen, do any thing to keep her throat country, beset as she was constantly in mind, that another by spies and rufflans, she owed woman has participated with her very life? We are told, that her? This Government-Law- Bergami's bed-room was always near hers; and, we shall find, . represents the Queen as fouder that there was a very sufficient reason for this; for, without a guard, she would have been cessively doating that she lost dead and buried long and long all sense of every other consi- ago. When a man, an officer deration; and he wishes us to in our pay, could get into her house, and break open her man, while she was ready to drawers, who will believe, that a nightly guard of her person was not necessary? She felt ly fond of the pledge of his gratitude to the man, who had so long and faithfully served her; and she gave an estate: that is to say, a sort of farm! Our government has given Wellingture. To believe it is to give ton a farm that has cost us. human nature the lie. And are seven hundred thousand pounds. we to give human nature the besides pensions of more than lie rather than reject the asser- twelve thousand pounds a-year. tions of the Ex-officio advocate The services of Wellington to and the swearings of his Italian us are not to be compared to witnesses? This great fondness those of Bergami to the Queen. for the child was wholly incoms The services of the former are patible with the asserted fond-doubted by thousands, while ness for the father; and, if we those of the latter were real and were, for one moment, to sup- undoubted. That famous man. pose, that the taking and the Sidmouth, has an estate too. He

has a palace and the use of a royal park. That gallant chief, the sometime lover of Mrs. Clarke, has also an estate, granted out of lands, which were public property. But, good God! Only think of the immense sums, swallowed up by families, to no member of whom any service can be traced; and then think of a farm, given to Bergami, being taken as a proof of his absolute power over the Queen, and this power ascribed to his criminal connexion with her!

However, as to his power over the Queen, the fact not only becomes glaringly false, but the very idea ridiculous, when we look at other parts of her Majesty's conduct, which are matters of public notoriety. First, observe, that Bergami was anxious to get his family about the Queen. To get them in to be living upon her. To get them to share largely in the pickings; and at last he got an estate from her. Thus, then, he was anxious to enrich himself. This is represented to us by the Attorney General. - Secondly, observe, we are told that his power over the Queen was absolute; that she humbled herself in all manner of ways to gratify him; that she even mended his clathes; and in short, was ready to do any thing, even to the washing of his shirt and the blacking of his shoes. This is the picture which is given us of her submission to his will. Spaniel dog was never more submissive to his master than our Queen was to this Bergami. Thirdly observe, that the Queen received a clear thirty-five thou-

sand pounds a year from England; which money, if the other parts of the story were true; which money, mind, if the fact of his power over the Queen were not a lie, was just so much money placed at the absolute disposal of Bergami, -Fourthly, observe, then, that he did not take this money to himself; that he did not lay it out upon estates in Italy; but that he, who, one would have thought, would have liked travelling no better than a footman likes to whet knives, chose to lay this money out in long and wearisome journeys about Italy, into the Austrian territories, through Germany, over the Alps; and, in tiresome, fatiguing and dangerous voyages by sea! Is not this a monstrous supposition? Mind, the money was his; it was his choice that was to be followed: it was his taste that was to be consulted; he had about him a fondling woman that was a mere worm under his foot, and he chooses several times to embark on board English men of war he chooses to visit all the islands in the Mediterranean, he chooses to sail to the Barbary coast; he chooses to purchase a polacre, and to sail in that most uncomfortable sort of vessel from port to port, from island to island, amidst all sorts of inconveniences and perils; he chooses to visit antient Greece, and to go even to Jerusalem to see the ruins of that once famous city, to view the spot where the temple of Solomon stood, and to visit the sepulchre'of Jesus Christ; a low, illiterate, vulgar - minded courier, who had been had harrass-

ed to death a few years before | money and her time in visiting in Buonaparte's Russian campaign: yea, this man chooses to thirty-five thousand pounds a year in this manner. laying it out upon attendants. upon inn-keepers, upon captains and crews of vessels, upon camels, guides, and God knows what, instead of keeping it to himself; living at a snug house in the Milanese, which, by the bye, the Queen must have best liked, too, and purchasing estates 'till they swelled out into principalities! Every tongue will exclaim; every unbribed tongue; every unperjured man will exclaim, this is a lie!

Then, can it possibly be believed that it was his desire to expend the money in this way ; and yet, if it was not his desire, it was the Queen's desire; as it unquestionably was. Look, then, at her journies and her voyages. Read the list of places that she visited. All that is venerable in antiquity; all that is rare in art and in nature; all that could tend to enlarge and enrich the mind; all these were manifestly the objects of her enquiry and her pursuit. Let me ask, then, whether a mind could have been so occupied, and be, the lowest and filthiest enjoyments of the lowest and most filthy sensuality? Would a woman, abandoned to lustful enjoyments, have encountered fatigues and perils almost every

Athens, Utica, and Jerusalem?" Would a woman so lost to all sense of every thing but mere criminal lust; would such a woman have spent her time and encountered continual peril for the sake of acquiring a knowledge of countries and of the relics of antiquity? To believe this is utterly impossible; and vet we must believe this or believe the Attorney-General to be the most viperous slanderer that ever opened a pair of lips.

Observe, again, that the Attorney-General tells us that this power of Bergami over the Queen, and consequently the licentious and foul intercourse between them, continued up to the time of her Majesty's departure from St. Omers for England. Now then, behold a woman sunk in sensuality, lost to every feeling of honour and of shame, doating upon a man, clinging round him every night and lolloping upon him every day; caring for nothing in the whole world but for the enjoyment of the person of this man : behold this woman thus sunk, thus possessed, upon the bare reading of an English newspaper, by which she finds that at the same moment, sunk into the king is dead and that her name is left out of the Liturgy. writes instantly to the prime minister, remonstrates with him upon the injustice of such omission, and requests that her name may be instantly put into the day of her life for a series of mouths of the English people in years, and that, too, for the ma- their prayer. This we know to nifest purpose of storing her be a fact; and this simple fact mind with knowledge! Would gives the lie direct to all the such a woman have spent her disgusting representation of h-

Would he have cared a straw doated upon. world bave been so contrary to tending in the most distant degree to the removal of her fortune out of his clutches? 'To believe that the Queen and that Beigami could have thus acted with regard to the Liturgy at the same fine that they were living in the state which the Attorney-General has described. is impossible; and yet we must swallow this impossibility, or the Attorney-General is the vilest of slanderers.

We know, too, that the moment her Majesty heard of the King's death, she resolved on her return to England. This is a fact well known. We have the word of Mr. Alderman Wood for it; for to him she wrote to send her a vessel to Leghorn to bring her home From this time forwards, all was impatience on her part to return known facts.

centiousness, and to all the base upon the assertions of an Attorattempts to make us believe that nev General nor upon the swear-Bergami possessed an absolute ings of Italian witnesses, brought power over her. If he had pos- forward by the Solicitor of the sessed that absolute power; if Treasury. Now, then, look once she had been the mender of his more; disgusting as the picture: clothes and worse than his spa- is, look once more, at the slanniel dog, would she ever have derous and wicked description written that letter? The Attor-ney-General says that she saw torney General. There she was, with none but his eyes. Would living in all the luxurious enjoyhe, a Roman Catholic, have suf- ments of debauchery. She was fered her to write that letter? in the arms of a man that she She was lost, about the Liturgy, the Church, totally sunk and gone, as tothe Crown, or about England everything but this man. From itself? Would he have cared this man she must separate if she about any thing but the money? came to England; and yet, she and could any thing in the is teasing her friends to death to get her back to that very Enghis natural wishes as for the land. And at last, her impa-Queen to do or to say any thing tience becomes so great, that amidst a host of difficulties and dangers, she encounters a journey enough to half kill a stout man in order to do that which must necessarily separate her from her paramour. As if this were not enough for us to believe, we must further believe that this all-powerful paramour. who was very fond of enriching his family, not only gave his consent to her departure, but still served her as one of the persons necessary to the success of the expedition, and became himselfinstrumental in sending away from himself the sum of at least thirty-five thousand pounds a year! This is all true: every word of it is true; or, the statement of the Attorney General is an impudent and atrocious heap of falsehoods.

At last, the Queen actually to England. These are well- arrives at St. Omers, and if any These rest not man can believe; no, I will not

put it in that shape: if any man | of nature; any thing so comcan look at what passed there; pletely impossible never was be and after having looked at it fore stated in the way even of fully and fairly can deny that hypothesis. And vet, this monthe statement of the Attorney strong absurdity; this thing out General is a falsehood, such man of reason and out of nature: must be a malignant and black- these facts, to believe all which? hearted villain. Before she ar- we must believe the parties to rived at St. Omers, there might possibly exist doubts in her mind, or rather in the mind of Bergami, for, you will observe she saw only with his eyes: there might, I say, possibly exist doubts, previous to this time, as to whether the same sum of money would be turnished her annually if she did not return to England. This is almost impossible; but it is possible. However, when she arrived at St. Omers, and Bergami with her; not only was all doubt of this sort removed, but they found that they could now have the security of receiving fifty thousand pounds a year instead of the thirty-five thousand pounds a year which they received before. They found, on the other hand, that if the Queen persisted in coming to England, she was to be prosecuted by this tremendous Government, and, if found guilty, deprived of all maintenance for fingers of Englishmen, the future, and probably of life. have not made one single step Yet in the face of all this; with towards blunting their feelings, consciousness of guilt, the Queen instantly resolves to come and face her enemies; while, with a certainty of losing fifty thousand pounds a year, the interested and all-powerful paramour with the oppressed, and to lend suffers her to hasten to the Eng- assistance to the weak in their lish shore? Any thing so mon-atruggles against the strong. strous as this was never before And this character will now be any thing so out of reason, and her enemies a Queen, whose

have hated themselves; even all this we must swallow and believe to be true, or we must believe the statement. of the. Attorney-General to be a lie. To reason further upon the subject would be irksome to myself and offensive to the understanding of my readers, who will long ago have exclaimed; " say no more: we are satisfied: "the Queen is innocent and " her accusers the basest of ca-"lumniators."

Let those accusers now work their way. They think that by sending forth daily portions of swearings from the fortress. they shall, by little and little. wear away the honest indignation of the public. They are deceived. They have this time over-reached themselves; and they will find to their cost, that though they have been able to gag the mouths and cramp the towards enfeebling their ninds or corrupting their hearts. has always been a distinguishing characteristick of the people of this country, to sympathise tendered for the belief of man; displayed in protecting against

only real faults are her generosity, her love of the people and. her hatred of tyranny and oppression. Her Majesty has, eyen in her travels and voyages; in her pursuits, while abroad, rendered herself an object worthy of the highest admiration. Nothing but greatness of mind: nothing but a mind worthy of a Queen, worthy of a woman placed above other women; nothing but this could have produced a desire to see so many countries and to acquire so: large a stock of knowledge. But her base enemies, instead of joining in the admiration which this is so well calculated to excite, seem to have received an additional stock of hatred from the source of the applause and admiration of others. The Queen's character and conduct are an honour to the country. They are, too, a promise of a possibility of our seeing better days; and, whatever her one-

mies may think, the nation will, upon this occasion, he true to itself, and will stand by her with that steadiness, constancy, and valour for which it has alr, ways been famed.

WM. COBBETT.

PEEP AT THE PEERS.

Strand.—Price four-pence.—A miscalculation as to the cost of print and paper, led to the selling of the first printed for isospence.—It contains as much as a hundred pages of common print in an octave form.—This work every man ought, at all times, to have in his house.—Let us only have this in our houses, and, they may make a Contain ship law as soon as they please:

LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 2, 1820. -No.7.1

TO HER

MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY:

A Letter presenting her with Information, and most humbly tendering her Advice as to certain Important Matters.

London, 27th August, 1820.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY, Occupied, as your Majesty's mind must be, with the mea-

attention is too much engaged by the perils that surround you : you are necessarily too much absorbed by the feelings inseparable from your situation, to take a clear and calm view of objects at a distance, and to calculate, with any degree of precision, upon what is likely to come after the conflict is over.

To humble individuals like myself, who stand as specialtors upon the shore; who feel strongly for your Majesty, but sures necessary to your defence whose want of newer, whose against the foul charges hatched humble means, and still more by your enemies, it must inevi- hurable abilities, restrain us tably follow that you still re- from attempting to take part in main uninformed as to many the dreadful strugglen; nto us it things, to be well acquainted belongs to reflect on what is with which deeply concerns passing, on what is likely to you; and, also, that you stand come to pass; on present prosin need of being cautioned in pects and on future contingentime against new contrivances, cies; and thus, to use that safenew inventions, new traps, the ty which the humbleness of our object of which will be to pre-station secures to us; to use that vent you from deriving full be- safety in digesting, for your nefit from the victory which Majesty's gracious consideracertainly achieve tion, such information as we Your Majesty is embarked, and think likely to: be useful, and. is taking part, in a terrible con-lin the true spirit of obefliet on a troubled sea. Your dient and faithful subjects, to

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tender to your Majesty such advice as we think likely to be conducive to the good of your Majesty, and to the safety, honour, and dignity of that throne, of which your Majesty is so well calculated to be, at once, the support and the ornament.

It is one of the great advantages of the press, that it enables those who never could hope to approach their Sovereign in person, to approach him in a manner little less effectual. The press in this been country has greatly shackled, but still it lives; and to destroy its effects, the thing itself must be totally destroyed. The press brings every man capable of making use of it, at once into the presence of the person who is addressed through this channel. In this way I have the honour now to stand before your Majesty; and, with all humility and sincerity, with unobtrusive zeal and with a mind free from every interested bias, I tender to your Majesty the result of much reflection upon matters in which you are deeply interested.

First, it becomes me to notice the impression, which the proceedings in the House of Lords have produced upon the public I was very early in promind. mulgating my conviction, that it was principally upon the people that your Majesty had to rest for protection. amongst those who did themselves the honour to meet their heroic and persecuted Queen on the top of Shooter's Hill. I, at that moment, waved a bough of laurel as your Majesty mounted the top of the hill, and at a distance of not many feet from your carriage. I had long been acquainted, and well acquainted, not only with the persecutions that you had endured, but with the real causes of those persecutions. My feelings were very strong at the moment to which I have alluded; but I observed attentively the immense multitudes whom I saw that day; I discovered that all felt alike; I knew that what I saw was a sample of the whole mass of the community; and I concluded, that that whole community would step forward, if necessary, in support of your Majesty. Public opinion, notwithstanding all the laws that have been passed against Liberty of the Press and Liberty of Speech; public opinion is still powerful in England;

tained to the contrary, nothing great in point of importance; nothing permanent in point of duration, can possibly be effected in opposition to public opinion. Tyrannical acts may be perpetrated for a while; foolish or wicked measures may be adopted; but, at last, these will be swept away and public epinion will prevail.

That opinion, as to the nature of the proceedings commenced against your Majesty, has been loudly and decidedly expressed. Great ability and great zeal has been discovered by your Majesty's eminent counsef; but even his astonishing powers, though quite sufficient to make his opponents and your enemies hang their heads, would have been of no avail without the cheering echo of public opinion. He has cheered the public and the public have cheered him; and, as far as the case has hitherto gone, a case more triumphant never presented itself to the world.

Your Maiesty's own conduct has, however, been the great pilot in this tempestuous sea. Your integrity, your firmness, your promptitude, your undaunted courage; these have inspired

whatever hopes may be enter- us all with confidence, have kept our zeal and activity alive. At every stage your conduct has been marked with wisdom. In tracing you from St. Omers. where the crawling courtier first presented you with a douceur and next tried the power of a threat; in tracing your Majesty from that spot which will become renowned by your heroic conduct; in tracing you from that spot down to the House of Lords to face your accusers in person, we see, in every act of your Majesty, some new proof that you deserve our love and admiration.

> As to the proceedings themselves, taken as a whole, they have disappointed as only in this, that, so many crafty men, employed for so long a time, and having such powerful motives to urge them on, should not have made out a something clad in a little more of probability. on any particular part of the evidence produced it is not my business to remark, nor would it be becoming to remark on it in a letter addressed to your Majesty. By the choice of your judges it has gone forth to the world; and the world has already passed its decision upon it, without waiting to hear one

single word of what your Counsel have to urge in its refutation. The public, like a Grand Jury, 'as already thrown out the Bill, even upon the ex-parte statement of your accusers.

Still, there are a few points in the Attorney-General's charge against you, with regard to which it is right that your Majesty should be correctly informed of the public opinion. We have observed that he began his charge on a Saturday; that he finished it on the succeeding Monday: and that, one single witness (a discarded servant of your Majesty), was enabled to occupy the rest of Monday, and great part of the Tuesday .-Here were three whole days for the Attorney-General's slander to sink gradually into the public mind, without a possibility of even a cross-examination to come forth to arrest the progress of this deadly poison! I beseech your Majesty to note this cir-It is a circumcumstance well. stance of great importance.-It was, upon the effect of this poison that your base enemies and calumniators counted for that re-action, which they had taken such uncommon pains to make the public believe would be produced. From

the time of your Majesty's landing up to the day of the trial, these enemies had been promising themselves a re-action; and the speech of the Attorney-General, together with the evidence of the first witness, both of them drawled out to unparalleled length, were intended to produce this re-action. They failed of producing it. They did, indeed, produce a stagnating effect upon the public for three days; which, by the by, proved the honesty and sincerity of that. public; but, at the end of the three days, the tide turned, and vour enemies were overwhelmed with public indignation.-Never more will those enemies see a glimpse of hope. Their conduct now shows that they have no hope; and all that they expect is, that they shall be able to draw themselves off with impunity; which, if they effect it will be owing to that only fault of your Majesty, too great a disposition to forgive; but which fault, you have now been taught that it would be extremely dangerous to indulge in for the future.

The Attorney-General is not only a lawyer of great experience himself; but he had, in the preparing of his charge,

many other lawyers abler than i himself to advise with and to prepare his charge for him; therefore, we are, at first sight, surprised, that he should have asserted things, which he knew he could not prove, even by his own witnesses. But when we consider, that re-action was the object of the charge; when we consider that the charge was intended to turn the tide of public opinion and to lay reason asleep: then our surprise ceases and we can account for the monstrous falseboods stated in that Of these monstrous falsehoods, however, I shall particularly mention but one, and that one is of so beastly a nature that I dare not speak of it in the terms which he made use of.

. I allude here to that part of his charge, wherein he speaks of the exhibitions of Leone. After deploring the painful situation in which he was placed; and the great difficulty with which he could bring himself, even in the discharge of his imperious duty, to name the horrid thing that he was about to name; after, in short, using every expression calculated to produce a belief that it gave him pain inexpressible to enter upon the

he brought out the beastly charge expressed in words the most beastly that ever flowed from a pair of beastly lips. He described the act performed before your Majesty. He did not flinch; but brought fully out the filthy words; and, taking the whole of what he said together, it was next to impossible for the public not to believe, that he must have had evidence to support the beastly description. Yet, after all, when he brought his evidence, even that evidence attested to no such a thing; and that horrid act which he had described so minutely; that nasty, beastly act, his witnessess called A BUFFOONERY! In short, this act, the like of which never was described before, even by two persons in private conversation, dwindled, at down into an exhibition as common in the streets of Genoa, Rome, Naples, and even in Gibraltar, as are the exhibitions of dancing dogs and dancing bears in the streets of London. Upon inquiry, we find, that species of buffeonery is so commen in Italy as to form part of the public diversions; and, indeed, it is well known that all perrit description; after all this, ours we bufform come from that that this very species of buffoonery has often been exhibited, not only in the travelling Theatres at fairs in England. but even in the Theatres in the Metropolis!

From one instance of this kind. we draw inferences applicable to the whole series of charges; and our conclusion is, and must be, that if your enemies could hatch a charge like this, they would stop-at nothing.

· We have observed very carefully upon all the previous arrangements as to this trial.-Every circumstance that has arisen during the trial, has served to elucidate the motives for those previous arrangements. In this mode of proceeding against your Majesty, we have observed all the principles of law, all the precautions necessary to the security of the accused laid prostrate; and we now see the reasons why they were laid pres-Your Majesty's heroic determination, as expressed in your letter to the King, gave satisfaction at the time when it first met the public eye; but it now gives infinitely greater satisfaction. Your promise thought applied by to gain time. They essentateli upon their great powe

country; and we know, besides, | ers of delusion; but time has performed its usual task; that is to say, it has given a death-blow to falsehood.

> Your Majesty ought to be informed, that every day adds to that love and admiration which the people felt towards your Majesty upon your first arrival; and that it also adds to that anxious desire that has always been entertained, that your Majesty will submit to no compromise, let the apparentdangers be whatthey may; that you will do no act which shall seem to say that you decline the contest whatever may be the shape that it may assume; but that you will make a stand for the full possession and enjoyment of all and every one of your rights as Queen of this kingdom. not bating, in the smallest particular, of any one of those rights.

Numerous are the claims which your Majesty has to our duty as well as to our admiration and confidence. We are not a feelish people. We de not shut our ears to the things sworn against your Majesty; but, when we recollect the swearings of 1808; when we recollect that there were oaths in abundance to sustain the false and infamous charge of pregnancy, delivery

and giving suck; when we recollect that there could be found wretches of English birth base enough thus to perjure themselves in order to insure your destruction: when we recollect this; and that your great protector and your child were then alive: when we recollect these things, we should be the most unjust and most cruel of human kind if we could affect to rely apon any swearings against you in the present case. We clearly see that this evidence has been got together for the purpose of keeping you out of the country or driving you from it. We see the proof of what your Majesty stated in your letter to the King; that his own Ministers at Foreign Courts, and that the Foreign Courts themselves, had been made agents in this horrid enterprize; and can we possibly believe that such uncommon paîns would have been taken if there had not been some uncommonly great object at stake?

By your Majesty's personations we have been made acquainted with your real character. Before this time, we regarded you as persecuted, as unjustly treated, as cruelly hunted down. But, until now, we did not know that we had the

honour to have for our Queen, a woman who had spent her money and her time in a pursuit after knowledge: we did not know that which we now do know, that your Majesty had travelled over a considerable part of Europe, part of Asia and part of Africa; that you had travelled by land, more than ten thousand miles; that you had voyaged, by sea, more than fifteen thousand miles; that you had sailed from, and entered. nearly one hundred sea-ports: that you had visited more than two hundred renowned cities and famous places of antiquity: that you had witnessed and observed upon the religions, laws. eustoms, manners, arts, sciences and products of more than forty distinct peoples; that you had been upon the land where the Israelites were held in bondage; that you had traversed part of the wilderness which they traversed under the guidance of Moses: that you had been to Jerusalom and visited the tomb of Christ; that you had visited every island and place where the Apostles preached; that, during these travels and vovages, you had voluntarily endured hardships, and encountered dangues such as no man

without compulsion ever before | be left out of the Liturgy, reflect endured and encountered; that. in times of the greatest peril. when even the boldest sailors felt alarm, your Majesty never discovered fear; and, in addition to all these, we now know, that when your Majesty was in the Barbary States, you, to your immortal honour, employed your money as well as your powers of persuasion to obtain liberty of numerous Christian alayes, and to send them home to their native country and their disconsolate friends. Your Majesty's uniform kindness, benevolence and generosity were well known to us before. But. it remained for your enemies to make us acquainted with these striking proofs of your greatness of mind. In our Liturgy, that Liturgy from which the name of your Majesty has been withheld, we particularly pray for the deliverance of captives, and the prayer was instituted, too, for that particular description of captives, whom your Majesty found in the hands of the Barbarians of Africa. How well did you perform your duty! How truly did you show that you were a zealous Christian in deeds, and not in words! When . hose who advised your name to

on this act of your Majesty, can they look back to their advice without feelings of shame! The captives whom you delivered; the parents, the wives, the children, the brethren of those captives, will bless your name, and will hand it down with blessings to their posterity. And shall we, Englishmen and Englishwomen, be insensible to your great and glorious acts, while those acts live in the heartfelt gratitude of foreigners!

Not to hold your Majesty in admiration would bespeak us to be a nation of the "basest popu-" lace." as Lord CASTLEREAGH described us to be. We are not guilty of this shameful want of judgement and want of feeling. We are proud to be able to boast of owing duty to such a Queen, who is an honour to us as well as to her sex. All nations think they have a right to claim a share in the merits of their Sovereigns. We reflect with some degree of self-importance, that it was by the fruit of our labour that your Majesty was enabled to perform your wonderful travels and vovages. We take to ourselves some degree of merit for having extred that money by the sweat of our

brow, which enabled your Majesty to acquire so large a stock of knowledge; to do good to so many human beings; to raise the humble and needy, and to set the captive free. Your Majesty thus becomes closely identified with ourselves; and you are naturally dearer to us, taking us as a whole people, than any other human being possibly can be.

Then, when we reflect upon the smallness of the sum with which your Majesty performed these great things, and compare it with the largeness of those sums, which others spend in luxury, frivolity, and in all sorts of debasing amusements and pursuits, it is impossible that the contrast should not strike upon our minds with irresistable force. The whole sum allowed to your Majesty annually was not the half of what is spent in secret services: it was little more than a half of what is still given to French and other Emigrants; and it was little more than a third of what is annually given to the poor clergy of the enormously rich church of England. One single sinecure office, which has only recently been diminished, amounted to nearly as much annually as your Majesty had to

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expend in all your praise-worthy and magnificent objects and pursuits; and there will be expended in an attempt to degrade your Majesty, more of our money than you expended in the. six years in the maintaining of your state, in the performing of your travels and your voyages, in the acquiring of all that knowledge with which your mind must be enriched, in duly preparing yourself, and rendering yourself worthy of the exalted station which you were destined to fill; and in relieving dictress wherever you found it and taking the captives from the hands of barbarians.

This comparison is made, at once, by us without reflection. It strikes us without being sought for. It forces itself upon our minds; and, along with it comes the conviction of your Majesty's innocence. None but a great mind could have been engaged in such pursuits. None but a generous heart could have felt delight in the liberation of the captive, who had never been seen before by the benefactress, and never was to be seen by her again. Here we_ see true greatness of mind; true nobleness of spirit; here we see something worthy of being called Royal. How many names have found their way into the calendar of Saints for deeds less truly meritorious than those of

your Majesty!

And, how then are we to believe the vile accusations put forth against you? How are we to believe that all this greatness of mind. all this nobleness of sentiment, were found in a person devoted to the most degrading of pleasures? Without more ado, we dismiss the vile charge; we say it is a base calumny; we gather ourselves round your Majesty and think ourselves dishonoured for ever if we but for one single moment suffer ourselves to be suspected of want of devotion to your cause. We are prepared for every extremity: we look not at little points of difficulty or of danger: our determination is founded upon a general view of the matter: our hearts tell us that your Majesty will not be sacrificed, because we can see nothing to produce evil to you which must not necessarily produce evil to ourselves.

According to present appearances, your enemies have two difficulties before them of equal magnitude. In the opinion of some persons, it would be less dangerous to those enemies that your Majesty should be convicted than that you should be acquitted. For my own part, I do not know on which side the danger to them is greatest. But of one thing I am very certain; and that is, that nothing will shake your Majesty in the love and admiration of the people, including, in the word people, ever you cease to carry on a

the whole of the efficient part of the community. If the prosecution fail, new intrigues will be attempted; new endeavours to remove your Majesty from these protecting shores; even new calumnies will be invented; unless your Majesty reject every proposition of compromise, and resolve, at once, to enter upon the full and complete enjoyment of all your rights.

It is necessary that I speak plain here in print, having no other means of communicating my thoughts to your Majesty. I like very much the greater part of the proceedings of the Meeting in Mary-le-bonne.-The noblemen and gentlemen assembled there have done themselves great honour, and all their intentions are unquestionably good. But, there is one part of the proceedings, which I view with great suspicion; not as to the motive; but as to the To raise a fund to be effect. presented to your Majesty, would, in my opinion, if the money were received, have a very injurious effect. It would seem to say, that your Majesty had a reliance other than that which you ought to have on the justice of the whole nation. would place your Majesty upon a footing with some oppressed private individual, who has not the power to carry on a contest with the Ministry. It would seem to be an abandonment of your own rights; which rights are clear and definite, and without the enjoyment of which rights, your Majesty must be in a state of degradation, whenstruggle for them. To accept ! of support, deled out by a set of Trustees, however respectable in themselves and however worthy their motive, would be a great humiliation of your Majesty and a source of great grief to the people. You are the rightful Queen of the Kingdom: that immense sum, the Civil List, is granted, in great part, for you. All its provisions and establishments contemplate a Queen as well as a King. you they belong as much as they belonged to the late Queen, and, therefore, neither directly nor indirectly, ought any part of them to be abandoned.

It is an old maxim of politicians that power is to be maintained by the same means by which it has been acquired. Your Majesty has gained your power over public opinion by your firmness and resolution; by the loftiness of your character and your language. These have given a tone to the minds of the people, who feel as you feel; and therefore, to preserve that tone, your Majesty must act as you have acted. It is not money; it is not houses, furniture, borses, carriages, liveries and other outward and visible signs of grandeur, that have. made so many millions of hearts devoted to your Majesty. your own conduct; it is the confidence inspired in that conduct. and by your language. You have poured your own soul into the breasts of the people. Creatures that never felt before have been inspired and worked into feeling by your Majesty. And, therewill carry you successfully through ever danger, and cause you to triumph over every enemy, there must be no abatement in that high, dignified and lofty attitude which your Majesty has assumed.

To accept of pecuniary sunport at the hands of Trustees. whoever those Trustees might be, would be as degrading to your Majesty as a similar act on the part of the King would be degrading to him. It belongs to the nation, and that, too, through the hands of its regular constituted authorities, and in the regular and constitutional mode, to provide for the maintenance of your Majesty's dignity and splendour. By the side of the King is your Majesty's place. To hold your station and your courts, as Queen, is your right; and for this right, your Majesty must contend to the last. Some of the slippery sycophants; some of the filthy knaves, who have been at the bottom of the machinations against your Majesty, are beginning to say, that "though the proof of some parts " of the charges against you may " fail, still there will be enough "proved to cause the Bill of "Pains and Penalties to be " passed in a mitigated form, so "as to render it improper for " such a person to hold a Court."

I beseech your Majesty to pay particular attention to this. It is thought by these knaves; the poured your own soul into the breasts of the people. Creatures that never felt before have been inspired and worked into feeling by your Majesty. And, therefore, to maintain this spirit which

cuniary allowance, the feelings of the people will be blunted; and that your Majesty, finding yourself of no public importance here in this great country, will very soon remove to some other, carrying with you the dirt that has been flung upon you, and leaving the field clear to your enemies.

These knaves deceive themselves in this, their calculation; but I am uncommonly anxious to guard your Majesty against doing any thing that shall cause one single person in the country to believe, that any decision, however mitigated, would induce you to give up, for one single hour, the assertion and the pursuit of your rights.— Every word you utter, ought to strengthen the people in the conviction that you will fulfil the solemn pledge given at the close of your letter to the King, which letter, your Majesty ought to be informed, has surpassed, in point of circulation, and probably ten thousand times surpassed. any thing that ever before found its way to the press. Your Majesty should be informed that it has been circulated through every avenue in this kingdom, from one end of it to the other: that it has been re-published in all the journals of France, Spain, Holland, Germany and Italy; and that, in short, the whole civilized world are in possession of your Majesty's just complaints, your noble views and intentions. This country is the centre of the civilized world. All man and woman-kind have their eyes apon your Majesty. They have

for the result. Your Majesty is. in short, destined to be the greatest personage that world ever yet produced, unless. what is not to be believed, you were now, when complete victory is within your reach, to stop suddenly short in your career in support of your rights, which are, in fact, also the rights of the nation.

Your Majesty's glory will be of the true and sterling stamp; it will not have been acquired by bad means; but by means the most honourable, the most praise-worthy that the human mind can conceive. You have not sought for it. It has been brought to you by the hand of persecution. There has been nothing ostentatious in your conduct. Your whole life appears to have been marked by an anxious desire and a never-ceasing activity to relieve the distresses and to promote the happiness of others. The charge of going to your chamberlain's bed to inquire how he was when he was ill, brings out the fact even from the mouths of your base accusers. that you went, also, to the bedside of your man-cook to inquire how he was when he was ill! And this brings out the fact, that it was your uniform practice to visit, in your own person. every creature belonging to your family that was in a state of indisposition. That it was your uniform practice to inquire with your own lips from the sufferers themselves what was the cause and state of their ailments. That it was your uniform practice to see with your own eyes that seen your pledge and they wait | they had proper attendance and

suitable accommodation. These detailed proofs of your rare humanity, of your unparalleled condescension and benevolence, of your matchless goodness and tenderness of heart: these have been produced to us by your calumniators. Had you never been accused of crimes the most foul, your bright virtues would never have come to light.

The whole of your life has been by your enemies proved to have been a life of real charity, and of tenderness towards persons in distress, such as never was before found in human In no one single instance do we discover a desire to make known to the world any of your good and gracious acts. Your Majesty has a monument of fame, raised by the hands of your enemies. Little did those enemies imagine what they were doing. They, calculating upon what is commonly seen in life, that great tenderness is rarely united with stern and inflexible resolution; that the tender bosom generally recoils at dangers, and desists from the pursuit even of well known right, if, in that pursuit, perilous consequences be involved: your enemies calculating in this way were unable to estimate the character of your Majesty. They should have perceived that your extraordinary benevolence and tenderness of disposition was accompanied with zeal, activity, and courage, equally extraordinary; they should have considered that, to set the captive free; to send him home to restore happiness to his disconsolate pa-

rents and children; it had been necessary for your Majesty to encounter hardships and perils yourself; and hence they should have drawn the conclusion, that, it was unnatural to suppose that your breast would be wholly devoid of resentment of injuries so outrageous as those they were prepared to heap upon you; and still more unnatural to suppose that you would not feel a desire to incur some risk, to encounter some hardship and some peril, for the sake of a people who had shown so much attachment to your Majesty as that shown by the English people from the hour of your landing. enemies have calculated wrongly. and those calculate wrongly, now, who imagine that your Majesty is to be degraded and shoved out of the country by any thing that they can say or do.

Standing as your Majesty does, openly opposed to faction which has involved this once happy country in every species of ruin and misery; a faction well known whole civilized world; a faction upon whom the Spaniards, the Neapolitans, the sound part of the French, every man in the world that possesses or sighs for, freedom, has his eye; standing as your Majesty does opposed to this faction, all the world has its eyes upon you; and thus. by your enemies, you have been placed upon a pinnacle more conspicuous, than that cupied by any other human being. In such a state, every act and every word is of con-

sequence. It requires more than human wisdom and foresight to do or to say much in your Maiesty's situation, and to do or say nothing wrong; but there is one rule never to be departed from; and that is, to do, or say, nothing, from which any human being can collect that your Majesty can, by any means, be brought to flinch from your noble resolution, expressed in vour letter to the King. That letter is our Polar Star. that we look; and on the spirit, which that letter breathes, we rely for your Majesty's restoration to rights and dignities, so clearly your own, and so essential to the nation's honour and tranquillity.

We are now, may it please your Majesty, in no sort of anxiety or uncertanity as to your Majesty's innocence of the foul charges brought against you. We know that you are as innocent as you were in 1806. The testimony now giving against you is more a subject of curiosity than of interest with the people. But, we look with great interest to the consequenccs; and, relying firmly on your Majesty's wisdom and resolution, we are full of hope, that those consequences will prove permanently beneficial to the prople as well as to the throne.

I am,

With the most profound respect, Your Majesty's most faithful subject and servant,

WN. COBBETT.

PEEP AT THE PEERS.

It is curious to observe what a hubbub this little work has made in the political world. It used to be thought, "that a "cat might look at a King;" and yet, it would seem, that, now-a-days, poor 'Englishmen must not venture even to peep at a peer! The Authors, or, rather, the Compilers of this useful little work have sent me the following letter in their defence. I should insert it as a measure of justice; but, I have the further motive of gratitude; for, I have no scruple to say, that, in this work, I have purchased more valuable knowledge for fourpence; yea, for a single groat, than I ever before purchased, in all the books that I ever possessed, and those books have cost me many hundreds of pounds. My readers have often heard me complain of the confused manner, in which the place, pension and sinecure lists were made out. The difficulty, or, rather, the impossibility, that I experienced, was, to get together the whole of what one man, or one family, received. This is now done for me, as far as relates to the Peers: and most sincerely do I thank the laborious compilers. They very cept that of mere collectors of information. But, they deserve a much higher sort of praise. They have not created any thing. indeed; but they have given great utility to an useless mass. They have not discussed political subjects: but they have furnished a clue in political science, such as never was possessed before. They have not descanted on our system: they have not argued about that which is called " the envy of surround-"ing nations and the admira-"tion of the world:" they have exhibited it Nobody can fail to understand if that understands the Numeration Table. gentlemen have explained the "admiration of the world," by pounds, shillings and pence. For this I again thank them; though I must confess, that I feel a little ashamed, that they have taught the public more in one single week, than I have been able to teach in twenty long years! I now insert their letter, which I think highly worthy of attention.

modestly decline all merit ex- TO THE EDITOR OF THE Po-

London, Aug. 24, 1820. Sir,

We beg permission to trouble you with a line or two on the very rude attacks which have been made upon our little compilation, called " A Peep at the Peers." The Lord Chancellor has described it as being full of lies; but, his Lordship conscientiously declined pointing out any one of those " lies." It would not be to behave like gentlemen for us to retort upon his Lordship; and, therefore, we shall only say, that our work is. true (mere errors excepted). and that, while our consciences are clear, we do not envy him that conscience, to which he is everlastingly appealing.

LORD LAUDERDALE complains, that 36,600l a-year are put down to him, while he does not receive a farthing of the public money. Now, Sir, is this fair? We put down 2,300l. to him, "as the usual allowance" to retired ambassadors." He is one; but, if he do not receive the usual allowance, it may be, that he was not abroad long enough. We had no list to refer to; and, if it were an error, the fault was not ours.

The rest of the sum, namely, 34,300l. a-year, is put down to his family, all but 600l. which he receives in trust for six females of the name of HAY.— Does not he receive this money? And, of what consequence is it to the public, whether he keep it, or pay it over to somebody else? But, it is rather curious. that this complaint of his lordship should have led to a discovery, which (after taking off his own supposed pension) will, we believe, augment the sum total against his name, as will appear in our second edition. A chapter on riders might be useful!

The Marchioness of Staf-FORD (or some one for her) has complained, that we have put down to her a pension of 800l. a-year; and, those who accuse us of this falsehood, assert, that she has not now, and never had, a pension. In answer to this, we say, that, in a report, laid before the House of Commons, and printed on the 29th of June. 1808, are the following words: "Gower, Countess, now Marchioness of Stafford, pension, 3001. a-year." Now, Sir, who is it that states falsehoods?

You will do us the justice to observe, Sir, that we kave distinctly stated in our preface, that we have no authentic pension-list of a later date than 1808. We were, therefore, compelled to confine ourselves to that; but, surely, we were not to reject that, and thus be disabled from making out any ac-

count at all. If that list be not correct now, let the Ministers and our Representatives give us another. Until they do that, we shall use the old list as a matter of course.

Nevertheless there are some few errors in our work; and. very far were we from pretending, that it was without errors. Some obliging correspondents have farnished us with means of correcting several mistakes .--These corrections we shall make directly; and, for that purpose, we shall publish a COND EDITION very soon; though, to say the truth, the errors are of an amount perfectly insignificant, when compared with the mighty whole.

Lord Lauderdale is reported to have said, that the article respecting his family was intended to intimate, that, in his vote on the Queen's case, he would be influenced by the money he received! Sir, we repel this charge with indignation. Let any one look at the observations in our preface, and see what foundation there is for such a charge. So far from any such imputations, we have distinctly said, that we pretend not to determine, whether this mode of employing the public money be a good or an evil; that we have merely stated facts. leaving others to argue on them, and to draw their own conclusions.

We are, Sir, Your most humble servants, THE AUTHORS. Mr. BROUGHAM's Arguments in favour of the Rule of the House of Lords, to allow of the re-cross-examination of the Witnesses against the Queen : together with his Reply to the ATTORNEY and Solicitor General on the same subject.

TURSDAY, AUGUST 29.

Mr. BROUGHAM.—He could not disguise the very great difficulty he felt, on the part of her Majesty, when called upon to address their Lordships on this point. He should feel it much easier to object to the course prescribed by their Lordships, than to point out any other course. First of all, their Lordships would suffer him to remind them that the difficulty was none of their (the Counsels) making. If any difficulties, be they numerous or be they few; if any they greater in their nature. presented themselves to their Lordships, none of them were this bill had, indeed, urged, that it was more for his interest to proceed by this bill; they their part, and on her part, had Saturday last. Upon that pointed out on the other decided against them that they

might say that it had arisen from rejecting their proposal, and adopting that of the other side. It was a sufficient reason which he urged, which any man in his situation would urge. why extraordinary indulgence should be extended to him, that he and his learned friends who were with him, had been thwarted in their petitions, hampered in their course of proceedings, never gratified in any one object and that all the difficulties which were complained of and which he might say his learned friend on the other side now complained of, arose, not from any refusal to the other side, but from having their wishes gratified. Even to the very last act of this great national drama, every objection urged by them had been resisted by their Lordships, and they had now decided, they (her Majesty's Counsel) not having been heard. He was not ready to propose another course. They were offered a situation not only perobstacles, be they less or be feetly different from that in which they had stood last Saturday, after they had been put to their election, and had made his. The person patronizing their election, but in a situation not so good-in a much worse situation than that in which they had stood from the (her Majesty's Counsel) on beginning till eleven o'clock onobjected. Although it seemed point formerly arising as to the good to the wisdom and jus-course of proceeding, they had tice of their Lordships to reject not been heard at all. Upon the course pointed out by her the petition presented against. Majesty's Counsel, and to adopt the course adopted, it had been side, if a difficulty had now were not to be heard. Upon arisen, her Majesty's Counsel the second step, upon what he

deemed much more valuable, some anticipation of the sort of what he deemed not an extraordinary claim, but what he deemed the privilege of every party in every suit-in every private suit between A. and B., and in every criminal prosecution-he meant the specification of the places where the alleged acts were committed, and the times, within a reasonable certainty and a reasonable latitude—a specification which was given in every case, not only of high treason (for the list of witnesses), but in every case the county was specified. been refused, and without being They were referred. such was the specification of of Pains and Penalties. quarters of the globe. It was not in Middlesex nor in Durcharged to have been commitever Europe, Asia, and Africa; or empires; inhabited or uninwildernesses, seus, habited : was their peculiar situation. It was peculiar that there was no every case the venu was an es-

evidence to be adduced to support it. But because she was not guilty, and had not been, for anoth that had appeared in evidence, in the places where the offence might be alleged to have been committed; because she was thus impocent, could not conceive the places of the alleged offence, or the persons in those places who should give evidence. This second essential point their Lordships had decided against them analogy there went only to the without hearing them. In this manner their Lordships had decided that they should proceed Upon this second point they had with the trial of her Majesty. under what he must bring his organs of speech to call a Bill the charge, to three of the four Lordships had decided that this mode of proceeding was of right and necessity, which they-he ham that the offence was would not say considered of wrong and unnecessary-but ted, but the charge extended which they denied to be of right and necessity. A compensation, ever countries, cities, and villa- he had thought, had been ofges; over provinces, kingdoms, fered to them for all those disadvantages, and it did appear to them, humbly endeavouring rivers, towns, or cities, in all to accomplish their duty accordthis variety of countries. This ing to the orders of their Lordships, (but they were now more than ever sensible of their utter venu in this case, because in inability to understand the orders of their Lordships), they did sential particular. This defect venture to hope they had atwas of peculiar weight, and tained to the meaning of their occasioned peculiar difficulty in Lordships' orders, and they conthe defence, when no offence ceived that, in their peculiar siat all had been committed. If tuation, not of their own seekher Majesty had sinned any ing, but of their Lordships' where she might have some making, some advantages were suspicion of the place to be to be allowed them to meet the charged, and by consequence peculiarity of difficulties which

their Lordships in their wisdom; of every defendant in every achad devised. They conceived that to meet the peculiar difficulty, another peculiarity was ordained by their Lordships as an advantage that might compensate in some measure the disadvantage. They little thought that when this advantage came to be sifted, it would be found simply the common advantage which every defendant enjoyed as a clear, absolute, indisputable right, which every party, as well as every defendant, was invariably allowed. that when they had recovered from the two refusals Duke of Norfolk, the noble dewhich he had mentioned, and from which they had recovered only by that which alone had induced them to make themselves parties to this proceeding, they little thought that all was to be taken away again, and that they were to hear their Lordships say to them, " You have no advantage; true it is that your situation-is peculiar in point of hardship, but for that very reason you shall have no peculiar advantage. The mischief is new extraordinary, and unparalleled. The more innocent your client is, the less able must she be to make a defence. But no novel advantage must be given you to resist the extraordinary pres-Whenever you claim an extraordinary remedy, then we tie ourselves down by forms then we refer to the proceedings in courts of law—then we quote the practice at nisi prius and in the Old Bailey, and we dence.

tion and in every prosecution." Their Lordships had created the peculiar difficulty, and they were therefore bound to afford, a peculiar remedy. If the Bill was unparalleled, if the proceeding against the Illustrious Defendant was without parallel with respect to the facts, or details, or principle, in any one judicial proceeding in the world, then was it equally unparalleled to deny the relief required by the extraordinary nature of the mischief, which in their minds They little thought was up to the present hour unparalleled. In the case of the fendant (the Duchess) had every advantage given to her by their Lordships which she could desire. It was not true that she had only a list of the witnesses; it was not true that she had only the places and times specified. She had objected to the vagueness of charges embracing seven parishes and five months, and asked to have the months applied to the parishes; and their Lordships had allowed that, and ordered the month and the place of every? act of adultery to be specified. and a second amended particular to be given in for this purpose. Thus it was in August at Windsor, in September at St. Margaret's, in October at some other parish, &c. Four days had been allowed afterwards to prepare for meeting those charges, so that she could go . to Windsor, and to the other places, in order to obtain levi-This was not all o it. give you not what is the right was not true that this was all

she had been allowed. He of these proceedings would be should rest his argument upon found upon their Lordships jourthe case of the Duke of Norfolk in 1691. He could refer to that case for a sanction to all he on Saturday. The claimed Duchess's proctor attended on their Lordships: they were aware that the proctor was a solicitor in Doctors' Commons. He would mention, as it was material to the understanding of this point, the order of proceeding, as he found it in their journals. On the 14th day of January, 1691, the order was made for the particulars. On the 16th the specification was ordered. On the 19th the objection was made to the generality. On the 23d the witnesses for the Dake were brought to their bar, and two whole pages of their journals contained no other matter but this examination in initialibus, to use a civil law expression. The examination extended to names, marriage, abode, &c. The proctor stood in the very situation in which he (Mr. Brougham) had stood last Saturday, and he was allowed to examine in the precise terms in which he had proposed to examine on Saturday. He cross-examined thus: " Did you serve any other master before your present master? When did you leave him?" He would implore their Lordships' attention to what had been their practice in the case to which he alluded. On the 19th a further and more minute specification was called for, and also allowed. On the 23d witnesses were produced at the bar by the then decent. If it were possible that

nals, two pages of which were actually filled up by the specifications allowed to the solicitation of the accused. All these proceedings were, he repeated, allowed in initialibus, as was the expression in civil law. All these minute particularizations their Lordships, upon their journals, would be found to have allowed in the case to which he alluded: and yet, notwithstanding the most extraordinary detail of apparently guilty factsthree or four witnesses indeed spoke, in their examination-inchief, to the fact of finding the Duchess actually in bed with her paramour, and another spoke of what had occurred in terms too revolting to delicacy for him to repeat; yet, notwithstanding all these proofs and circumstances, a few questions in crossexamination, had had such an effect as to induce their Lordships to throw out the bill. The case to which he alluded, was one, where proof to ocular demonstration was tendered and taken, and yet the bill was rendered a nullity by the crossexamination of the witnesses. So much for the case of the Duchess of Norfolk, in 1691. He did not mean to anticipate any thing in the way of reply to the arguments used by the learned Counsel on the opposite side. On the present occasion such a line of argument would be quite premature; indeed, it would be more—it would be quite irregular, unjust, nay, in-Duke of Norfolk. The whole the example had been set up of

prematitue comment upon any | ceedings they were to be placed he should say that the example was one, which would be more henourable in the breach than the observance. He could not believe, however, that such an example had been set him : still less could be believe that it came from any noble person on whom would hereafter lie the responsibility of deciding "upon his honour" on the whole merits of To believe that an this case. example of such a kind could be set in such a quarter, would be to exadit the existence of a monstrous indecorum, where all was no doubt pure and unsullied. If, however, the example were set even in so high a.quarter, he must refrain from following it: he must in common decency keep clear of a course which he thought atterly indecorous and indefensible. But he would come to the more material part of what he had now to address to their lordships. Did they, he asked, with an carnestness that he trusted bespoke his anxious suspense for a reply, mean now to retract what was termed "the extraordinary advantage" which from the outset they were disposed to give to his illustrious client in this promised advantage (to use the term applied to it) to be now withdrawn? And were the counplaced in one part of the conduct

arguments he might have com- in quite a different situation from messed and left unfinished, then that in which such parties were placed in the courts below !---Was this advantage, then, to be taken from them in one part. and were they in another to oncounter disadvantages in which no party was ever placed in any court under either ordinary or extraordinary circumstances? In any way in which their lordships could place him, he had disadvantages to encounter on the part of his client, which no person could have imposed upon him before the ordinary tribunals These disadvanof the land. tages arose out of the very nathre of the anomalous mode of propeeding which had been instituted. "O my Lords, (exclaimed Mr. Brougham) monstrous indeed will be the disadvantage to which we shall here be exposed, in comparison with the situation in which the courts of common law would place us, if your lordships will now tell us that the course of your proceeding, and the only course will be, first to hear the examination-in-chief, then the cross-examination, then the reexamination, and after that nothing but what shall be previously submitted to the opinion of your lordships: no question the progress of the case? Was to be asked a witness except through your lordships; no series of uninterrupted questions to be allowed us in the situation insel for the Queen to be now which we are placed. If this shall be your lordships' final of this cause, as parties were and irrevocable decision, then, placed in the ordinary course of I repeat, monstrous will be the proceedings in courts of law, disadvantages which must enwhile in another part of the pro- viron us in the performance of

our duty; and still more mon- | was safe, without it innocence strous is it to tell me, that this is done in conformity with the been told that he was to enjoy ordinary rules of law." He implored their lordships to pause before they placed him in such an embarrassing situation, and before they suffered it to be pretended that it was justified by any analogy with the practice of the ordinary tribunals. The accused in the coarts below had, upon the very form of the proceeding against him, the place where the crime was said to have been committed; in a criminal case, indeed, the law gave him this information. It was idle, therefore, to talk of any analogy between this course of proceeding and that in any of the courts below, when the very essence, as well as the form preposed to be set, showed not an analogy but a contrast. And vet this was the fair, the full, the candid manner in which practice of the courts below had been quoted before their lordships. All he wanted was, that they should abide by the practice of the Courts below: he desired no more; that was all he asked at the beginning, and he now asked nothing more when, as he believed, their proceedings were about to come their lordships was, that they whole, and not frighter them For instance, in an Evening Pa-

conferred no security. He had in this case an extraordinary advantage, not enjoyed by an accused in any ordinary case; for that, after the whole evidence of the prosecution had been gone through, his Illustrious Client might have two months to prepare her defence. He wished indeed he could take comfort from this, which some were pleased to call an extraordinary advantage. But where were the boasted enfoyments of this extraordinary advantage? Just let their lordships look for a moment at the situation in which he should stand before any of-Would the dinary tribunal. witness there retire from Courts as he must here, without undergoing the test of a cross-examination at the instant, from a counsel well prepared by previous information to enter intominute details? In any ordinary court was the accused liable to have his Judges preindiced by the daily publication of ex-parte evidence under all the influence which was incidental to such a situation? Not only had the illustrious accused this prejudice to encounter from the daily publication of what did to a close. All he conjured of occur, but superadded to this, she had to encounter the propawould take these rules as a gation of the vilest falsehoods. away partially; not to adhere per of Saturday it was stated, to them rigidly where they fet- that when the evidence came to tered the Queen, and depart the marks of adulterous interfrom them to benefit the King. course in a bed, it was stopped. He again repeated, that all his Now that was a gross and deli-Illustrious Client desired was berate falsehood; it was too a evenhanded justice; with it she wilful one, and fabricated for a

lies were the more dangerous being published as a tepresentation of facts occurring before their lerdships. He prayed their lordships to see the absolute nullity they would make of his cross-examination, if they confined it to the "extraordinary advantage," as it was called, of showing special cause for putting each question, and then putting it through their lordships. To avail himself of this extraordinary advantage, he was in the first place left without materials. How was he to pursue the crossexamination of a witness, whose face he never saw until he was produced to give his evidence? Such was the case of the female witness whose examination was suspended: she spoke of occurreness at Gazlarbue, and that was the first time he had ever heard of such a place as having any relation to this case. To call upon him, therefore, now to cross-examine this witness, was, in fact, to extract from him a confession of his ignorance of any thing, upon which he could cross-examine her. Such was the state to which he was reduced by the ignorance of names, of dates, of time and place, in which it had pleased their lordships to keep his Illustrious Client. The consequence of the step already taken by their municated either by the indictfordships became more intricate ment or by the information. for him, from the circumstance this investigation was carried on, descendants of the framers of it ing the long period of six years; down new rules for their own

base purpose. These infamous over this space and along that sourney he had to cast his eye. from the circumstances of their without mark or guide to fix it on any spot which it might be advisable to measure for the purposes of her Majesty's defence. Their lordships, with a view to obviate this difficulty. had promised to afford a delax of two months, to seek the necessary information, from which was to be drawn the materials for her Majesty's defence. Much better would it have been, had their lordships afforded that information which would have rendered any delay unnecessary: It was very easy for noble lords to say that they ought to regulate their course by the practice of the Courts below; but did they not recollect, that in all judicial tribunals, any delay, so for from being considered advantageous to the accused, was felt to be directly the reverse? With that feeling it was always considered prejudicial to the party on trial, if even a single day intervened between the opening of the case and the defence of the accused. The preindice of this delay was avoided by the very nature of the forms of judicial proceedings an this country. If the case were of a civil nature, the declaration contained a full specification of the charge; if of a criminal nature, the same information was com-Such were the wholesome proof the great distance at which visions of the English law: the from the places through which may have become wiser than her Majesty had journeyed dur- their ancestors, and may lay

conduct. Until, however, this the nature of the evidence prewas done, he agreed that the established forms and practice of the courts below ought to regulate their lordships proceedings; and all he conjured or desired was, that he should on the part of his Illustrious Client, have the benefit of these forms and of that practice. Did their lordships believe that there was so much magic in the dress of a counsel at their bar, or such a charm in his education and legal acquirements, as that he could at sight of a witness whom he never saw. nor ever heard of before, strike upon all those points of character and conduct which it were necessary to sift to ascertain moral credibility, and at once to enter upon a cross-examination with as little preparation as he could read from his brief? He would for a moment suppose a case which would show the difficulty in which their lordships' rule of proceeding would, if rigidly adopted, place him. Suppose that in three or four weeks bence he discovered any thing which went to destroy the testimony already given by any witness. Suppose that a witness, A.B., had received a sum of money on condition of his swearing against the Queen-nay, further, that the passing of this Bill of Pains and Penalties was to be a condition antecedent to the payment of the money. All the noble and learned lords who heard him at least, and he trusted all their lordships generally, would be struck with the powerful effect ings of the other courts of law, which this disclosure, if substan- | he begged to ask at what period tiated by proof, must have upon since the foundation of those

viously given; and yet, however important such testimony might be, if the proposed rule were adopted, he should be unable in the face of that rule to tender such evidence. How could be produce the evidence, unless he were permitted to call back, suppose, the last witness, and ask her, was such and such the fact ! If she admitted it to be true, then she disqualified herself from being a witness; if she denied it, then he should have to offer proof of the wets out of the mouths of other witnesses.—Their lordships knew that counter-declarations formed a large part of the materials for cross-examination. He would appeal to those of their lordships who had had experience in Courts of Law, how often as knowledge of such counterdeclarations had been elicited by a sifting and persevering cross-examination. A counsel cross-examining had to feel his way with a reluctant witness: he had to get his answers just as he could, and to compare and collect the parts in his progress; he had, as it were, to eviscerate the truth from the witness: It was in vain to say this could be done if a counsel were to proceed step by step, with each question put (if they were put) through the medium of their lordships, and liable every moment perhaps to the demurrer of the learned counsel opposite. When their lordships talked of any analogy with the proceeded! To eall such a mode of of each successive day; if that, would be a mockery of the irrevocable decree, then in a court of law, and to tell him, lution of trying to assist her zion, and have it then put ex lied upon the sense of justice to render his task a nullity, and lordships' breasts, and that the a mockery of the sanctioned be conceded as a favour, which, in any of the courts below, and hoped now, that the expecta- exceeded. He admitted for another. If it was the will case for the defence.

courts, under the guidance of ance of their duty; if it was upright Judges, had a counsel their final command that her been called upon to cross-end- Majesty's Counsel, during the mine as he (Mr. Brougham) romainder of these proceedings, would be called upon, if their were merely to sit at their lordlerdships laid down the rule ships bar, and grace by their against which he now contend-corporeal presence the business proceeding a cross-examination be repeated, was their lordships' term; to tell a counsel that hoped at least that he and his be might cross-examine after learned friends would be perthe manner he was allowed mitted to revise their first resoin the same breath, that he Majesty in the conduct of her must lay a ground for each ques- | defence. He still, however, regratic by their lordships, was which must ever reign in their influence of that good feeling practice before the Judges of would save her Majesty's Counthe land; and this, too, was to sel from being placed in such a predicament. It was fit, before he concluded, that he should from any of the revered Judges correct himself respecting a who presided in them, he should statement of their lordships' midisdain to accept in any other nates, if they would so far perway than as an undoubted right, mit him to ever against the re-If was on these grounds he cord, It was stated, that when hambly submitted to their lord- he had a former witness called ships, that they would not now back, he wanted merely to inplace him in a different situa- quire into one specific fact, tion from that in which he sup- without going into any furposed he stood, by their lord-ther examination, but that ships considerate attention. He the limits prescribed had been tion held out to the counsel for irregularity of such a course, the Queen were to be realized, but only wished to pledge and that they were not to learn himself not again to sak for that their lordships' rule of one the re-examination of a witness day was not to be their guide until he came to open his in bay and pleasure of their lordships thing that had occurred, he by that the counsel for the Illustri-ino means meant to yield his om Accused must act under re- right to pursue that line of smstrictions like these, which tra- ple cross-examination for which melled the fair and full perform- he now humbly, but he trusted

pied them, and for which the high office of the King's Solicionly excuse he had to offer was tor-General; it was of consithe paramount importance of detable value, and he (Mr. the point for which he contended.

Mr. BROUGHAM then commenced his reply to the Attornev and Solicitor-General, by stating, that little had been offered on the other side requiring an answer. He could not, however, allow their lordships to separate without setting himself right with regard to misquotation (undersigned of course) which he was supposed to have made from their lordships' Journals. It was easy to mis-state a case, and easier to assert that a case had been mis-stated. The Counsel on the other side were very sharp, but it would have Attorney-General had fallen into an error, though he was aided and accompanied by the Solicitor-General, who generally spoke with great contempt of every body but himself, and their lordships. He (Mr. Brougham) made this exception, because the Solicitor General had been pleased to bestow his high comthough not lawyers, in the exhad put some questions to the of the House. The other side been said by his learned friend, Justice (if he might be silented:

effectually, contended at their who had not been interrupted lordships' bar. He concluded while expressing his most satisby apploprising to their lord-factory approbation; it was a ships for the time he had occu- tribute from one who filled the Brougham) trusted it had been received by the House with becoming gratitude. Let it be recollected that this came from the Solicitor-General; the only lawyer, at least the only accomplished lawyer of the profession, according to the opinion of some of his friends, who, by the by, monopolized that ovinion as he did the knowledge of the law. (Laughter.) The 80licitor-General had too a most able coadiutor; and between them both it might be said that they had exclusive possession of all law, all the wisdom, all the talent, and all the accomplishments on the present occasion. been well for them to have been In truth, the counsel for the accurate as well as sharp. The Queen had only one or two books to which they referred. and which they held up as a screen against the desperate severity of the attack just made upon them. Much had been said regarding the case of the Duchess of Norfolk; but while his learned friends, relying on their own resources, only furnished themselves with Cobmendation upon their lordships: bett's State Trials, he and the Queen's Solicitor-General had cess of his approbation he had been obliged to provide themadmitted, that their fordships selves with the original Journals witnesses in a form sufficiently relied on the octavo edition, judicious. (Order, order.) He while the original folio, which was metely repeating what had would be evidence in a Courte of

not so much in the face of the to the Lords Ferrers and Dejudges of the land, and of their von, and whether at the time lordships, as in the overawing of examination she lived at her presence of that greatest of all own cost and charges: to the law authorities, the Solicitor-last, much to her credit, she an-General, by whom he had been rebuked within the last half hour,) had been produced in opposition to it. From that folie it was evident that all that the Attorney-General advanced was founded in error, and that all that he (Mr. Brougham) had of Norfolk. But, said the Atsaid was confirmed by indisput- torney-General, from his great able fact. God forbid that he authority, Cobbett's State Trials. .should glory or triumph over the amazing powers of his learned friends; but it did happen, that about half an hour ago. and in this House, for he had no -sbjection to specify times and places with the utmost possible precision), he had read the 46th and 47th pages of the Journals of the House of Lords, where was stated the whole of what he had wentured to submit. It there appeared that the proctor of the Duchess of Nerfolk, had asked many questions of the witnesses, in order to furnish himself with the means of ascertaining their conduct and character: he had inquired of Margaret Rdmonds where was her last abode, whether she was single or married, with whom she now -lived, and other interrogatories of the Solicitor-General, with of the same sort; after which she was sworn, and not till then. The same course was pursued with Anne Burton; she was had acquired had come rather asked if she were a maid (he by the grace of God than by had ventured to put no such any industry or merit of his own, exestion to the witness of Sa-that the case completely bore turday), whether she always him out in all the observations had lived in Chancery-lane; he had made.

to state what would be evidence, whether she had been servant swered in the affirmative. Then she was sworn, and not till then: and the same mode was pursued with 20 other witnesses, one of the last of whom was Richard -Owen, and he was asked whether he was kept by the Duke no copy of charges and no list of witnesses was given; but from the Journals it was clear that the contrary was the truth. The Duchess petitioned for them. but a difficulty was for a time thrown in the way by a Latin protest delivered in by the Proctor, which, for the more easy comprehension of the House of Lords, must first be translated into the vulgar. At length, however, the list was furnished, and most complete it was, for it went over the life and occupation of every witness for six or eight preceding years, and then three further days were allowed to the Duckess for inquiry.— Therefore, he said, with all possible humility and deference to the learned self-complacency whom he was far indeed from putting himself in competition, for all that he (Mr. Brougham)

begred to be allowed to re-condescend to mis-state the armark that the charges against guments used against him. He -.. the Duckess of Norfolk only included a period of five months, and not of five years.

Mr. Bhoughan answered. that if time wore of any consequence to his argument, he could show here that the Attorney-General was again in error, for the specification allowed to the . Duchess extended from Januarv. 1685, to August 1691; and if the same course had been adopted with regard to her Maiesty, she would at this moment have stood before the world in a very different situation. So much for the Attorney-General. He (Mr. Brougham) felt infinitely more awe in approaching his most leasued coadjutor, because he knew his habit always - was to tell tho opponent who "touched near him"—"Go away, Sir; you are no lawyer-Jouean be no lawyer-you are jouly the Queen's Attorney-Geamoral, but I am the King's Solicitor-General; therefore I am a - lawyor, and a most accomplish-time and place, but that he had ed lawyer." That was a fact . he (Mr. Brougham) could not dispute or traverse, and that from attempting to grapple with any of the arguments adduced: he felt a conscious inferiority: ho was aware that he was far below the King's Solicitor-General in rank and in knowledge: the Solicitor-General might say [never comparing it with that that he was only "a little lower of the King's Solicitor-Genelittle it was, if his own opinion and over again. But this was

ATTOUNEY-GENERAL learning and greatness he could (Mr. Brougham) felt the highest admiration for the great man of whom he was speaking; nothing he could say could add one leaf to the wreath of laurel he had obtained-nothing he could advance could give one mere spark to the glory both he (the Solicitor-General) and his pewerful coadiutor had been daily increasing during this investigation, and before the natrons of this Bill, to whom they were indebted for their wellmerited professional propotion. Proprio marte they had acquired immortal reputation, and melancholy it was to reflect, that even these men, the most illustrious and exalted of their species, had still some taint of the frailty of our common usture. Not only had they misstated arguments, but they had substituted one for another. He (Mr. Brougham) had neversaid, that in a civil suit the defendant was entitled to a particular of a right to such a particular, as added to the contents of the declaration, made it a matter alone was enough to deter him of absolute certainty that he could not be taken by surprise, but must come prepared into Court. If this were not furnished, a Judge would make an order for the purpose, and in his own little experience than the Angels," and a very ral) this had been done ever were to be taken: the wonder not a civil action, nothing like therefore was, that with all his a civil action; and he asked when

ings, certainty was not by law secured to an individual accused? A-man committed for a felony to York Castle, and put in a course of trial in Yorkshire, knew that the offence must be charged to have been committed there; but here the crime was extended over many years and over many quarters of the globe: Europe, Asia, and Africa were charged as the scenes of he. Majesty's adultery. In the same way an indictment was not for a series of felonious acts: it was for picking the pocket specifically of A. B., and not for a pocket-picking intercourse of seven years of a man's life; and there was hardly an instance of a person being put upon his trial in this country who was ignorant of the precise nature and extent of the charge, and of the place where the offence was alleged to have been perpetrated. A great deal had been said about the necessity of laying down a rule as a guide for the future: far be it from him to object to the utmost regularity, but it did seem a little! strange that all of a sudden men's minds were directed to proceedings of this kind, as if Bills of Pains and Penalties were hereafter to form a great chap-House not to draw certain mat-

ther, in all criminal proceed-1 and Canal Bills? The argument had been pushed even thus far: it was said, that it was better that the individual in this particular case should than that a permanent rule should not be established.---Surely this argument, if good for any thing, might be pressed both ways, for he might ask their lardships to lay down a rule favourable to the Queen. and pressing hard upon her accuser, in order that in future it might be adhered to inflexibly. Why was all the load to be cast upon the weaker party! Why was a rule to be made at the cost of the Queen only? The rule of lay, and the ordinary. merciful presumption of judges was, that it was better that ten guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer: but now it was to be reversed at the instance of those two sages of the profession, and ten innocent were to be punished that our guilty might not avoid the merited sentence. But the Queen was in a situation of great disadvantage compared with her prosecutors; her acquittal, nay, even her conviction, could not be pleaded in bar of any further proceeding: this Bill might be withdrawn and amended, again withdrawn and again amended; ter in the law of the land. Re- totics quoties new measures solutions might be made by the might be offered to their lordships against the Queen, and, ters into precedent, but that session after session, she might was a bungling way of doing be put upon her trial.—This was business, and he would seriously no slight difference; and anoask their lordships if they were ther important distinction had bound here to act as if Queen been demonstrated already by Bills were to become in future the evidence, that the Queen's as common as Turnpike-road accusers had a power of procur-

ing witnesses which she could not enjoy. Not only were large sume at their command-not only was force used where bribery failed, but the foreign force for the conclusion was irresistible) used to bring the King's witnesses would not be employed to make those of the Queen Further, the same force found effectual in driving the King's witnesses over would be exerted to keep the Queen's He did not witnesses back. profess to be so deeply skilled in human nature as his learned friends, but he guessed that the same power which said to one man, " Go over to give evidence against the Queen," was not likely to tell another, " Go you to give evidence in her fa-He might assume even more; the government which told the King's witnesses to stay away from England at their peril, would warn those of the Queen to go to England at their Upon these grounds he left the case with the House, without at all pretending to be able to estimate either the importance of new impending difficulties, or of those in which it was already involved. He had, of course, no right to offer any advice or suggestion to their lordships, and perhaps—

"Should they wade no more,
"Returning were as tedious as go
o'er."

ADDRESSES TO HÈR MAJESTY.

The following Address has been presented to her Majesty from the city of Litchfield:— TO HER MOST GRACIDUS MAJESTI, QUEEN CAROLINE, LAWFUL CONSORT OF HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY GEORGE THE FOURTH, KING OF THE UNITED KINGDON OF GREAT BEITAIN AND IRELAND,

" We, the undersigned, your Majesty's most dutiful and loval subjects, inhabitants of the city of Litchfield, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty on your accession to the dignity of Queen Consort of these realms, and on your arrival in this kingdom; and to express our admiration of that firmness and decision of character with which your Maiesty refused to compromise your honour and your interests, which are so intimately connected with the honour and interests of the state, for the pecuniary considerations held out to you by his Majesty's ministers.

We beg leave to offer our sincere condolence to your Majesty on the loss of those endeared relatives, whose friendship and protection formed in other days an insurmountable barrier to the unmanly and intriguing malice of your enemies.

"We view with the utmost disquietude and alarm, the unjust and unconstitutional proceedings instituted against your Majesty in the House of Lords; by which it is intended to bring your Majesty to the form of a trial, neither recognized by law, nor sanctioned by justice

"As loyal subjects of the Crown, and as determined supporters of that glorious constitution, which, when it throned the King in power, fenced the people round with just laws and sacred privileges, we are happy in this assurance, that of our at-

tachment to your Majesty, to rank which they hold in the record our dissent from that system of policy by which the passions of the King have been excited, and his judgment misled; and which would seek to degrade and dethrone your Maiesty by a legislative measure, which is without precedent, except in the worst period of our history."

To which her Majesty was pleased to return the following gracious answer:-

"I rejuice to find that the spirit of constitutional loyalty is animating the inhabitants of the city of Litchfield; and they have had the courage to exhibit that spirit in this honest declaration of their attachment to a Queen

in adversity.

"Injustice has always a nateral enemy in the heart of man. Can I then wonder that the barbarous injustice by which I have been so long persecuted, should have found such a determined foe in the hearts of Englishmen. though I cannot boast of having been much cheered by the sympathy of our venerable hierarchy! The members of that sacred corporation have not, in general, stepped forward with that alacrity of benevolence, which is the best characteristic of unsophisticated piety, to pour oil and wine into my bleeding wounds; or to sooth me with that soft balm of genuine kindness, which is supposed to be perpetually descending from the tree of evangelical charity, that covers'the sanctuary.

affections of the people. The hatred of nations is the true ignominy of kings. It is that which deprives the Crown of its lustre, and makes the scentre weaker than a reed.

" If I should be deprived of my constitutional rights, and my royal dignity, my degradation will be less real than that of my oppressor... I shall rise in the estimation of mankind: but he, whose persecution has made so large a portion of my life one continued scene of inquietude and misery, will not readily conquer the strong aversion he has incurred, or recover the good opinion he has lost.

" As far as any Monarch partakes of the imperfections of humanity, he is liable to be governed by his passions; but when the passions preside at the helm of governments, nations

perish in storms."

The following Address has been presented to her Majesty from the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal Green.

" TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

"The loval and dutiful Address of the Vestrymen of the Parish St. Matthew, Bethnal of Green, in the county of Middlesex, in Vestry assembled.

" May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful subjects, the Churchwardens, Overseers, Go-"The real elevation of sove- vernors, and Directors of the reigns is in proportion to the Poor, and Vestrymen of the of condolence and congratulation at this momentous and im-

portant crisis.

"The painful boreavements with which it has pleased Providence to visit your Majesty, are events which have proved as calamitous and distressing to your Majesty, as they have been subjects of deep sorrow and affliction to this portion of your Majesty's people: and it is with feelings of unaffected regret. that we condole with your Majesty upon these acute visitations, so afflicting in their consequences to your royal and parental heart, and so disappointing to the hopes of all your Majesty's loyal and affectionate sa bjects.

" The arrival of your Majesty in this country, after an absence of several years, was an event which we hailed with sincere pleasure and gratification; and we congratulate your Majesty upon your late return to a people who have never ceased to feel a participation in your many persecutions and sufferings, or to admire the firmness and generosity of your Majesty's mind:

" Much as we lament the determination which has beèn adopted of preferring certain charges against your Majesty. which in their nature and proof are so repugnant to all moral feeling, so pregnant with objectionable consequences, and so hostile to every sentiment of British justice and generosity; yet, in our estimation, the mode your Majesty has been subject-

Parish of St. Matthew, Bethnal | progress of the accusation against Green, bog to approach your your Majesty, is infinitely more Majesty to offer our sentiments important to the proper administration of public justice, and the interests of every subject in the Venerating the British empire. constitution of this great nation. and being firmly attached to the Honse of Brunswick, we have beheld with profound sorrow and regret the extraordinary proceedings adopted towards your Majesty. Those principles of public justice which form and govern the course of the accuser, and also the safeguard and protection of the accused, appear to us to have been violated in the case of your Majesty: and a method of proceeding anomalous in its constitution, and onpressive in its character, has been instituted, alike detrimental to your Majesty's cause, and to the liberties and privileges of the people of this country.

"In reviewing the various efforts directed against your Majesty's honour and peace, and the numberless insults which have been offered to your Royal Person, combined with the futile attempt to seduce the integrity of your Majesty by a proposition to compound your Royal and legitimate Rights and Title; we know not whether most to admire the magnanimity and dignity of mind which instantly detected, despised, and exposed such machina-. tions, or to express our indignation and disgust upon such attempts and practices being disclosed.

"The severe trials to which of proceeding, which marks the led, and the defeat of every at-

tack: which has hitherto been state, if it means any thing, must directed against your Majesty's mean the people, collectively conhonour and dignity, impresses us with the unalterable con- tively considered, instead of doviction that the daughter of the Illustrious Duke of Brunswick, the Consort of our Royal Sovereign, and the Mother of our ever-to-be-lamented Princess Charlotte, is worthy of the honour, devotion, and lovalty of the People of this Country: and that accusations preferred and supported by efforts every way reprehensible, and by means the most objectionable, will, if persisted in be a source of lasting regret to ourselves, but at the same time a subject which cannot fail of animating on behalf of your Majesty the feelings of every honourable, independent, and reperous mind."

To which Address her Majesty refurned the following gracious

answer:---

"The Churchwardens, Overscers, and Vestrymen of the parish of St. Matthew, Bethnalgreen, are requested to accept my cordial thanks for this spontancous tribute of affectionate

regard.

"The present mode of proceeding against me in the House of Lords, may well alarm those who have any regard for the political welfare or the moral interest of the nation. Though the primary object of the Bill of Pains and Penaltics is to divorce me from his Majesty, yet it is hypocritically pretended that his Majesty is not a party in the case. An abstract term is employed, in order to cover the deception, and the state is substituted for his Majesty. But the of Sheffield:

sidered; but the people, cellecsiring a dissolution of my marriage with his Majesty, have expressed the most indubitable desire that that marriage may not be annulled, but that I may remain Queen Consort of these realms. and be invested with all the rights, privileges, and immunities which the law has appropriated to that Royal dignity.

" To pretend that his Majesty is not a party, and the sole complaining party in this great onestion, is to render the whole business a mere mockery—the reprobation of the good, the jest of the thoughtless, and the contempt of the wise. His Majesty either does or does not desire the divorce which the Bill of Pains and Penalties proposes to accomplish; if his Majesty does not desire the divorce, it is certain that the state does not desire it in his stead; and if the divorce is the desire of his Majesty, his Majesty ought to seek it on the same terms as his subjects; for, in a limited monarchy, the law is one and the same for all: or otherwise, the mere volition of the Monarch is paramount to the law; and the Government becomes a despotism."

The following Address was voted unanimously at one of the most numerous nicetings that ever took place in the Common. Hall of Sheffield. It bears the signatures of upwards of eight thousand inhabitants of the town

"TO HER HAJESTY CAROLINE, QUEEN CONSORT OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE THE FOURTH, KING OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, &CO.

"The loyal and dutiful Address of the inhabitants of the town and vicinity of Sheffield, in the county of York.

"We, your Majesty's most faithful subjects, beg leave to approach your Majesty with unfeigned professions of affection for your royal person; and to congratulate your Majesty on your return to this country—a country that now calls you Queen, and which we regret that your Majesty should ever have left.

"In addressing you on this occasion, permit us to assure your Majesty, that the many deprivations you have sustained. have touched a chord in our hearts, and bound us to your royal person by the tenderest ties of sympathy. Since your first arrival in this country, great and various afflictions have befallen you; the prop and stay of your illustrious House has been withdrawn by the hand of death; his late Majesty George III. King of England, your most gracious friend and powerful protector, now slumbers in the grave; and that sainted spirit, who called you mother—she on whom a nation's hopes and highest expectations were fixed, and whose untimely death filled every heart with mourning, and every eye with tears, can no longer solace you with her affection.

"Sincerely lamenting these deprivations, to which your Majesty has been subjected, we

offer you our condolarice; and under the new affliction that now assails you, we heartily and most unfeignedly pray, that your Majesty, aided by the affections of a loyal people, may finally. triumph over your accusers, and put to shame the foolishness of evil men. We heartily disapprove of and sincerely condemn that spirit of hostility, which has too evidently characterised the strange proceedings instituted against your Majesty; and the mode in which they have hitherto been carried on, we regard as harsh, oppressive, and repugnant to the liberal'spirit of that constitution under which we live.

"In this free expression of our condolence, our wishes, and opinions, permit us to assure your Majesty of our admiration of the magnanimous conduct you have invariably displayed under circumstances and charges revolting to your nature, and which we are fully persuaded nothing but a feeling of conscious innocence could have enabled you so nobly to sustain:

" Thomas Rawson, "Chairman."

Her Majesty returned the following most gracious answer:—

"I shall never be unmindful of the obligation which the inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its vicinity have conferred upon me, by this honest testimony of their fervent zeal for my interest, their tender sympathy for my sorrows, and their generous resentment of my wrongs.

"Though benefits ought to

be written in marble, and in-|selves. Every loyal subject imiuries in the dust, yet the inju- mediately identifies his interest ries I have endured have been with that of his Queen; for; too many in number, and too it is only by supporting his grievous in kind, to be readily Queen against her enemies, obliterated from my recollection. that he can protect himself But, though my memory retains from the peril of tyranny, or the impression, I have not suf- his children from the certainty fered the spirit of revenge to rankle in my breast. It would bave been well for me, and perhaps not ill for the country, if my oppressor had been as free from malice as myself: for what is it but malice, of the most unmixed nature, and the most unrelenting character, which has infested my path, and waylaid my stops, during a long period of twenty-five years? Malice of this description, of such long continuance, and such extraordinary intensity, has certainly been productive of great misery to myself; but I may well repress the sentiments of revenge. when I reflect that it must have been productive of much more inquietude in that mind which could listen to its suggestions. and in that bosom which could cherish a spirit so adverse to goodness, and so incompatible with happiness."

Her Majesty returned the following gracious Answer to the Address from Bolton, in the county of Lancaster:-

"The inhabitants of Bolton, in the county of Lancaster, and its vicinity, have convinced me, by this unaffected testimony of their regard, that they sincerely sympathise with my sufferings, nativity. and that they consider the injuries done to me as done to them- land so generously sympathise

of servitude.

"If the desperate faction, which is at once an enemy to the general liberty, and to individual happiness, shall suce the ceed in accomplishing the project of my degradation, the nation will have no safeguard against the inroads of despot ism. When every sacred principle of the Constitution, every protecting rule of the Law. every hallowed maxim of Equity, can, in the person of the Queen, be outraged with impunity, what is to preserve any other subject from similar oppression?

" That system cannot be good which is at war with the spirit of the age-which cannot exist without diminishing the common stock of mational liberty, without stopping the free circulation of opinions, or abridging the intellectual freedom of man. That system cannot be good which can extinguish the charities of neighbourhood, abate the love of country, and produce the desire of expatriation. Men will run away from misery; that misery must be extreme which causes them to forsake the graves of their fathers, and to leave the land of their

"When the people of Eng-

with my sufferings. I should have no heart at all, or only a heart of stone, if I did not participate in their sorrows, and condole with their wrongs. My sympathies all harmonise with those of the people, we have one common interest; and that interest is one and indivinible."

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address from Bridport was as follows :--

"It affords me great satisfaction to find, that the worthy Inhabitants of the Borough of Briduort are so cordially attached to the best interests of their Quean, and that they so feelingly deplore the losses, and so warmly deprecate the indignities, I have experienced.

As malignity and felsehood usually, in the end, mar their own projects and defeat their even schemes. I trust it will be so in the present instance; and that my trimmph over my enemine will be accelerated by the response with which I have been persecuted.

"In presuming to sit in judgment on my conduct, and

cupy, the House of Lords have begun to institute a precedent. that may, sooner or later, be attended with the most momentous consequences. If the question of moral fitness be applicable to a Queen Consort, why: may it not hereafter be applied to the Monarch on the Throne? Some future House of Lords. following the righteous example which the present has set, of a moral inquisition into the life of their Queen, may, in its windom, determine to wrest the sceptre from any King who is not a perfect pattern of soborness, chastity and godliness. But as those who assume the office of moral censors, ought themselves to be exemplary for every virtue, perhaps the people may hereafter step in and inquire whether the inquisitors themselves can endure the maral ordeal of a similar inquisition? If he only, who is without sin, is to cast the first stone. may it not be a deligious day. in me to invoke the mercy of a Higher Power upon that tribunal which, in my case, is so. gravely exercising the incomgruous functions of the Acouser, to question my moral fitness the Judge, and the Legislator."

for the high station which for-

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Prize Bu.

THE REFORMERS

On the Real Cause of the Persecutions carried on against the Queen.-On the Manner in which the Public Money is expended. - On Lord John Russell and the Whigs.

Lendon, September 6, 1890.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUPPERING I addressed you, when the Atten first arrived. I then told you, that this affair would, before it was over, do more in exnation the real character and grams of our wicked adversaries, stan ever had yet been done. If you look back to my Letter, to the Regent, No. 1, published in the Spring of 1819, you will thete see clearly explained all. the conduct of our enemies towards the Royal Family. The

tailed many instances of that policy, which has constantly had for its object to make the Royal Family and the people hate and suspect each other; in order that both might be the more easily tyrannized over.

The same motive has actuated this band of men; or, as her Majesty herself calls them, this greedy junto, upon the present Nothing was so well occasion. calculated to rouse their apprehensions as a Royal Personage, so endowed as to mental capacity so full of integrity, possessed of so many amiable qualities, as the Queen. The arrogant greedy junto always hated her. They hated her because she was so well deserving of public love and confidence. But, to see her return and to exercise the functions of Queen, after all the exmotives for that conduct were perience she had gained in her also fully explained. I then de- travels, filled them even with

informed that she employed her view. sant care and anxiety with re- down to this point. Be not

terror. They were not ignorant, | gard to the needy and the opif we were, of the proof that pressed. They knew that her she had given of the wonderful fostering hand could never be extent of her understanding, of kept still while misery was to be her dauntless intrepidity, of her discovered in the land. They rare humanity; and, which made clearly foresaw that, in her grathem hate her more than all the clous condescension, in her ever rest, of her openly avowed at- active benevolence, in her industachment to the cause of liberty. try, vigilance and watchfulness They knew that we should as to the public good, in her tenhear, in time, of her great and derness towards the people spen glorious acts. They knew that all occasions: they clearly forewe should be informed of the saw that in all these we should manner in which she had ex- find the constant temptation to pended the comparatively trif- make comparisons that would ling sum which she had been al- place their arregance, their hoved annually, though she her-ignorance, their greediness, and selfnever boasted and never even their brutal hardness of heart, mentioned her numerous acts in a light ten thousand times of humanity and generosity. more edieus than that in which They knew that we should be they before appeared to our-

purse and all her powers of per- Here we bee the cause and sussion to set captive Christ- the only real cause of all the ians free on the coast of Barba- efforts to degrade her Majestra. ry; and that, when at Athens, to keep her from the country. she opened the jail doors of the and, when arrived init, to drive debtors. They knew that we her from it 1 beg you, my should soon discover her inces- friends, to pin your attention

This, is the real cause; and from up in a fortress into which that have lived all her days in that could have been the ebject. infimous state which has been lived in open Milaltery untier the title of Queen of England. It is, therefore, impossible that preserve our merals could have been the object. Again, can it tend to the preservation of our morals, to lay before us those althy and disgusting detells. which have new been.

amused with any other cause. expence; who have been shutthis fact the most important in- have been brought by might. ferences are to be drawn. The and to describe whose lives and . pretence of preserving the mo- characters would require the rais of the country must be tangue or pen of a man familiar; false; because her Majorty with all the phrateology of might have enjoyed a princely a brothel. It is impossible thereincome at our expence; might fore that to preserve our morals

And, as to the feelings of the, so falsely ascribed to here King: as to the factings of the might have been sent away in presended segured developed; as a Royal Backt, or in a Ship of to the chiest being to relieve War; might have been intro- those feelings, how false, and how deced as Queen of England at detestable the protence! If the a Phraign Court, there to have object had been to relieve his feelings, is, it possible that it could bave been attempted to south his wife and Queen to list as such at some foreign court in open adultery all her days? Could this have relieved the feelings of an injured husband? Ate his feelings to be telieved by the beastly charges and the mass of during three weeks daily drawn beastly evidence giren against forth from the mouths of creas his wife, even supposing the tures who shave sheen brought whole to have been as true as it all the way from Italy at our is notoriously false? Besides.

upon the supposition that the secution of her Majesty has preexistrience.

Therefore, in whatever bight come. we view the matter, we see

enemies of the Queen thought cieds the same metibe as that the charges true, they must have of all the persecutions, carried been assured that the basband's on against the Reformers. This' conduct would not pass without is a thing never to be lost sight; strict enquiry; and that though of; for, if we do not keep it the wife should prove guilty, steadily in view, we shall not his feelings would undergo only be at a loss to account for punishment such as human feel- the past and present conduct of ings have seldom been known to the enemy; but, we shall be unprepared for what is yet to:

You are not to conclude: that: that the pretences about the mo- because the enemies of hier Marais of the country and the feel- jesty have brought their affairs ings of the King are totally into a desperate state, they were false; and that all the efforts to driven into the measures that builth the Queen from the they have adduted. They corcountry arese solely out of that tainly never would have endread which the arrogant and tered on the struggle, if they greeds junto, under whose lash had imagined, that things would we have so long been smarting, ever have come to the present arose out of their dread, that in pass. Mark their progress a her Majesty; the Queen; the op- when they suttered the threas pressed part of the people would at St. Omers, they expected it find a friend, a prop, a support, to be effectual. They were disa foundation of hope of better appointed in that. When they days. I beg you to pin down brought forth Green Bags, Whigh your attention to this point; did not know, nor did they imaand you will and, that this per- gine, that they should have the

nation to contend against. Re-lin 1817, to being in a Bill, and collect, that the Green Bags pass it, if possible upon the memade their appearance before parts of those Committees; and the Queen arrived in London. thus to dispose of the Queen Those Bags were sent to the without any more caremony.-Houses about the time that This is my opinion; and, why her Majesty was coming up should they not take this course? Shooter's Hill, and full two They had precedent for it all hours before she came and through. In 1817, Green Bags caused that memorable shout had been filled; secret commitfrom Westminster Bridge, am of opinion, that, if that shout of those committees had been had been heard a day sooner, made, and, upon those reports, we never should have seen the without either House seeing or Bags.

pickle, the trial has put the hours, which bill enabled the Queen's enemies in; and we Ministers to shut up, in any pricall them fools for choosing to son that they pleased, any one have a trial. they are; but, I must do them pect of treasonable practices, the justice to say, that I firmly and to keep him in prison as believe, that they were not long as they pleased, without fools enough to think of a trial, any charge made against him, bags! I believe, that, at that were his accusers, and without Committees, and, as in our case, petitioners to prove the reports

I tees had been formed, reports hearing any evidence, a Bill was We see what a mess, what a brought in and passed, in a few Fools enough that they might choose to susat the time when they filled the without letting him know who time, they had no thought of a any evidence at all of which he trial of any sort. I believe, that had any knowledge. Petitions they intended to propose Secret were presented, pledging the

These petitions were rejected. The Bill was passed. Numerous innocent and most worthy men were seized, had their dwellings rifled and their papers taken away, were shut up in prisons. kept there for nearly a year. and then turned out to go home to their ruined families, without any trial, and without ever being informed of any offence that they had committed or of any And, after all this. another Bill was passed to protect against the penalties of the laws, all those who had transthis horrid dungeoning act.

to be false, and praying that | Reformers were in 1817. This those petitioners might be heard. discovery was very soon made; and then it was, that her enemies began to talk about a trial. So that we are not to set their present miserable state down to premeditated measures. They were so far from premeditating what they have done in this way, that they never even thought of it, until it was pressed upon them as a last resort to get rid of the Queen. And, here again, that has happened which they did not expect. They calculated upon a re-action on the opening of their case. They thought, that two gressed the provisions even of days of horrible detail from the Attorney-General, and one day Why, then, are we to suppose, of Majocchi's evidence would that it was meant to give the turn the tide. This expectation Queen any trial? I am quite was let out by the Public Acsatisfied, that it was not meant; cuser himself, who took, in his and, that the talk about a trial foul and scandalous speech, ocwould never have been heard, casion to observe, that his Itahad it not been discovered, that lian witnesses would, IN A the people never would have suf- FEW DAYS, be able to walk fered her to be sacrificed in the the streets in safety! The Coumanner that the calumniated rier of the Monday chuckled,

thought that the Queen would ciates, were all fresh in our " der their controll," we can produced in our minds? ings of the people.

and so did the florger and florger and his associates; the thumb-coretogr on the same deeds of Edwards, Monuevening. They thought they ment, Adams, Dwyer, Oliver. had gained their point, They Castles and Vaughan and assohe speedily deserted. So that, minds. The perjuries of 1806, they have mescalculated. They against the Queen, were all have been brought into their brought back to our recollection. present situation by ersonnous We had recently heard the judgment; and not by their employing of blood-selling spice own wishes and intention.- openly avowed and defended. Their plans were good; but And, with all this on our minds. have been rendered abertive by how were we to be made to unexpected events; as well-believe, that the enemies of the contrived expeditions are often- Queen would be destitute of times frustrated, and end in de- people to swear against her? feet instead of victory, by the And, when we say, that, as, rain and the winds, or some I trust, I have clearly shown in other mexpected occurrence. my answer to the Attorney-Ge-The ememies of the Queen are neval, that the charges against bright youthe; but when we her were in the face of reason. and that there are men, "whose and of nature, how was a re-" oun inclinations are not un action to be, by such swearing,

hardly he surprized, that even I have now read, with great such bright geniuses as these care, all the evidence up to this are anable to centrout the day; and I most solemnly dethoughts and wishes and feel- clare, that I believe her Majesty to be perfectly innocent of The former deeds of the every charge preferred against

their pay, and all the other be short. strange circumstances. I should dishatief.

effect really nothing at all. They by taxation. must be defeated, do what else

her. Taking into view the cha- they will. However, what they racters of the witnesses, their will do time must tell us; and own confessions, their letters, let us hope, that the time will

In the meanwhite let us inlook upon myself as a most quire, a little more fully than we wicked man, if I were to find have lately done, in what maneven an enemy and a notoriously ner our money is expended. I 'thad man guilty upon such evi- insert, for your information, indence. And, am I, then, to find another part of this Number, an a woman of great mind and of account of the manner in which most virtuous habite guilty upon large sums were last year lostthat same evidence ! The heart ployed. You will bear in mind. of man revolts at the thought; that, whatever is taken from a and such has been the decision people in taxes, diminishes, in of the public, who never be-proportion to its amount, the lieved the assertions of the means of those who pay the Gacen's enemies, and who, even taxes, unless they also receive by the evidence produced against something out of the taxes. If Fier, are confirmed in their a man pay taxes to the amount of a hundred a year, and no-"The Regger and his crew are coive a hundred a year pension." in a state of great difficulty.- taxes have no effect upon him. Thumbscrews will be of no avail because he is paid the pension in this case. The Queen is not out of the taxes. But, if he to be driven from the country. pay the hundred a year in two And, if that be not effected, the and receive nothing out of the junto, as her Majesty calls them, laxes, he loses a hundred a year

Taxes are, therefore, a de-

who pay them; and, when they are heavy, they cause poverty, ruin, misery, and, amongst the most unfortunate of the neople. they frequently sause actual starvation, as they now do in this once-flourishing and happy country. It is, therefore, the business of every man to inquire what is done with the taxes. The subjoined account will show you how some part of the taxes of last year were disposed of. This is called the "grants." In my pext number I will speak of the with what they do.

duction from the means of those | forth some very virulent abuse on us from . Tunbridge . When I was a child gypsies used to go about with "Tunbridge-ware." Little cups and saucers, not exceeding a pea in circumference. Pretty little tea-pots to hold about as much as half a bazel nut shell; buckets the size of a thimble; and wooden bowls as big as acorn-cups. These things pleased me mightily when I was in potticoats. Early impressions are lasting; and account presents a list of what though, when I came to grow up, I knew that Tunbridge was a town, and, like other towns, other sums expended last was inhabited by men and woyear; so that, in the course of men, and had in it of course, two or three Numbers, you caps and saucers and tea-pois shall have a pretty clear view and buckets and bowels, of the of the whole matter. This ac- usual size; still, at the first sound. count is copied from the one of the word Tunbridge, the old laid before the House of Com-lides of pettiness has always remone. It will astound even you, turned; and, while I was read-But, let the Six-Act Gentlemen ing Lord John's letter, I could say what they will, you ought not for the soul of me, get the to be made fully acquainted little cops and saucers, out of my head. Things, however, that Lord John Russell has put e very petty, may be very

poleonous. Reptiles are far more phribery and corruption. Lord

aside their business, and to little more when time serves. defence of the country, and of for bribery and corruption at and murder! But, behold, when aid as a knight errant to a dam-Bir M. Lopes is convicted of sel in distress. ruption, and is sentenced to you yet so besotted as to hope, M. Lopez!

madigmant than beasts of prey. John has mover sued for any; Lord John accuses the Re- even the smallest, mitigation of formers (and he has gone out their punishment. He can hear of his way to do it) of designs of their treatment with as little to commit plunder and murder. concern as his relation, Mr. Ren-He calls universal suffrage, net, can hear of the affair of that is to say, a voting by all Theodore Hook, of which, howthose who are compelled to lay ever, Mr. Bennet shall hear a come forth and bear arms in But, let a man be imprisoned his father's estates amongst the elections, and our Tunbridge. rest; he calls the voting of such Youth, the heir of the "Noble · men a plan of organized plunder "House of Russell," flies to his

the groceest bribery and cor- Poh! you silly Whigs! Are three years imprisonment, this that you can deceive any past same Lord John is the very first of the nation! The Corporato make a motion for the obtain- tion of Portsmouth met, the . ing of the delinquent's pardon; Courier tells us, to discuss the and which pardon has actually propriety of Addressing the been granted! Mark this well! Queen; but, they were, says He talks about Grampound; he, dissuaded from it by the elebut he deer something for Sir quence of Sir George Grey! And what was the eloquence There are many men in jail for that made him take this part? ondeavouring to put an end to Look at "the Peep." Go! you

silly Whigs! Go, range your-| cause he provoked the Queen to selves under the banners of Cas-come to England! Why, Sir thereigh at once. Become pio- Gerard, this is what the people neers of but men or forragers want. They want their Queen or sumpters in his service. Go, to live amongst them. They and field the stirrups of "the wish her to remain here; and, "Great Captain of the Age," God willing, it is her gracious and share in the well-earned determination to gratify their honours he is daily receiving.

The Whigs are now acting, towards the Queen, precisely the part which they have all along neted towards the Re- twisting. She has seen none formers. They, then all ordinary occasions, oppose, as they warrant them. She well knows call it. the possessors of place how to set a just value upon and power. They carp, they their opposition to her open ruff, they even revile. But, as foes. She trusts them and reto the Reformers, the two fac- lies on them just in the same tions have always made com- degree that we trust and rely most cause; said precisely thus on them; and in this her Mait is in the case of the Queen, jesty is sure to be right. Both factions want her out of For us Reformers the present the country. They dispute only is a proud day. We see our Not. Who duits the ministry duced to a state, which, if we after having supported them in could forget the past, would exall their deeds against us, quar- cite our pity We have not tels with Lord Liverpool be- been the cause of their trouble

within.

Her Majesty knows the Whige as well as we do. She has observed all their doubling and of their faces in her house, I'll

shout the metats of effecting combined foes, our temorseless that object. Even Sir Gerard persecutors and calumniators re-

and shame. We have had not they have it, it is of their own tumbled the mischief which they | tened to our warnings or our have falsely accused us of dis-all the sources of supplication; prayed for our own rights, they in vain. maliciously told us, that we wanted to degrade and destroy ment, of such appalling magnithe throne; and we have lived tude, and of so menacing an to see the day, when it is we aspect, that no man, who thinks who have to stand forward to at all, and who feels as he ought protect the throne against their to feel for his country, can think machinations!

There wanted but an incident ; in print. and that incident they themselves have not only created; away on those who manage our but, they have created it, too, affairs. As the evil becomes in despite of the prayers of the more manifest, they seem to people! They are now crying grow more obstinate in adhesout " revolution." Well ; if ing to it; and, I dare say, that,

hand in the affair. They have making. We have had nothing done the thing themselves. Into to do with it; and, if it come, a pit of their own digging have be the consequences on their they fallen: on their pates has own heads. They have not listhemselves have hatched. They prayers. We have exhausted When we humbly and we have exhausted them

The dangers are, at this moof them without some degree of Their troubles were suffici- dread. All might be quietly. ently great before the arrival of and happily settled even yet. Her Majesty; but, they must But the means that occur to me. needs augment them a thousand though I am satisfied of their And this, too, of their justice and benignity as well as own good will and pleasure! of their efficacy, I dare not state

All lessons seem to be thrown

ings, not to their system, but to a want of its not having been acted upon with sufficient vigour and rigour ! As SANGRADO ascribed the death of his patients, not to their swallowing rivers of hot water while the last drop of blood was drained from their veins; but to their not having drank sufficiently and not having been sufficiently bled; so. when the Old Bourbon tyranny was torn to pieces by a longoppressed and enraged people; "Ah!" exclaimed the run-away Noblesse and Clergy, " Le Roi "étoit trop bon : le regimé etoit "trop doux." The king was of oppression!

when the natural and apparently arm of popular vengeance was mevitable result come, they will at work, we were told of " the secribe the accompanying suffer- horrors of the revolution." This was a misnomer: we ought to have been told of " the horrors of the tyranny" that had produced the revolution. We do not blame the man, who commits a frantic act in consequence of a wound received from a robber: we blame the robber. We blame the cause and not the natural effect of that cause. wife, driven to madness by the cruelty of a husband, may, in a fit of rage, kill even her own children; but, it is the cuil husband that we have to blan e. Much wrong, much suffering, must arise, for a while, out of a release even from the worst of 100 good: the government was despotisms; but, this wrong loo' mild! Impudent and inso- and suffering must be ascribed lent wretches! Even expulsion to the despotesm, and not to the from the country they had op- acts by which a people are pressed only made them more released from it. For, if this obstinately adhere to their spirit were the case, a despotism could never be put down; and all When France became plunged mankind must, upon principle, into confusion, and when the acknowledge themselves to be

born to be slaves. If we were for that truly Great, and Glorious ing and bleeding, and especially being, has always shown that her in sixt, war, are "horrors;" magnanimity was greater than ascribed to the tyrant, in fight- cruelty of her enemies. ing against whom the assertors of freedom-shed their blood, and not to those assertors of freedom.

to allow of this doctrine, what Queen, in defending when we would become of our boasts, have gained so much glory for that our forefathers fought and ourselves, who, though injured bled for their liberties? Fight- more than any other human but, these kerrors are justly even the horrible malignity and

Wat COBBETT

P.S. Addresses are coming As to the present case, it in to Her Majesty, from all parts. seems impossible for us to avoid of the country, in such rapid a great shock of some sort or succession, that she will shortly other. What it will be, when have her whole time occupied it will come, no man can say; in receiving them. Thus, in but, let it come how and when England, the Government is it may, I most anxiously hope, trying a Queen, and the peothat every angry and vindictive ple are addressing her; while, feeling will be lost in our desire in Scotland, the Governto provide for the safety and to ment is executing a man, and premote the happiness of our the people are cheering him! country. Let every one of us These are strange things to beresolve to imitate the conduct bold! It does look much like

"the ency of surrounding na- the Paers gave the Bill! Will of thouseand the admiration of they pers the Bill ?- Ninte ver-" the world " or! at least, this rone! -- Mr. Christopher Mutmust be a singular port of group chinden, brother of Lord Matand admiration.

'in Hampahire, is worthy of par- words. They mean to see shall ticular notice, having been presented by the parish-priest, less our eyes be put out, in adthe Rev. Mr. Fouls, whose dition to the tying of our same, when we consider what tengues and the cramping that been the conduct of the our fingers. Chergy generally, sught to he I have this moment heard of held in honour. Archpeacon the Attorney-General's applica-BATHURST also ought to be tion for delay, in order that noticed as having taken an ac-more Italian Witnesses, may County of Norfolk.

Never did either King or Queen before receive marks so unequivocal of universal respect. love and admiration; and never did nation do itself so much honour, as this nation has done itself upon this occasion. - Will ed.

chimeon and others, says that - The Address from Krarron, these are homisty recultious " see". And we shall see un-

tive part in the Address from the arrive to give evidence against the Queen!!!-Will granted? Will this be granted!but I dare If it be .. not say what I think! You must say, it for me.

This delay has not been grant-

I have just read the summing | hand to disprace the swearing. up of the Solicitor-General. It is merely a repetition of the Charges of the Attorney-General, with the addition of an attempt to sustain the oredibility of the Witnesses! If these witnesses swear truly; then the Queen has been a lewd woman; but, who is there, in this whole kingdom, that believes that they have eworn truly, any more than those did, in 1806, who swore, that she had been pregnant; had been delivered, and had given suck? Talk of swearing, indeed: here was swearing enough to convict any body. But, it happened then, that the real mother of the child was at

That was a case that admitted. of preef of its falsehood. The present stories admit of no such disproof. All here must rest upon the eredibility of the witnesses themselves. And, would any man find his neighbour guilty upon the evidence of Majocchi, Dumont, and Sacchini?-In short, the trial of the persecuted Queenis over. She is no longer on her trial. The trial is now going on somebody else. To the satisfaction of us all, the Queen remains spotless. We have now only to see what stains will affix themselves on others.

PEER AT THE PEERS.

TO THE EDITOR.

London, Sep. 3, 1820.

Sir, - Many thanks for the powerful aid which you have had the great goodness and condescension to give to our little work, of which we now offer a Second Edition to a discerning and an indulgent public.

We have, at the suggestion of Lord Lauderdale, made the correction as to his lordship's supposed monsion; and we beg leave again to state, that the error was owing to no fault of ours. We had no list to go by; and, therefore, the fault must reat with those who ought, long since 1808, to have furnished new However, as to the total of the family of Maitland, we our first edition that a sister of the Earl is the wife of a Dashwood. who has an office at the Cape, worth, as we suppose, 4,000l. a Earl's family wrong, it was in understanding the extent of emolumenta.

more than twelve thousand pounds to our grand total.

Really, Mr. Cobbett, we have taken but a PEEP at this vast subject. With your countenance and protection we propose to persevere in our humble endeayours. You have often told your penders that this is the real source of the Nintianal Debt. We thought your idea rather wild; but, when we consider the immense sums swallowed up in this way; when we see, that there are individuals, who have meceived, each of them, probably more than three quarters of a million of money within the last 80 or 40 years, we are disposed to come over to your opinion, and to think seriously of thatrefunding system, at which, when you first spoke of it, we used have found, that we omitted, in to smile, thinking that you yourself were joking.

We observed, in our Preface, that we had included nothing as the value of patronage. It is year. So that, if we did the quite impossible to make any thing approaching to a correct estimate of the amount of patheir services, and not of their trongge. But, as the appointment of the Taxgatherers of all Several other omissions have descriptions is a matter, which been pointed out to us. We is well known to belong to the have supplied these omissions; "Higher Orders," it may not and we have thereby added he amiss to state, that the collecting and mentaging of the Taxes, | friend may, to use the hunter's in the year 1819, cost the nation expression, put us upon the scent: no less a sum than 4,249,236 pounds sterling!!! That is to are, at times, extremely wily say, a sum equal to the support and shy. They not only shift of 1.062,305 labourers, labour-their ground frequently, but ets' wives and children, during change their outward appearthat whole year; allowing 20 ances, and some of them their very pounds a year for the labourer, his wife and three children.

However, Sir, those are views of the matter that we confess rebout maring at us in open day; ourselves disinclined to enter on. Be it our humble employment to collect materials; and let others use them for the surrose of inference. In order to render car collections as complete and as useful as possible, we venture. Sir, to trespass on your goodness so far as to request you to them we find: insert for as a few questions, which we shall number, and to which we request some of your intelligent readers to send us an answer, through the channel of our publisher; and, if my post, : we request the postage to be unid, the direction being " to the " Authors of the PEET AT THE 3. Jenkinson, Elizabeth (now " PERRS, No. 260, Steami, Lon-"don." There is such a thing as 4. Hewards; Lady Mary and intercepting letters. It will be best, probably, to send thout by a safe hand. In cases, where the enswer cannot be full, or positive, a hint may be of use.

and, indeed, the game we pursue They are of all sizes. poines. from the typer down to the Sametimes, they go mouse. but, at others, we find them crept into the sly corners or coiled up in the folds of the system. Having thus premised, we proceed to state the questions. which at present eccur to us. We have the Pension and Sinecure List of 1808 before us; and in

- 1. Barlows four ladies. Soplifa. "Maria, Louisa, and Catherine, with pendons of 501; a vent enchi
- 2. Carous, two ladies, 400l. beck. They have very pretty names ; Lavinia Matilda, and Amella. Sophia.
- Cornwall'), 4501.
- Lady Elizabeth, 150l. each.-Who do they belong to?
- 5. Harnages, three ladies, Borothy, Moroy and Mary, 201. eagh.

- na Martha and Elizabeth; 50L each.
- 7. Linds, three ladies, 50l. each, Henrietta, Maria, Lectitia.
- 8. Cookes, three ladies, Penelope Ann. Eliza. Maria; 1501. the first; the others 1751. each.
- D. Cabelle, four, Mary Turner Cabell, Ann Elizabeth. Thomas Scutt, and Robert Davies: each 50l. a-year.
- 10. Denta, two, Sophia and Cotton; 50l. a-year each.
- 11. Halifaxes, six, Gertrude, Charlotte, Marianne, Caroline, Catherine, Elizabeth, 601. ayear each.
- 12 Piersons, four, Sarah, Frances, Mary, Diana Ann, 271. a-vear each.
- 13. Herries, Mary Ann, 300l., Catherine, Isabella Maria, Julia Mary, 150l. each.
- apostate poet?
- 15. Locks, three ladies, 2001. a-year each.

- 6. Randale, three ladies, Susan- | 16. Cockburns, EIGHT ladies. with 700t. a-year amongst them. Jane, Mary, Fanny, Harriott, Elizabeth, Matilda, Margaret and Ann.
 - 17. Belilo, a widow and three children. 80%.
 - 18. Master, three boys, 100l. a-year each. Henry, St. Vincent Frederick, and Richard Thomas, Sir Abraham Hume receives this in trust.

This may suffice for the present. What we wish is, that some correspondent would be so good as to point out whom of the "Higher Orders" these Attle ladies belong to. We want to trace them. There are great numbers of these family-parties; and what we aim at, is. to be able to shew, how it happens, that they should have been 14. Southey, Robert, 2001. This selected for support in this way. pension was granted in 1807. The reader will please to bear Who is this man? Is it the in mind, that the list, from which we take the above names was printed, by order of the Honeurable House, in 1808; so that, the Masters and Misses of that day must now be grown up gentlemen and ladies. But, until we are furnished with a new list, (which, we suppose, we never shall,) we must go by the old list, concluding, as we have a right to do, that, if many have dropped off since 1808, there must be many who have, since that year, come on.

We should like to get at some correct information about the holders, renters, and lessees of Crown-lands, Houses, Manors, Mines, Light-houses, and other things, held under what is called "the Crown;" that is to say, under the Public; seeing that the King now receives nothing from that source; but re-

that, the Masters and Misses of ceives a compensation in the that day must now be grown Civil-List. This property is important of the compensation of the ceives a compensation in the ceives a compensation of the ceives a compensation of the ceives a compensation of the ceives a ceive a ceive

Since our SECOND EDITION went to press, we have received several hints and pieces of information. We shall attend to these. We shall make further inquiry; and make, or not, corrections accordingly. It is surprising how few errors we have committed. But, we desire to make our work perfect.

Accept, Sir, our apologies for this unwarrantable trespass on your time and room, and believe that we remain, with the highest respect,

Sir.

Your most obedient servants,
THE AUTHORS.

AN ACCOUNT.

Skowing how the Monies given for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the year 1810, have been disposed of; distinguished under their several heads, to the 5th day of January, 1820.

SERVICES.

NAVY. For Wages for 20,000 Men, including 6,000 Royal Marine Thirteen lunar Months, at the rate of 2!. 3s. 6d. per M	s; i	lot:
Month£565,500 For Victuals for the said 20,000 Men; for Thirteen		
lunar Months, at the rate of 2i. per Man per Month	0	0
nar Months, at the rate of 2l. le. per Man per Month	σ.	0
For defraying the Ordinary Establishment of the Navy; for the year 1849	12	7,
sary for the building, re-building, and repairs of Ships of War in His Majesty's and the Mer- chants Yards, and other extra Works, ever and	٠	•
above what are proposed to be done upon the Heads of Wear and Tear, and Ordinary 5-for the year 1879	0	À
For the purchase of Provisions for Freeps and Garrisons on Foreign Stations, and the value of Rations for Troops to be embarked on board	; · · ·	·••
Ships of War and Transports; for the year 1819, 419,319 For the Expense of the Transport Service; for the	•	•
year 1819		-
6,436,781 ORDNANCE.	12	7
For Ordnance for Sea Service on board the Ships in whi said 20,000 Men are to serve; for Thisteen lunar Mon the rate of 7s. per Man per Month£91,000	ths,	at
On Account, for the Ordnance Service for the present year		
for the Land Service for Great Britain; for the year 1819	3	iı

For defraying the Expense of Services performed Ordnance for Land Service for Great Britain, and	ad not pr	ovid	ed
for by Parliament, in the year 1818	10,000		9
For the Charge of the Office of Ordnance for Great Britain, on account of the Allowances to Re- tired General Officers, to Superannuated, Re-	•	•	'
tired, and Half-pay Officers, to Officers seconded to Officers for good Services, and to Wounded	 		
Officers, to Superannuated and Disabled Men- also for Pensions to Widows and Children of deceased Officers, late belonging to the several	i	٠.	:
Ordnance Military Corps; for the year 1819 For defraying the Expense of the Allowances to Superannuated, Retired, and Half-pay Officers	.275,667	18	•
so Officers seconded, and to Officers for good Services, to Superannuated and disabled Men	l • .		
also for Pensions to Widows and Children of deceased Officers, late belonging to the several Ordname Military Corps in Great Britain, and	,		·
not provided for by Parliament; in the year 1818 For the Charge of Allowances, Compensations and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuated	6,099	8	•
or Retired Allowances, to persons late belong- ing to the Office of Ordnance in Great Britain,	• • •	•	•
in respect of their having held any Public Offices or Employments of a sivil nature, and also for the Charge of Widows Pensions; for			
the year 1819	34,484	8	•
land; for the year 1819 For the Charge of the Office of Ordnance in Ire-	101,008	15	4
and, on account of the Pay of Retired Officers of the late Irish Artillery and Engineers, and of Pensions to Widows of deceased Officers of the	; ;	•	
same; for the year 1819	12,000	0	0
and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannu- ated or Retired Allowances, to Persons late be- longing to the Office of Ordnance in Ireland,	•	• .	
in respect of their having held any Public Offices or Employments of a civil nature, and also for the Charge of Widows Pensions; for	Í		
the year 1819	4,500	0	0
ī	,191,000	0	ō

PADCES		••	٠
FORCES.		$za_{>}$	
For dollaying the Charge of His Majesty's Land !	di seeno?	t Se	r-
vice in Great Britain and on the Stations abrea	d. faure	ne li	10
Regiments employed in the Territorial Possession	me of the		77
India Company;) from the 25th of December, 18			ŭ.
Description, in the second of Description, 191	LO, DO LIK	241	iñ
Dec. 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days 22,	178,178	11 ''	Z
For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Land	•	• •	
Forces for Service in Ireland; for the same time ?	40,987	8.1	0
For definying the Charge of General and Staff.	· .		
Officers and Officers of the Hospitals serving			-
with His Majesty's Forces in Great Britain and	٠,	,	
on Fernign Stations (except India) for the same		٠,	
			14
For defraying the Charge of General and Staff	110,021	I,	•.
For delraying the Charge of General and Stan	,	, ,	
Officers and Officers of the Hospitals serving			
with His Majesty's Forces in Ireland; for the	•	•	
same time	34,784	14	11
For defraying the Charge of the Allowances to		٠,	í
the principal Officers of certain Public Depart-	٠,,	;	
ments in Great Britain, their Deputies, Clerks,		. 1	
and contingent Expenses; for the same time			
For defraying the Charges of a like nature in Ire-	100,000		
land; for the same time	·10/60 1	10	7
For defraying the Charge of Medicines and Sur-		* ***	4
gical Materials for His Majesty's Land Forces	,	٠.	
on the Establishment of Great Britain, and of	٠.	,	
certain Hospital Contingencies; for the year		\$	
1819	21,885	190	11
Fordefraying the Charge of ditto, ditto, for service		٠.	
in Ireland; for ditto	7.400		i
For deflaying the Charge of Volunteer Corps in	1,400	* * *	9
		· .	
Great Britain; from the 25th day of December,	•		
1818, to the 24th day of December, 1819, both		•	
inclusive, being 365 days	100,000	0 /	Ð
For ditto, ditto in Ireland; for the same time	21,668	16	5
For defraying the Charge of Four Troops of Dra-	;		(
goons and Hourteen Companies of Foot stationed			
in Great Britain, for the purpose of recruiting			i.
the Corps employed in the Territorial Posses-		٠,	
sions of the East India Company, for the same			
	00.004		à
	20,004	. *	Ψ,
For defraying the Charge of the Pay of General	,	٠,٠	
Officers in His Majesty's Land Forces, not being	•	٠,	
Colonels of Regiments, upon the Establishment			
of Great British; for the same time	174,378	6	0
For defraying the Charges of the like nature in	•	•	
keland; for the same time		gi	3
2 A 2	-,	-	~

•			
For defraying the Charge of His Majesty's Garr	icama as I	T	_
and Abased and Problishman of Our A Date	ISOMS AT I	10 m	•
and Abroad, on the Establishment of Great Brita	in; for the	yes	P
1819; from the 25th day of December 1818 to 1	he 24th di	pà. c	Ж
December 1819, both inclusive, being 366 days;	£97 A80 ·	8 1	1
For defraying the Change of His Majesty's Gar-	e impeter.		
risons in Ireland; for the same time	'A 170 1	1.	0=
For deferring the Charge of Full Box for reflect	0,110 1		•
For defraying the Charge of Full Pay for refired			
Officers, and unattached Officers of His Ma-			
c jesty's Forces, upon the Establishment of Great		•	
Britain; for the same time	123,869	7	7
For defraying the Charge of Full Pay for retired		٠.	_
Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, upon the		: .	
		_	~
Establishment of Ireland; for the same time	· 9,000		•
For deflaying the Charge of Half Pay to reduced		•	
- Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces, upon the	9 A		•
Establishment of Great Britain; for the same time		1	Œ
For Charges of a like nature in Ireland; for the			_
		_	8
same time	49,172	Φ.	-
For defraying the Charge of Military Allowances			٠
to reduced Officers of His Majesty's Land Forces,	; ·	.,,,	
upon the Establishment of Great Britain; for	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		
the same time	- 21:561 1	40	Æ
For Charges of a like nature in Ireland; for the	. 01,001	<i></i>	_
	1,227	L A ·	~
		Α,	•
For defraying the Charge of Half Pay and reduced		-	
Allowances to the Officers of disbanded Fereign			
Corps, of Pensions to Wounded Foreign Officers,	100	. •	
and of the Allowances to the Widows and Chil-			
dren of deceased Foreign Officers; for the	162		
, dren of deceased roteign concers, for the	100 750	_	_
same time	170,000	U	•
For defraying the Charge of the In-Pensioners of		•	
Chelsea Hospital; for the same time	42, 840	8	9
For Do. Do. of the Royal Hospital near Kilmain-		٠.	
ham; for the same time	15:68F	8	I.
For Do. Do. of the Out Pensioners of Chelsea			_
Hamital for the same time	047 EDD		•
Hospital; for the same time	011,00%	. •	9
For Do. Do. of the Royal Hospital near Kilmain-		. '	
ham; for the same time	196,065	14	2
For Do. Do. of Pensions to be paid to Widows of		-	
Officers of the Land Forces and Marines, upon	ه فعلی محرد اث	•	•
the Establishment of Great Britain; for the			
		Δ.	~
same time	on,vou		U
For Charges of the like nature in Ireland; for the	i de la compania del compania de la compania del compania de la compania del la compania de la compania del la compania del la compania de la compania del la compania d		
same time	19,549	175	2
For defraying the Charge of Allowances on the	7 7 7 4		
Compassionale List of Allowances, as of His		`	
Majesty's Royal Bounty, and of Pensione to			
Affine to Wound to the tone there	189.530		T.
s Officers for Wounds; for the same, time	100,00%		*

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For defraying the Charge of Allowances to the Reduced Adjutants of the Local Militia in Great Britain; from the 26th day of December 1818 to the 24th day of December 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days
pensations, and Emoluments, in the nature of Superannuation or Retired Allowances, to Persons belonging to several Public Departments in Great Britain, in respect of their having
held Public Offices or Employments of a civil nature; for the same time
paid at the Exchequer on Issues for Army Services for the British Establishment; for the sembetime
For defraying the Charge of Corps ordered to be disbanded or reduced in the year 1819; for the clothing of Cavalry Regiments, the Establishments of which were reduced from the 25th
day of December 1848; and for Two Begi- ments of Cavalry, up to the dates of Embarka- tion for Service in the East Indies
For defraying the Charges incident for the year 1819, for the Pay and Clothing of Corps reduced in Ireland
Great Britain; for the year 1819
the Troops on Fereign Stations; and also for the Pay of the Commissariat Department; for the year 1819
Militia of Great Britain; for the year 1819 189,574 14 4 For Do. Do. of Ireland; for Do - 126,385 7 5 For defraying the Extraordinary Expences of the
Army for Great Britain; during the present year 1,200,000 0 0 For Do. Do. Do. of Ireland; for ditto - 20,000 0 0 To defray the Expence of the Commissariat Department in Ireland; for one year, ending the
24th December 1819 To defray the Services of the Barrack Department in Ireland; for one year, ending Do. 73,032 8 0
£8,752,470 4 7

For defraying the Charge of the CIVIL ESTABLISHMENTS untter-mentioned; viz.

•			
Of the Bahama Islands, in addition to the Salaries now paid to the Public Officers, out of the Duty Fund, and the Incidental Charges attending the same, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December 1819	£8,801	10	•
Do. Dominica, from Do. to Do	600	Û	. 🌘
Do. Upper Canada, from Do: to Do	10,800	'nΰ	.0
Do. Nova Scotia, from the 1st day of January to the 31st day of December, 1819	13,440	0	0
Po. New Branswick, from Do. to Do	6,757		
Do. Cape Breton, from Do. to Bo	9,190		
Do. St. John, (now called Prince Edward Island),	4,200		
from Do. to Do	3,490	. 0	0
Do. Newfoundland, from Do. to Do	5,976		
Do. New South Wales, from Do. to Do	-		
Bo. Sierra Leone, from Do. to Do			
To make good the Desiciency of the Grant of Pavliament for the year 1818; to enable His Majesty to provide for such Expenses of a civil nature, as do not form a part of the Ordinary Charges of the Civil List		8	•
To enable His Majesty to provide for such Ex- penses of a civil nature at do not form part of the Ordinary Charges of the Civil List; for the			•
To defray the Salaries to the Officers, and Expenses of the Court, and Receipt of Exchequer; for the year 1819	6,500	•	•
To defray the Expense of the Houses of Lords and Commons; for the year 1819	14,515	. 0 .	Ð
To defrey the Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of Lords and Commons; for the year 1819	92, 401		•
To make good the Desiciency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, to desirate the Salaries and Allowances to the Officers of the Houses of Lords and Commons	923	h'.	

Towards delicating the Expenses of Worle, and R lic Buildings; for the year 1819	41,974	Pa 0	0 E
To defray the Expense of confining, maintaining and employing Convicts at home; for the year 1819	74,932	•	o [']
To defray the Extraordinary Expenses that may be incurred for Prosecutions, &c. relating to the Coin of this Kingdom; for the year 1819	8,000	•	9
To defray the Expense of Law Charges; for the year 1819	90,090	0	0
To defray the Charge for printing Acts of Parliament for the two Houses of Parliament, for the Sheriffa, Clerks of the Peace, and Chief Magistrates throughout the United Kingdom, and for the acting, Justices throughout Great Britain;		,	
also for printing Bills, Reports, Evidence, and other Papers and Accounts for the House of Lords; for the year 1819			
To defray the Expense of printing the Votes of the House of Commons, during the present Session of Parliament	3,200	0,	•
To defray the Deficiency of the Grant of 1817, for printing 1750 Copies of the 72d Volume of Journals of the House of Commons	146	9 ¹	0
To make good the Deficiency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, for making good the Deficiencies of the Fee Funds in the Departments of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, and Privy Council	18,449	4.	0
To make good the Deficiency of the Sum granted in the last Session of Parliament, for defraying the Contingent Expenses and Messengers Bills in the Departments of the Treasury, the three Secretaries of State, and Lord Chamberlain	9,189	16	
To make good the Deficiencies of the Fee Funds in the Departments of the Treasury, three Se- cretaries of State, and Privy Council; for the year 1819	90,797	0	0
To defray the Contingent Expenses and Messengers Bills in the Departments of the Treasury, three Secretaries of State, and Lord Chamberlain; for the year 1819	73,700	: Q	, 0.
Towards defraying the Charge of the Royal Mili- tary College; for the year 1819	8,066		ø

Be complete the Sum required for defraying the Chiego of de. . from the 26th day of December, 1818, to the 24th day of December, 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days...£17,173. 18 19

comber, 1819, both inclusive, being 865 days	£17,178.	18	16
	25,173	18	10
Towards defraying the Charge of the Royal Military Asylum, for the year 1819	-8,000	, .æ	. 0
To complete the sum required for defraying the Charge of do. from the 25th day of December, 1818, to the 24th of December, 1819, both inclusive, being 365 days	28,482	17	· '†'
19	36,482		
For His Majesty's Foreign and other Secret Services; for the year 1819	80,000	΄`σ _,	•
For making good the Desiciency of the Grant of 1818; for desraying the Expense of printing Bills, Reports, and other Papers, by Order of the House of Commons, during the last Session of Parliament.	4,987	· · . •	· ;
To make good the Deficiency of the Grant of 1818, for printing 1,750 Copies of the 78d Volume of Journals of the House of Commons	213	• ;	11
To defray the Expense of printing Bills, Reports, and other Papers, by order of the House of Commons, during the present Session of Parliament.	21,000	 	0
To defray the Expense that may be incurred for reprinting Journals and Reports of the House of Commons; in the year 1819	3, 000 ′	. ·	0
To defray the Expense that may be incurred for printing 1,750 Copies of the 74th Volume of the Journals of the House of Commons; for the year 1819	3,500	0	0
To defray the Expense incurred for printing 1,250 Copies of the 50th Volume of Journals of the House of Peers	1,671		;. o
For definying the Deficiency of the Grant of 1818, for the Charge of printing Acts of Par- liament for the two Houses of Parliament, for the Sheriffs, Clerks of the Peace and chief Ma- gistrates throughout the United Kingdom, and for the Acting Justices throughout Great Bri-			ŗ.

	_		
tale; also for printing Bills, Reports, Evidence, and other Papers and Accounts for the House of Lords		8	5
To defray the Amount of Bills drawn or to be drawn from New South Wales; for the year 1819		: • • • • •	
For discharging Interest on Exchequer Bills, Irish			0
One hundredth part of Forty-three Millions of Exchequer Bills, authorized, in the last Session of Parliament, to be issued and charged upon the Aids granted in the present Session, to be issued and paid by equal Quarterly Payments to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the Account			
of the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt; for the year ending the 1st	480,000	0	0
To make good the Deficiency on the 5th day of April, 1819, of the Fee Fund at His Ma- jesty's Receipt of Exchequer	28,097	: .	4
The following Services are directed to be paid, without any Fee or other Deduction whatever:	اويد. الأحداث وي وهم الوود	` ,. *	.; ,
To defray the Expense of confining and main- taining criminal Lunatics; for the year 1819 -	2,777	0	0.
To defray the Expense of the National Vaccine Establishment; for the year 1819	3,000	•	Δ.
For the Relief of American Loyalists; for the year 1819	11,000	Δ.	•
To defray the Charge of the Superannuation Allowances or Compensations to retired Clerks, and other Officers formerly employed in the	- 1	;	0
Lottery Office; for the year 1819. To defray the Charge of the Supernnuation Allowances or Compensations to retired Clerks and other Officers formerly employed in the office of the Commissioners for Auditing the	241	10	0
Public Accounts; for the year 1819 To defray the Charge of Do. Do. formerly employed in His Majesty's Mint; for the year 1819	2,442 999	· 0 ·	0
To defray the Charge of Do. Do. to one of the late Paymasters of Exchequer Bills; for the year 1819	266	13	4

To defray the Charge of the Superamustion Allow pensation to Persons formerly employed on the in North Britain; for the year 1812 -	ances or Military £\$58	Çoz Roz O	n- ds O
To pay the Superannuation or retired Allowance to Master William Bell; formerly Master Ship- wright at Kingston, in Canada, at the rate of 1561, per annum, from the 30th day of June 1818 to the 30th day of December 1819	3 26		O`
Towards defraying the Expense of building a Penitentiary House at Milbank; for the year 1819	60,000	6	0
To defray the Expense of the Establishment of Do. from the 24th day of June 1819 to the 24th day of June 1829		0	,0
For defraying the Expense of making an Inland Navigation from the Eastern to the Western Sea, by Inverness and Fort William; for the year 1819	50,000	0	0
For the support of the Institution called "The Refuge for the Destitute;" for the year 1819 -	5,000	Ó	0
To enable His Majesty to grant relief to Toulonese and Corsican Emigrants, Saint Domingo Sufferers, Dutch Naval Officers and others, who have heretofore received Allowances from His Majesty, and who from Services performed or Losses sustained in the British Service, have Special Claims upon his Majesty's Justice or Liberality		14	1
Toward the Repair of Henry the Seventh's Chapel; for the year 1819 -	3,169	18'	0
To defray the Selaries and Allowances and Expences for the Commissioners under the Treaties with Foreign Powers, for preventing the Illicit Traffick in Slaves; for the year 1819	24,800	Ó	٥
To be applied towards the expence to be incurred in the management of the British Museum; for the year 1819	10,018	16	8
To enable His Majesty to pay the same to the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy, according to the Rules and Regulations by which the Funds of that Corporation are governed	1) D	· ·

Fowards enabling his Majesty to make Provision mentation of the Maintenance of the Peorer Clerg to be issued and applied pursuant to the Provision	y of Scot	lane	d,
passed for that purpose £	10,000	6	0
To defray 3 years and 95 days Interest due on the Sum of 300,000l, granted to the Portuguese Government in pursuance of a Convention signed at Vienna on the 21st day of Jan. 1815 -	48,904	2	2
To defray the Expense of sundry Improvements between Bangor Ferry and Chirk Bridge, in North Wales; for the year 1819	15,000	0,	0
For the Expense of Works carrying on at the College of Edinburgh; for the year 1819	10,000	Q .	P
To defray the Expense of sundry Works proposed to be done in and about the Harbour of Holyhard; for the year 1819	12,500	· •	0
To defray the Expence of the Repairs upon the Cobb at Lyme Regis; for the year 1819 -	18,300	O	0
For the Board of Agriculture; for the year 1819	1,000	9.	0
For defraying the Expenses of maintaining and repairing the British Forts on the Coast of Africa; for the year 1819	96,000	•	0
To pay the Superannuation Allowances or Com- pensations to Andrew Allen and Edward Stan- ley, Esqs. two of His Majesty's retired Consuls Abroad; for the year 1819	1,175	o	0
To enable His Majesty to issue, and cause to be paid to General Boyd, a Citizen and Officer of the United States of America, in consideration of the Saltpetre exported under the King's Licence, as Remuneration for a Service formerly		•,	•
rendered to this Country, in the East Indies, and for the Expenses and Trouble incurred in the prosecution of his Chaim	6,000	0	0
For defraying the Charges of preparing and drawing the Lotteries for 1819, &c.	18,000	0	, 0

For digraging the Charge of the following SERVICES IN IRELAND, which are directed to be paid Net in BRITISM Currency:

For the Remuneration of certain Public Officers in Ireland, for their extraordinary trouble in 1819 1,153 16 11

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For defraying the probable Expenditure of the Board of Works in Ireland; for the year 1819 - £22,882 0 0
For defraying the Charge of Printing, Stationary, and other Disbursements, for the Chief and Under Secretaries Offices and Apartments, and other Public Offices in Dublin Castle, &c. and for Riding Charges and other Expenses of the Deputy Pursuivants and extra Messengers attending the said Offices; also Superannuated Allowances in the said Chief Secretary's Office; for one year ending the 5th of January, 1820
For defraying the Expense of publishing Proclamations and other matters of a public nature, in the Dublin Gazette and other Newspapers in Ireland; for one year ending ditto - 0,692 0 0
For defraying the Expense of printing 1,500 Copies of a compressed Quarto Edition of the Statutes of the United Kingdom, for the use of the Magistrates of Ireland, and also 250 Copies of a Folio Edition of the same, bound, for the use of the Lords, Bishops, and Public Officers in Ireland - 3,439 0 0
For defraying the Expence of Criminal Prosecu- tions, and other Law Expenses in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820 23,076 0 0
To descray the Expense of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland for one year ending ditto 1,000 0 0
For completing the Sum necessary for the Support of Non-conforming Ministers in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January, 1820
For the Support of the Seconding Ministers from the Synod of Ulster in Ireland; for one year ending the 26th day of March 1829 - 4,034 15 8
For the Support of Protestant Dissenting Ministers in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of Japuary, 1820
For paying the Salaries of the Lottery Officers in Ireland: for one year ending the 24th day of June, 1819 1,741 16 11

For the Establishment and Maintenance of the F tion in Ireland, vested in the Directors of the I tion; for the year 1819	ublic N nland N £4,480	avi	311-
don', for the year tone	٠٠٠٠	•	
For carrying on the Works at Dunmore Harbour; in the current year		0	0
To carry on the Works at Howth Harbour; in the current year	24	0	0
For clothing the Battle Axe Guards for 18 months, commencing from the 1st day of June 1819	683	i	6
For defraying the Charge of Clothing of His Majesty's Officers of Arms, Pursuivants, and State Trumpeters in Ireland, for three years, commencing the 17th day of March 1819	1;011	15	10
To defray the expense of the Police and Watch Establishment of the City and District of Dublin; for the year ending the 5th day of January 1820	26,600	0	• •
To provide for Fever Cases in Ireland; for the year ending Ditte	10,000	•	0
To provide Utensils and Implements of Manufac- ture for the use of the New Bridewell, in Dublin	1,000	Ó	0
To pay the Salaries of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Duties, Salaries and Emoluments of the Officers, Clerks and Ministers of Justice; in all Temporal and Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland; for one year ending the 6th day of January 1820	7,200	0	· :
To enable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to issue Money from time to time, in aid of Schools established by Voluntary Contributions	3, 0 00	. 0	- 0
To make good the Advances made from His Majesty's Civil List in Ireland, pursuant to Addresses of the House of Commons, of the 8th day July 1817, and the 2d day of June 1818, for the remuneration of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Fees and Empluments of Officers of the Courts of Justice in Ireland	• ••	18	5
To defray the Expense of building Churches and Glebe Houses, and of purchasing Glebes in Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820.	3.1		. 0

To further defray the Expense of building Church Houses, and of purchasing Glebes in Ireland; ending the 5th day of January 1830	for one	3	PAT
To defray the Expense of the Trustees of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820, to be by the said Trustees applied in such manner as shall appear to them to be most conducive to promote and encourage the said Manufactures	19,938		2
To defray the Expense of the Commissioners for making wide and convenient Streets in the City of Dublin; for one year ending the 5th day January 1820	11,000		•
To defray an additional Allowance to the Chairman of the Board of Inland Navigation in Ireland; for the year 1819	276	is	. · · 5
To defray the Expense of putting the House of the Royal Irish Academy, in Grafton-street, into perfect repair	300	0	Ó
To defray the Expense of supporting the Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820	24,000	0	Ö
To defray the Expense of the Foundling Hospital at Dublin; for one year ending do	30,000	ס	ď
For supporting the House of Industry, Hospitals and Asylum for Industrious Children in Dublin; for one year ending do	89,000		٥.
To defray the Expense of supporting the Richmond Lunatic Asylum in Dublin; for one year ending do	6,665	0	.
To defray the Expense of the Hibernian Society for Soldiers Children; for one year ending do	9,200	0.	0
To defray the probable Charge of the Hiberman Marine Society in Dublin: for one year ending do.	1,800	0	•
To defray the Expense of the Female Orphan House, in the Circular Road, near Dublin; for one year ending do	2,500	•	0
For supporting the Westmoreland Lock Hospital in Dublin; for one year ending the 4th day of January 1820	8,000	. 0	

For supporting the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin ending the 5th day of January, 1820	for on £3,300	e y	ar Q
To defray the probable Expense of Doctor Stevens's Hospital: for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820	1,400	0	ø
To destay the Expense of the Fever Hospital and House of Recovery, Cork-street, Dublin; for one year ending do.	4,600		0
To defray the Expense of the Hospital for Incura- bles in Dublin; for one year ending do,	460	0	Q
To defray the Charge of the Establishment of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland; for one year ending do	8,928	0	•
To defray the Expences of the Association incorporated for discountenancing Vice, and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian Religion; for one year ending do	3,480	0	Q
For defraying the Charge of the Green Coat Hospital of the City of Cork; for one year ending do.	100	.0	0
For defraying the charge of the Cork Institution; for one year ending the 5th day of January 1820	° 2,300	0	0
To defray the Expences of the Society for promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland; for one year ending do	5,538	0	0
To defray the Expences of the Dublin Society; for one year ending do	9,900	0	0.
To defray the Expences of the Farming Society of Ireland; for one year ending do	8,000	0	0
To defray the Civil Contingencies in Ireland; for the year ending do.	20,000	0	0
20,	506,449	8	1
To discharge the like Amount of Supplies, granted for the Service of the year 1818, remaining unprovided for	04 6,} 00	0	Ø
	552,549		- 1
•			

N. B. The reader will observe, that the above forms only about a third of the year's expenditure. I shall, in my next, give a further account; and, in that, or the next number, shall include a view of the whole year's expenditure. At present I wish the reader to look at the above sums separately; to mark what each sum is for; and to consider WHOSE HANDS it falls into!—I shall have very frequently to refer to the above account, and, therefore, I strongly recommend to the reader to keep it with care.

Erratum. In page 884, line 18, of this Number, for " little ladies," read"

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

LONDON, SATURDAY, SER

TO THE

SULICITOR-GENERAL.

In Answer to his Speech against the Queen.

ondon, igh Sept. 1820.

"Tam not one of those, who shink that much danger to her Majesty's cause is likely to arise from Mr. Brougham not having been permitted to open his case; because I am convinced, that if the multter were new closed : If not another word were to be heard on the subject, in the House of Lords, the public, this whole thation, the whole world, would pronounce her Majesty innocent of the charges preferred against her, and would also pronounce those charges to have originated in a long-premeditated and dowly-matured conspiracy. But the press has its rights, and amongst there is the right of expressing what men think on

the safety of individuals. of opinion that your summing up was sophistical; and was intended to assist in accomplishing an unjust and by giving countenance to that contemplated and expected end. therefore, submit to the public my answer to that summine up.

In doing this, I shall in some degree 'invest' the order which you thought proper to adopt; that is to say, I shall hegin where you left off. You, after all your efforts to produce a Belief in the soundness of your case itself, think proper to canclude with professions as 110 motives and wishes. Voluntaty professions and aggerenations always excite suspiciontay to the sincerity of those who make them; but I recollect no instance, in which offerings of this kind have been made with a worse grace than those made by you. In this case you not only profess for yourself, but subjects connected with the na- for all those concerned in the tional welfare, whether such ex- prosecution; Attorney-General. pression be necessary, or not, to Ministers. and Milan Commis-

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sion; you are Professor-General; and, as you thought it necossary to make the professions, it will, I trust, be deemed not improper that I inquire into their sincerity.

You conclude in the followwords: " He begged now "to be allowed to revert to " what had been said yesterday, " that the case had fallen infi-" nitely short of the opening of " his hon, and learned friend, " the Attorney-General. He " asked if the case now in evi-" dence was not as strong in A the facts and the details as " the opening had been, and if " it did not justify all which " his hon. and learned friend # had stated in the discharge " of the duty which their lord-" ships had imposed on him? It "was impossible for him to sit "down without alluding to " what had been dragged into "every cross-examination, and "tion could have been made than " had been rung in their ears, " not only from the beginning " to the end of this case, but "from the first moment any " mention was made of the sub-"ject, and for the purpose of "man, Colonel Brown, he was "Anyolving in reproach every " individual who took any part " in the proceedings. It was "quite impossible for the per-" sons at the head of his Ma-" jesty's government not to have " established some mode of in-" quiry; it was quite impos-"sible that they should not "have inquired into reports " in the highest degree deroga-" tory to her Royal Highness, " nisters had exercised a sound

" and in general circulation in. "most purits of Europe. "asked thom whether it was "not their duty to inquire if " those reports were or were not "true? There was only one " mode of doing this: that mode " was, to select persons eminent " in point of character, of great "character for integrity and " knowledge, to make that in-" quiry. Accordingly, as ju-" dicious, as proper a selection "as could be made, had been At the head was " adopted. " one known to be a man of the " highest respectability-known " to possess unimpeachable in-" tegrity, and of great skill " and knowledge in the laws " of his country. He had been "at the head of the commis-" sion—if commission it was to " be called—for the purpose of "obtaining, not idle rumour, " but evidence of facts, such as "could alone be admitted in " every court in this country. "He asked if any fairer selec-"another gentleman, of whom " mention had been made in " the course of the proceedings, " who possessed great practice in the law. A third gentle. " not acquainted with; but he " was told that his character " stood as high as that of any " of those who had dared to " iraduce him. Was he justi-" fied, then, in saying that it was " a duty upon ministers to have "instituted an inquiry into the " reports circulated? And was. " he justified in saying that mi-

"discretion, liable to no impu-ther Majesty should be fully and " tation whatever, in selecting " persons to conduct the neces-"sary inquiry? He begged " pardon if he had occupied "their lordships time too long. " He hoped he had fairly stated "The evidence in the case. He " had been anxious not to have "tortured or discoloured any " fact or circumstance. "had tortured or discoloured in " any degree, he regretted it; " for he had been desirous only " to do his duty, and not to mis-" represent; and he hoped he " might be allowed in conclu-"sion to say, and he said it "from the bottom of his heart, and in the ulmost sincerity; ' be sincerely and devoutly wisked, not that the evidence should be confounded and per-plexed, but his wish was, that it should be the result of this reproceeding; that her Royal con Highness should cotablish, to the satisfaction of their Lordships, and every individual in the country, her full and unsullied innocence. Whother this was likely or not, as will would be unbecoming in . East him to offer any opinion. had only to say, that the "" preamble of the bill Was proved, unless the proof ahould be impeached by evidence, clear, distinct, and " satisfactory, on the part of her Majesty." (Hear, hear! Order, order!)

Thus, then, we have from by a motive sufficient to overyou the profession of a sincere come all the ordinary feelings, and devout wish, coming from of our nature. the bottom of your heart, that Give me leave, therefore, to

clearly acquitted. This is a matter which, taken in connection with the rest of your speech, amounts to a great deal. It is the test of your sincerity and your character. If her Majesty be clearly acquitted, what follows? Why, amongst other things, the everlasting shame and ignominy of the inventors of the Milan Commission: of the parties belonging to that Commission; and of all those who have taken part in the instiguting, and in the entrying on of this presecution. To suppose that the present ministry could remain in power after such an acquittal, is impossible ! and, therefore, to believe you sincere in this wish, we must first believe that you most anxiously, most sincerely, most dev voutly, and from the bottom of your heart, wish to be turned out of office, and to see blasted for ever all hope of obtaining those emoluments and hodouts. which were the naturally expeeted reward of that political apostacy, which not man ever falls into without being actuated

tay, that I not only doubt of |" Branchi in the most indecorous your sincerity here, but that I " and shameful manner, the doubt of it as to every part of "Princess and Bergami being vour statement. I believe you to wish, from the bottom of your heart, that the Queen may be derraded, sunk, ruined in public estimation; and that you may profit from this destruction. of her Majesty.

to the nature of the evidence generally, and shalls hope remark only on your assertion with regard to the opening spench of the Attorney General. You assert that your case is as atropy: in facts and details, as it stood in that opening speech. There was no one who doubted, that the sweening would go as far as the opening. But, there was, one part of that opening, " presence of the Princesa." which was of so odious and hideous a nature, that it was not with this odious and detestable to be expected that even an charge, thus introduced with attempt would be made to es-apparent trembling reluctance, tablish it by evidence. The thus painfully forced from the passage of the opening to which humane and modest Attorney I allude is given by the reporter General; with this charge, thus in the following words: "On introduced, that pious advocate "the return of the Princess from closed his long string of accusahthe East, she brought in her tions, asserting that it should be "train a man named Leone, of supported by the testimony of "the most brutal and depraved several witnesses. And how "manners. This person used has it been supported even by 's to exhibit himself at the Villa your own witnesses?

" present. The circumstances " are so shocking, so disgusting " to the mind, that I cannot. " without difficulty bring my-" self to mention them to your " Lordships, but it is necessary. The painful situation in which . I shall by and bye speak as "I am placed, requires that I "should make your fordships understand the nature of the "disgusting exhibition; which shall appear by the testimony of various witnesses. This " man, in the signation I de-" scribed, used to IMITATE. " amongst other things, in the "most indelicate manner, the "SEXUAL INTERCOURSE, "before the servants, in the

Now, let it be observed, that,

after all the attempts that you tion to attempt to give force to BUFFOON; or, as we call such persons as Grimaldi, a CLOWN; closing string of professions is. sons, upon numerous occasions, that which the witnesses called BUFFOONERY. Nothing more could be extracted than this. It will be proved, I dare say, that the Queen was no more guilty of crime here than ladies in this country are when they see the Clowns on the stage, particularly at the fairs throughout the country. It will be found, I dare say, that she took no particular delight in these exhibitions; but, at any rate, was it not monstrous to accuse her of having had exhibited before her an imitation of the sexual intercourse; fo send forth that accosation, prémeditatedly to send it forth all over the world, knowing that it must lie for many weeks uncontradicted by evidence; is it not now monstrous in you to say, that the facts and details of the Attorney General have all been made out by evi- been seen to be well grounded. dence? And after this is it not Besides if the ministers had heard a monstrous attempt at imposi- | such reports; and if they really

were able to make to get this your statement by asseverations most horrible falsehood down of your sincerity in wishing from in the shape of evidence, it turns the bottom of your heart that out that Leone was an ITALIAN the Queen might be acquitted?

Your next attempt in this and that he exhibited before the to acquit the Ministers of all Princess and numerous other per- blame in sending out and supporting the Milan Commission. You assert. that it was " quite. impossible" that the Ministers should not have established some mode of enquiry into the truth or falsehood of the reports circulated in most parts of Europe derogatory to her then Reval-Highness. You ask whether it was not their duty to institute such inquiry.

This is going very far back; it invites us to a discussion which you would have done well to leave unprovoked; for, if the reports were so widely circulated, why have you not dared to produce any of those persons, who were the bringers of the reports; for those persons must have possessed some knowledge beyond that of mere rumour: and before any proceeding was adopted upon their intelligence. that intelligence ought to have

had had a desire to preserve under your presection are unaulied the honour of the Royal Family, if that had been their object, they would have sent out some well known friend of her Majesty to sire her information of the reports; to warn her of het danger; to beseech her to be more prudent. In short, they would have acted as friends and not as enemies. But; school do they? They listen to all informers, they keep the information secret, they send out spies to wetch for turned off servants. They send out lawyers to collect depositions; they make all their preparations for striking the blow; and when they are ready they threaten her with a prosecution if she dare come te England; and at the same time tender her a princely insame if she will remain out of the kingdom! .

... Did this look like anxiety to preserve the honour of the Crown, and the Royal Family? Did this shew a deep sense of duty towards the Crown and towards the people? Did all this look like fair, honest and friendly dealing; or did it look like a premeditated plan for her Mathis kingdom?

members of the Milan mission. In your praises of M COOKE, it would be unjust to suppose you either more or les sincere than you are in your wishes for the acquittal of the For my own part I Queen. know nothing of him; shall only say, that I judge of him from his acts; and that his voluntarily taking upon himself such an employment is quite, sufficient to make us acquainted, with the character of the man. As to Mr. Powell, whom you represent as possessing practice in the law, I have known nothing of him since the year 1806. He is what West Indians call. a or a Quartaron, I forget which and he unites the vivacity of one race with the keenness the sharpest race of white me He was a very efficient fellow labourer of mine in that great and Holy work, the demolition of the Aristocratic influence in the City of Westminster, He was the clerk of Mr. PAULL's attorney during the memorable struggle of that brave little man against the haughty and insojesty's destruction as Queen of lent noblesse, and which struggle actually put an end to their The next band that you take power. Mr. Powell laboured,

not merely in his profession, but for that of subaltern menial, as a sincere and able friend of servant. On the other hand, it the cause. He wrote placards, is in the power of those prosehe wrote songs; he gave life to cutors to make him a general in the duller mass that we had to two days; to load him with deal with; and, in short, he honours in his profession; to earned what he received, the make him a Knight of the Bath: praises of us all. Not knowing that Mt. Powell had changed Island or Garrison; his politice. I was at first surprised when I heard his name gree. To be a spy upon the mentioned in connection with this affair. That change having to hunt out for witnesses against taken place; he, Sir, having her; to be associated with a like you, and, doubtless, from motives as honourable as yours, undergone a conversion, I could at once perceive that a fitter man upon the face of the earth could not have been found to take a part in the Milan Commission. With regard to Colo-NEL BROWN, whose character, you say, you are told stands as high as that of those who had dared to traduce him; I have to observe, in the first place, that, being an officer in the army, he is wholly dependant for his bread on the breath of the prosecutors in this case. He can, at any moment, be dismissed Queen; they knew in what from the service, and thus be manner she had been driven stripped of all means of ex- from her husband's house; they istence, unless, like your wit- had heard of the perjuries aimmess, SACCHINI, he was change his character of officer they were well acquainted with

to make him Governor of an short, to elevate him to any deactions of another man's wife: lawyer and an attorney, to get together the furnitare green bag: these are offices not very compatible with the character of a soldier; and, therefore, it requires something a little more than you have ventured to say in order to give us a high opinion of this COLONEL Brown.

The persons constituting this secret and lurking junto were well aware of the purposes to which their information was to be applied. They had all lived in England; they had heard of the treatment of the persecuted to ed against her life in 1806;

must have known of the advenfure of the Banon D'Omp-TEDA: and, with all this knowledge in their minds, they undertake the office of hunting up turned-off servants, and of raking together every thing that any Italian, however infamous his or her character, would swear against this deeply injured and long persocuted woman. These are facts that nobody can deny. These facts are notorious as the tun at noon-day; and knowing these facts to be true, we want nothing more to give us a correct opinion of the motives and therectors of these three men. We want nothing more to enable us to judge of the characters of those, whom the Ministers selected for this memorable undertaking.

You conclude your speech by asserting that the preamble of the Bill is proved; and, having thus concluded, the report states that there was a cheering in the House! That is to say, Sir, some, at least, of her Majosed you! It is not for me to ques- not us to be guilty of such then the propriety of conduct of blinking; for, on the conduct of the persons who compose the the prosecutors, previous to the House of Lords; but I may trial, a great deal depends.-

all the enparalished, atrocities Venture to say, that this is the committed against her: they first time that everany outdieses of judges cheerings commehan their bar. I should as solvave set pect to hear a judge cheer a boods tough swearing witness for their Crown; or, to see him descend from the bonch and shake such witness by the hand ! If their lordships had done either of these things during the trial, it would not have been more odious than to cheer you ; and, therefore, I am bound to believe. that, as to this matter, the meporter must have committed as mistake.

Having thus been leddby you, to take a view of the origin of this affair, and to enquire a little into the character and motives of the parties concerned in it. now-go back to the beginning of your speech, where you state the line of conduct that you and your colleagues pursued upon. receiving directions to support the Bill. But, though it might be convenient enough to you to blink all the previous stransantions, from the sending out of spies to Italy, to the commence: ty's judges and jurers applaud- ment of the trial, it becomes

That conduct serves to chici-lafter such reports, there were as dougled to transposed and as to assectives within degradation; of het Majesty, we are to corry that important fact in our minds when we are contemplating the evidence that they have finally produced. I, therefore, shall go into these previous transactions: and, if I show that the real object all ulong has been to keep her Mafesty from the country, er to alripe her from it, I must necessarily view the evidence brought forward as having that for: its object; and if that was the object, I must look at every tittle of evidence with somethings a great deal more than subjetion.

- In the first place, lithink it as close as day-light, that it was at Gratintended never to give het Majesty any trial at all. If such had been 'the 'Intention,' why were green bigs scaled up sent to the two Houses of Parliament ? There were precedents endagh for sending Green Bags: for referring these to secret committees; and for passing Bills, at once, upan the report of those merate the circumstances, withting the accused party to trial be quite sufficient to give pos-

dates their motives a and, if we no, precedents at all. When the Reformers were put in duntecarges senses anxious desire grons in 1817, the Bill was passed upon the sole ground of the Report of Secret Committees. The Reformers prayed to be heard in their tiefence before the passing of the Bill. presented Patitions praying to be heard before they were com-They declared the denmed. Reports to contain falsehoods. and prayed to be permitted to produce evidence at the bar to prove those falsehoods. Their petitions were rejected; and the horrible Bill was passed. I can see no reason, therefore, for supposing that, in the first insiduce, any trial at all toss intended; and my belief is, that the trial was suggested to the prosecutors solely by the foud expression of the public voice.

> A trial, a fair, openimpartial trial, was what the Queen had no right to object to, and it was what, indeed, she had always courted. But what sort of trial is this to which the Queen has, in the face of her repeated protests, been subjected? To enu-But, for admit- out any comment on them, will

nature of this never-to-be-forgatten Trial.

solved not to accept of these terms; not to be banished from England, the House of Lords.

First, the pretended evidence is laid before the Houses scaled up, accompanied with a proposition to submit this evidence to scorat committees; which committees consisted of the prosecutors themselves, and some other persons of their chusing.

Second, the Ministers describe the evidence as amounting to scandalous, and heavy charges against the Queen.

Third, these same Ministers enter into a negociation with her Majesty, offering her perfect, impunity, a splendid convayance to the continent, an introduction, as Queen of England, to a Fareign Court, and a princely income for the remainder of her life.

Hourth, the House of Commons send a deputation to her Majesty, containing their declaration that she may accept of these terms, without leaving any stain upon her character. And declaring, also, at the same time, that a trial, terminate how it may, "must be derogatory "to the dignity of the Crown, "and injurious to the best in-"terests of the country."

Fifth, the Queen having re-

solved not to accept of these terms; not to be banished from England, the House of Lords, (who had suspended the operation of their Secret Committee) resolved to go into that Secret Committee.

Sixth, their Secret Committee make a Report containing heavy charges against the Queen,

Seventh, upon this report, a Bill is brought in by the Ministry, called a Bill of Pains and Penalties, containing the most grievous accusations against the Queen, charging her with an adulterous intercourse, and sentencing her to degradation and divorce.

Eighth, this Bill is not proceeded upon directly; but this Bill, together with the Report on which it is founded, are sent all over the world; are placed under the eyes of the nation, as containing facts which the prosecutors solemply declared they were prepared to substantiate by evidence. These documents are thus placed under the eves of the nation, there to remain for six weeks, without any opportunity afforded to her Majesty to produce any thing in refutation of these outrageous cusations.

Ninth, her Majesty, in order

that she might be prepared to | nel; the judges are, at once; rabut charges founded on evi-judges and jurors, and part of dence, or pretended evidence, them are the accusers; and their collected by the means of Cooke, accusers are also the Ministers Powell, Brown and others, in of the King, from whom it is the manner that we have seen, proposed to divorce the Queeni applied to be furnished with the How these judges, jurors and names and descriptions of the persons who had sworn against her. This, which is uniformly granted in every case of divorce; and was the more necessary in this case because the home of the witnesses was at so great a distance, and because they were utterly unknown in the vicinage of the Court: this was refused to her Majesty!

Tenth, her Majesty next applied for the names of the places where her alleged crimes had been committed. These, too. were refused her. So that, she was left for the whole of the six weeks, without any possible chie by which she could come at the means of cross-examination, or at facts and circumstances to develope the characters, connections and motives of the witnesses!

Eleventh, the Court, as it is called, opens. And how is it composed? Partly of the prosecutors themselves! It is composed, not of twelve men, taken nally brought to the spot by promiscuously from a long pan-night. They are shut up in a

accusers are situated relatively. with regard to each other; how all, or any part, are situated with regard to the King, Heave the public to judge; but, in this case. unanimity is nes required in the decision, as is the case with a jury; in this case, the jury are not all required to be present during the. whole of the proceedings; in this case, any part of the jary may excuse themselves for nonattendance: in this case "the trial may stop whenever the prosecutor pleases. and may be revived again, at any future period; in this case, all, you say, is right and fair, but, in this case, we find nothing that we find in that species of trial to which we have been accustomed, and to which species of trial alone her Majesty has appealed; while against the present mode. of trial, she has constantly protested.

Twelfth, the witnesses are fi-

fortress, from which they are produced at the bar. The Court itself is guarded not only by ninherous soldiers, horse and foot, but by a species of gens durmes: armed with swords and vistois, mounted on horseback, and yet, in a sort of dress other than that of soldiers. The streets leading to this Court have been cut asunder by barricadoes, leaving only narrow passages. guarded by symed men: so that the public have been forcibly prevented from getting even a view of the outside of the building! Even the Parks have been closed. All these barriendees and obstructions are so many open and daring breushes of the law. They are so many indictable acts. They are so many acts which are punishable by the well known laws of the land; and being perpetrated by the means of absolute force, they argue a total suspension and absence of the laws. Men have been knocked down; the gene d'armes have presented their swords and pistols at divers citizens who attempted to bass along those public highways, along which they had a right obtains, in this mode of trial, a to mass.

Thirteenth, the trial begins drawn, one at a time, to be on the 17th of August; the Attorney General opens his case. This opening, together with the evidence of the first witness, lies before the public for three whole days without the possibility of any thing being produced to counteract their effect. follows a three weeks detail of evidence drawn from the fortress. The Queen has no knowledge of any witness that is coming forth. She has no known ledge of any of the places where the alledged acts are said to have been committed. Her counsel has no means of effectual crossexamination; and thus this long string of swearings are sent forth to the world.

Fourteenth, at length you have run out your witnesses. and ask for time, in order to obtain a relay. This shameful. this scandalous, this atrocrous application, is not, indeed, granted, but it obtains two things: first, two days more for the evidence to work against the Queen, and, next, a pretence for saying that if this new relay of witnesses had come, your case would have been more complete. pretence for reviving the proof Speir ultimate object.

A Hearth, as a compensation, or equivalent, for not having a list of the witnesses, her Majesty was to be allowed time to prepare for her cross-exammation, of your witnesses. But what time was allowed her? What time was allowed her to enquire into the characters, way of life, connections, motives, temptations and other things belonging to these witnesses? No time At all; for her sounsel were compolicit to cross-examine the moment you chose to alosa your exidence, or were to forego; all the advantages which inquiry might give them, all any future time.: They, were compelled to say that they at once abandoned all future cross-conamination; or, to go, at once; into that cross-examination, before it was possible for them to obtain a quarter part of the information necessary to enable them to put the anitable questidgs to your witnesses! And this, too, you will observe, was imposed on them by the Court; for life, unless he he impeached; \$4. once judget and jutors, and consisting partly of accusers, who, he it observed, too, if they fail in their accustion; if they comment on this summing up,

conviction of present proceedings should fail her Majesty, have on their own shoulders the responsibility of having caused these proceedings, and of having expended immense sums of the public money in the enterprize. The House of Commons has declared. by: a solemn vote and resolution. that the trial, terminate how it may, " must be derogatory to " the dignity of the Crown and "injurious to the best interests. "of the country," but if the decision make it known to the world that the accessed party is innocent, what then will be the responsibility of those processtors! And, let it be pever forgotten, that these procedurers were amongst those, who refased the Queen's Coursel that which they called an equivalent for the denial of the list of witmesses and the list of places.

Sixteenth, and last, comes your summing up, a thing wholly unknown in an ordinary court of justice, where the summing up is the act of the judge. and not of the counsel; and where the judge has his place and convicted of misconduct in his office.

Now, Sir, before I proceed to

have I not a right to call upon come at a just decision, we must the public to consider well these sixteen circumstances, or parts, of the transaction? It is impossible to arrive at any thing like a correct opinion of the thing altogether, without keeping the whole of these circumstances constantly in view. You are not to be suffered, to take us into your case, as if it were a case of an ordinary nature, as if it were a case where party and party met, and where the disinterested indge and promiscuously chosen jury were called upon to hear and determine according to the usual forms and on the settled principles of law. You are not to entrapius into a hearing of your summing up, without retaining. all along, in our minds, those impressions which all these sixteen circumstances are so well calculated to make. You talk of evidence, witnesses, the court, and so on; but we should do great injustice to her Majesty, if we were to take these words in their usual acceptation. In this case, the proceeding is neither civil nor criminal; there is neither declaration nor indictment; the party accused is neither traitor, adulteress, nor trespasser. It is a mode of proceeding unknown to our minds; and to ployed to bring him and pro-

constantly bear in mind the character, the conduct, the motives of the parties to the prosecution, and every other thing, by which the proceedings have finally been produced, ...

When we speak of a witness, de we not always mean a person that has come out of the Gommunity? Do we not always mean a person known to many people in the community? Excent in cases of adultery and high treason, litts of witnesses are not furnished before-hand. But, in cases of indictment; in all cases, other than for acts of high treason, the names of some of the witnesses are endorsed on the Bill of Indictment, and be it observed, that there is, in criminal cases, a previous examination before Magistrates, At any rate, when we talk of a witness, we mean a person that has lived openly some where; that is known to somebody within the reach of the Court. We do not mean a person, imported into the country by night, brought up the water by, the means of muffled oars, put into a fortress guarded by land and by water, seeing the face of no creature except the agents em"Hille" him; and, at last, drawn to ask ourselves whether your shares the softress to be clapped "mio" he box. "This is a thing That we sever mean when we Will of a Buthess. "It's a secret "Bilkest! Which is a thing unknown to the laws.

There is in this case, too, anothey indst material circumstance. "When we talk of a witness we mean a person that has to live 'Mithe community after he has riven his testimony. Not a person that is to be sent away to "Some foreign country and never t 16 see England again. 'Phere are many men who would fear-" Hesly take false ouths enough if Mer were sure of being sent " way to live in safety and comed forth for the rest of their lives " without any human being to " Teproach them. By a witness. we mean a person that is des-5 Book to Hive and show his face 'sith the community where he has . sylven sign testimony; and not Line of the trainer of the trainer "Tulistely shipped off in improved "ciftmistances to his distant nai . Id We country, where he may live ad free from all teproach.

cin These are out ideas with reha want to withesses; and, there-"" fore; previously to our entering "Into any fliquiry as to-what your withesets have sworn, we have point by point, in your endea-

witnesses answer, in the Smallest degree, to what we have always considered as the true description of a witness. Without this previous inquiry, we should be mis-We should fall into the notion, that we have here, before us. witnesses of the usual stamp. Let us ask ourselves, whether, if our neighbour were accused of a crime, no matter what, if his prosecutors were the most powerful persons in the world; if they had countless millions at their command; and if they were to bring against our neighbour witnesses that nobody knew; that none of us had ever seen or heard of; that, were to be sent away as soon as the trial was over, never to be seen more by us or any body in . the country: I ask any man whether he upon his outh, would find his neighbour guilty upon evidence coming from the mouths of such witnesses, however pesitive their swearing, and however consistent their story? I, for my own part, should look upon myself as the most wicked of villains, if I were, upon such evidence, to find my neighbour guilty.

I should now follow you,

voties to make out the truth, the Countess Columbier. the evidence spainst the Queen. and in your most miserable attempts to uphoid the characters of the witnesses, who really come out of your hands much blacker than they went into them; but, I am restrained from going into detail here, by two reasons: fireful do not wish to be "laid by the heels;" and second, I must pecessarily fall abort of doing justice to those celedrated obargeters, which can ba done only, by her Majesty's Counsel when he shall come forth with the Latetengent, which in my opinion, he ought to have been permitted to make, unlass you had, been restrained from proceedings with your summing up. Here, too, I may remark on the enormous disadvantage which you intended to throw upon her Majesty the Queen, It was not enough for you, that the ex-parte statements against her Majenty; that the king's message; that the abusive speeches of the Ministers; that the report of the Secret Committee; that the Bill of Pains and Penalties; that your worthy fellow-labourer's opening speech; that the swearings

consistency, and co-herence, of Count Milani, commonly titled Sacrhini together mithet ther sweerings of athenthick admittmaster and his mate hit erminet. enough that her Majestwe-akes racter, that her glame as a Paint case, that her feelings seed toman, and a disconsolate mothers it was not enquely for you that . all these should be expression: the effect of co-parts execution and protunded evidence. See: the 6th of June to the 7th mf September ; it was not enough. that all this work, this porces of ex-marte Avidance ... should .. he going forth for, three whole to months, without her, Majages: 12 being afforded their amailents chance of legal or official deute. tradiction; but some summing supmust be added to the series, and : then, even then, her Maiostyle ; Counsel were not to open their line in the way of reply, unless to they would pledge themselves and immediately to ga into an exercia amination of that; exidences the necessity of sending to the Continent for which they could it. not have been apprized muchant more than twenty four houseden. fore you began that symming up I was a the greeken o known I shalknot, as Leaid hefore, att. of Majocchi, Barbara, Lrants, tempt to analyze the suidence as

S 24: 24

I shall not attempt to describe mittee and the Attorney-Genebe described by Mr. BROUGHAM. ever doubted. of the salient parts of your very hand, not to give credit; not to feeble, though very insidious, give the smallest harangue.

could possibly doubt of a sufficiency of swearing. Neither, sioners had been induced to un-overlooked.

the characters of the witnesses ral had ascerted. In short, that it the manner in which they there would be swearings in chefte to be described, and will abundance, no man of sense But, as I stail content myself with re-belief of the swearings; as to marking generally on the de- the credit to be given to what gree of credit which ought to should be sworn : that was quite be given to swearings such as another matter; and I believe those which you have produced; that every just person in the and the with remarking on some kingdom was prepared, before degree and, I may say, bypocritical credit to any particle of what you might call evidence, unless it No men, who contemplated came from or was corroborated the strength of the motives or by, testimony other than that the power and influence of the collected by the Milan Commisparties to the prosecution; no sion. This I take upon me man that took these into view to assert was the firm ground upon which every English mind rested. It was the ground which if he considered the length of reason pointed out, too; for, time that had been employed in before we came to discuss the preparing and arranging the question of the credibility of materials, the immense sums of the witnesses, there came to be money expended by the Milan discussed by us, the question of Commissioners, the strong mo- Conspiracy or no Conspiracy. tive by which those Commis- This you seem wholly to have If you had bent a dertake the task of collecting little of your attention this way; the swearers: no man who kept and had endeavoured to show these tircumstances in his eye, that the general opinion as to a mind entertain the smallest conspiracy, was unfounded, you doubt of your being ready to would have rendered your emproduce oaths in support of all ployers much greater service that the Bill, the Secret Com-than you rendered them by

tions, by which you endeavour. Mont, having Majocchi and Secad to cajoke the public into a chini incog. in a England coall belief that, from the bottom of these explain themselves, at your heart, you wished her once; every, thing, is natural, Majesty the Queen to be acquit- every thing consistent, fitting ted, and to come out white as and in regular order, of sucsnow after three whole months cession. spent in endeavours to make! Therefore, you cought to have her as black as the Devil himself. Upon the supposition that to preserve the morals of the country has been the care of your employers; upon the supposition that the dignity of the Crown, the happiness of the people, and a strict love of jusfice; upon the supposition that these have been their objects, their actions have all been un-., patorel and preposterous from the beginning to the end. Upon the supposition that they had ., these objects in view and had pot been misled by sinister an workings of any kind, nothing enormous expence, and kawing , cap be more absurd and mon-., strous than their proceedings; mothing so foolish, nothing so ... likely to defeat the ends they had in view. But, on the con-...trary, if we suppose a conspiracy to have existed, then the soridinly eat, of spies; rumagers for ledge of the public opinion; for witnesses, hunters after the in that opinion a conspiracy was Queen's turned off servants, of the foundation of the whole;

those professions and assevera- | fors of a brilliant fortune oto blue

endeavoured, as a prelude 40 your other efforts, to remove this impression about a genepiracy from our minds. This ought to have been amongst youngeremises; but you leave this material question behind; jumpiinto the middle of your case, which you chuse to regard as an ordinary case, and take your witnesses, one by one, just as if they had been discovered by ordinary means, and had been examined but a day or two before instead of their having been hunted up by spying commissioners, attan been bringing on to austate of maturity for the space of two years. Mr. BROUGHAM congratulated you upon your monopoly of the knewledge of the kluw; but, really, you are not to be congratulated upon rose know-

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stid me bear cheed did you utter I were to be produced before my, totilings his remieve athis decis-Weotel Leininibni ta The leredibility of a witness limb has been in a state of progreesive preparation, and that has actually been in the pay of the party, on whose side he is "brought forward, for a considerable length of time; whose pay seans he stopped at any moment -memontinued for any length of time satho-can, be punished by immediate dismissal in a country fermistant from his own ; who meanifurther be punished, at the dade will and pleasure of the inparty in whose pay he lives, by being driven out of the counvidiviliunder the Alien Act, at a remainent's avaraing; who, if unisable or movilling to remove, been be spized and forced away. quot shut in in a prison, and this, ustoo, by a law, the execution of 20 which is in the hands of his emlo pleyens the cradibility of a wito mess socituated, placed in such -argument species in the one side. /loand ounder/such: great.itempta-, which sin the other side : the creed dibility of such a willness, be his limit ? God (forbid lithstel we -weharester subattiturays is not, in no my application of the same special and grateful a lady, as she in

dirental bisow garaswa cirl more effect upon me than the whistling of the wind. This of

It is said, that, people could not swear to so many things. unless some of them were true: that such things would never have occurred to them, if wholly untrue. You say, that it is monstrous to suppose, that all these witnessed could think of with strange things, if none of them had ever happened: You ask how such things could have come into their heads, if they had no foundation in fact. "This is a poor and contemptible way of reasoning. Did it not occur to you that things might be just into people's Rende F Mad Was there not plenty of these for this during the space of two years? God forbid that we should hasert any such thing as this. 'God forbid that we should introfe that the Counters of Colombier had any thing put into her head by the kind gentleman that found her out and that offered het a drilliant fortune in Engshould suppose that so virtious Were I a juror between, her letter describes herself to the King and one of my fellow- be, should have undergone the allegects; and such a witness vulgaroperation called lutoring,

during the 18 months that her nifest existence of which was ladvebin pesided in England: and accasionally, may frequent- crowds of admirers to come a tele-d-tele that amiable gen-Coman, Mr. Powell. God forbid that we should imagine that this estimable personage, who had written a journal full of aneedotes proving the amiable character and virtuous conduct of her Majesty. God forbid that we should imagine that any part of the eighteen months which this lovely little Swiss had subtrauted from the days of her innocent enjoyments at Lauranne, new modelling that journal, of those Cantons where the simplicity of the people is such case to fight for one sovereign. while the other brother sells his suppose that the Countess had

so well calculated to produce ly condescended to henour with with half-conquered ! flearts to shake her by the hand. forbid, once more, I say, that I should assert this woman to be a bribed, suborned, perjured wretch. I assert no such thing. I can know nothing of the matter. But this I am not afraid to assert, that if I had thought her to be such, your speech would not have had the smallest tendency to remove the impression from my mind.

You assume, that, Delinese the could have been employed in things have been sworn to'; because they are numerous; bewhich had given so much de-cause, in short, many thing's light in the sentimental circles have been sworn to, some of them must have happened. Is not this the most miserable that one brother sells his care attempt at sophistry? It is not sophistry: "It is not worthy of the name. Admit this, and then carcase for the purpose of car-there can be no such thing as rying a gun to shoot at the false swearing in the world. If other. Oh! delightful simpli- the incidents be numerous and gity! God forbid that we should the witnesses many. Admit this, and then every man may be been tampered with, or that her hanged that cannot prove, by name had been changed from oral testimony, the negative of De Mont to the Counters Co- what is sworn against him. Acdominier from any other motive cording to this account of yours, than that of heeping her mind Susunna was guilty." The judge in that state of naiveté, the ma- ought to have concluded, at

be heliened : The woman had a prison to the witness bow : ng proof that they had sworn mark me well, I say, every one. falsely. "Nevertheless," the pld of these circumstances was dively bucks, were saught out a and upon by you and Mr. Wetherell though they had sworm posi- as being of great importance in tively to her guilt, she was acrethe case; and the sum total of quitted and they were punished. They were guilty of a base and the witness was an indescribable infamons conspiracy; not a more base conspiracy than we ever heard of, and perhaps, not quite the result at which every one so base, Yet conspiracy it was; rejeiced, was, an acquittal of the but, according to your mode of Prisoners! The evidence of reasoning, there never could be such a thing as a conspiracy in the world. When, indeed, you had to defend Watson and Thistlewood against the swearings of Castles; when, indeed, you had, upon that memorable oca casion, to shew the Ministry that you mere a man worthy of notice! The French gall it, se faire valoir; that is to say, make oneself worth something. When upon that memorable! occasion you were acting the part of a defender, how you tore the ruffian witness to pieces. Now mark me: his recent rags, his present good clothes, his being seen frequently with the agents of the Treasury, his going under a false name, the pay he had received from his em-

once, that the Elders were to | incog. his being brought from. these orcumstances was, that villain, wholly poworthy of the slightest credit; and the result, Castles was, however, as to several points, and those essential points, too, corroborated by other witnesses, and those, too, credible witnesses; yet, you insisted; and the jury determined, notwithstanding the charge of the judge which pointed a contrary way, that no man ought to be found guilty upon evidence, which at all rested upon the " indescribable villain," Castles, " Come, then, let me ask you, what witness have you produced, upon the present occasion, who was not recently clothed in rags, who was not, when produced by you, dressed in clothes purchased by the prosecutor, who has not been frequently seen with the agents of the prosecution, who has not gone under ployers, his having been kept a false name, who has not long

been in the pay of the prosecu- destitute of truth! Have we box ? You know well that all as witnesses entitled to full credit, and call upon the House to condemn the Queen upon her testimony, though uncorroborated by that of witnesses of any other description; and, at the conclusion of a speech in which you do this, you have the unparalleled hypocrisy to put up a solemn prayer for the acquittal of the victim, whom you are pursuing with such deadly malignity.

To hear you, one would suppose, in good earnest, that every fact sworn to, though the Devil

tors, who has not been kept not, in the story of NASouth, and incog, who was not brought instance of pure siberisted; of from a prison to the witness- taking away a man's life in the der to confiscate his estate f these circumstances precisely fit The King winted the Min's the present case; and yet, so estate. The Queen, in order to far are you from calling your procure the man's death. hired present witnesses indescribable hise witnesses to swear. That villains, that you hold them forth Naboth Had blaschemed God and the King. Upon what ground then, would you have us subpose, that there must be some truth in this statement against the Queen, merely because it has been supported by swearing. There was no trath in the charge against Naboth : vet Naboth was convicted, condefined, and put to death.

Indeed, you may say, that we live in an age of uncommon purity; that false sweaters are not now to be found in thy part of the world; and, that, as to meh in power, they are himself were to swear it, must known, ever since the prosecuhave some foundation. To hear tion of the tinman of Promouth. you, one would suppose that to be above every thing rethere was no such thing in the sembling bribery and corrupworld as the batching of a tion, in the most distant degree : The history of the that their consciences are so world abounds with instances clear that they wish us to look of such hatchings. Is there a into their very bosons; and, man in England who does not that, lest we should not do this, believe that the charge against one of them in particular, is ANN OF BULLEN was wholly everlastingly making appeals to

his conscience. We have, indeed, heard of sent-selling being as potorious as the sun at noon day: we have also heard a system of blood-hunting spies openly defended; you remember Castles younell, and the rest of us have nos forgotten Oliver, Edwards, Yaughan and a great many Therefore, notwithstanding the uncommon purity in public men of the present age, we are not to be persuaded that to hatch a conspiracy is absolutely impossible; that to hire false swearers is a thing out of all compass of belief; and therefore, we are disposed not to believe any part of the facts merely because they have been sworn to.

But why should we travel far and wide to discover the possibility of false swearing against her Magesty, the Queen? If her Majesty had never been attacked by false swearers before, even then we should not have been ready to subscribe to your doctripe. But we know that she has . We know that perjured witnesses were brought against her fourteen years ago. This we have the proof of; and, as in all other cases, we reason from then, is the proof of conspiracy.
the known to the unknown. They profess themselves, as you

was known to have taken place fourteen years ago, may possibly now have taken place again.

In 1806 was there not's conspiracy against the Queen? there not a conspiracy Was against ber at that time. What should have induced the Douglas's and others to come forward and perjure themselves! Prav let me put this question home to you ; for we do great injustice to her Majesty if we separate proceeding from that this What, then, I say, should have induced the Douglas's and others to come forward and perjure themselves in evidence they gave against her Majesty? They could not hope to supplant her Majesty. They must have well known, that, at the very least, they would expose themselves to great public hatred on account of their perfidy to their benefactress. They must have seen that they should place themselves in great danger; and yet they came forward to perjure themselves. Clearly then. they must have been prevailed upon to do this by some powerful motive, by some promises of great reward; and here. e conclude that that which now profess yourself, and as the

ministers profess, themselves, and as I dare say, Cooke Powell, Brown, Varmaceti, D'Ompteda, will all, profess themselves, 19, have, been, actuated by nothing but a pure and ardent lave of public duty. Well then, if this pure and ardent love induced the Donglas's to perjure themselves in 1896, why may not that same love of public duty have produced similar effacts upon the present accasion. "Your witnesses may possibly be , the best sort of people in the .world; but your argument, that there must be some truth in the statement, because they have -aworn to it, is not worth a rush. un Majocchi, for instance, may mossibly be one of the most worthy men alive. He may have been actuated by nothing but a disinterested desire to promote the preservation of the morals of England. This desire may, have produced his trip the time. The late King was from Vienna to Milan; his trip just dead. Majocchi and Powell , back again, to Vienna; it may 1, have brought him acquainted they should meet one another, ewith the Embassy of CASTLE- and that frequently, too, was. REAGH'S brother; it may have considering their relationships, brought, him to England, after not at all surprising. But, why his conferences with Brown; it should they meet in the King's namely have led him to his song Palace? That is the question Gloucester; it which the public want answermay have mide him remember cd. Powell and Majocchi. dear

so minutely so many things that so many other persons would have forgotten; and it may have made him forget so many things that almost any other person would have remembered. I will not say that it may have led him to Carlton House, for, really, when we find him there, what other inducement could he have had than that of an humble endeavour to preserve unsullied the honour of the British Crown and the morals of the British nation!

You are pleased to skip over this important fact, or rather to endeayour to slide by it with an undervaluing sneer. is that palace," says SHAK-SPEARE, " into which foul things not sometimes creep." There were here, it seems, two things that crept into the palace. There was Mr. Powell as well as Mr. Majocchi! Pray let us mark meet at Carlton House. That

them to see there! Why could not that person go to Mr. Powell's chambers? What person could it be that they could prewhere but in that one place? Slight, therefore, as you were pleased to consider this circumwhich, with the public, has weighed heavier against the prosecutors, than the swearings of all your witnesses against her Majesty, the Queen.

Let it be recollected, that the facts relating to this memorable visit, were drawn out of Majocchi, during a cross-examination, suggested by persons who had known Majocchi at the time of the visit, and who had given mation, with regard to that visit. patches to the Ambusador at When Majocchi came out of Vienna? Could northemen-Carlton House, he confesses parches be prepared without the that he showed his companion assistance of this busy Althousey, eighty guineas, or sovereigns, who is that even yet thate a and he forgets whether he did, Right Honoutable Phy Bushor did not, show him more. He ellion's In thort. 4954 beach

CHAST WAST 56.5 companions and co-operators, will not swear that he did not could have met at Mr. Powell's; count 150 pieces. Thes; fires they, could have met at the we have this fellow will were was Countess Colombier's; they living incog. in England, meets could have met any where ing Poweri at the King's Par Why, then, did they meet at the lace," and coming but "T'that King's Palace? There must Palace with his hands with have been some other person for gold!" And what the he he was to do with this will What does he say that H Was given him FOR "Why: to bear his experices to Vientia. Twenty vail upon to meet them no pounds Would have Beering plenty for this parpose pand we will not say that the diamet count 150! But why serie Mastance, it is a circumstance jocchil to Vienna? while war. send hhti, too, Just at the this that her Majesty was become Queen ! He was going with dispatches 'to di Lord asternite What! were theld for enough of regular King's hemeingers to carry these displatehed and what were all these about, "Here ans Majocchi should be fixed thou is the only person to chirry dispanse. es to the British A miliamadurat the Austrian Cours in hawner to the Queen's advisers infor- had Mr. Rowel Bio do will this LA L VAHE · 28.3 M.

we bear the evidence of the knew, that a whole corps persons who made the discovery of this memorable visit, can there be a doubt in the mind of any impartial man living as to the object of the visit, and as to real relationship, which existed between Majocchi, Powert and Powers's employers

Youcomplain that Mr. BROUG-BAM, in his cross-examinations said little to the witnesses with regard to the facts that they had eworn to, but asked them what money they had received; what money they had been promised; where they had been; what names they had borne at severul times and at several places And were not these the proper topics 1 What was the use of his asking them any questions shout facts that they had sworn to over and over again, during the space of two years? He forward in such a way, and examined so accupulously so many enough to suppose, that such much stress upon. witnesses would contradict cloathing and themselves as to facts, with re- Castles acknowledged to have gard to which every one of received from the Government, them had been questioned, in while he was held incog, as legal form, probably fifty or witness against Watson sixty - times. Mr.BROUGHAM | Thistlewood?

adroit lawyers had been at work in this affair for a great length of time; and how was be to hope to catch such witnesses tripping upon the main facts brought out in regular specession, by those who had looked the witnesses in the face, and put the same questions to them so many times ! To get from them the amount of their pay. was of the greatest importance. Was it not of use to ascertain, that the mate of a vessel received more per menth, besides board and lodging, than the amount of the hire of the vessel in which be had served, together with the hire of himself and Captain and twenty-two seamen, including, besides, the provisions of the crew ! Was it not of importance to ascertain that this man and his Captain was not such a simpleton as to were receiving more per month suppose, that witnesses brought than the wages of two hundred and fifty British sailors ! Was not this of great importance? times; he was not simpleton Yes, or else why did you lay so food

experienced the effect of this part ture, who, out of pure wassers, of the cross-examination. The had dropped the name of De high pay of these witnesses was Mont, the chambermaid, and quent witnesses had received no- style of a Countess, too; we are thing, and were to receive no-This was altogether the other way. We were now to he made to swallow the fact. that the sweet Countess DE COLOUBIER, that amiable and simple creature, that shepherdess fined her demands and receipts e Frith-street, so frequently visited by the gentle Smain, Ma Powert; we were now to be made believe, that this dear and simple little creature, to squeeze where hand the shattered beaux are said to have been ready to all the rest of her swearing. press each other out of existence! prepare to be made to believe that shis sincere and grafeful creature, whose letter to her sister lets out the fact, that she had knows that servants are in posbeen offered a brilliant fortune session of necrets auch at those Mabe would come to England | detailed by your witnesses. we are to be made believe this takes special care not to turn paragon of purity, who took off such sesyants. In the next such uncommon pains to get her place, such infied of seryoung dister into the house of vants are very and to be exthe Runcess, after this paragon tropelly violistive, while it is of purity had seen, with her well known that Italians are not Ran execution that house was loss vindictive than other peeas hed as a brathel; we are to ple. Such turned of advalla made to believe that thin bre, at lear, excellent mate-

Mou and your employers soon modest, and most virtuous creaheavy blow to the prosecu- taken that of Counters DE Coion; and therefore, the subse- LOMBIER, and who lived in the to be made to believe that even this precious commodity imported, through the agency of the Commission at Milan, had received no reward, was to receive no reward, and had consimply to the amount of her actual expenses. You would have us believe this; and, indeed, she positively moore it; and which swearing, I believe to be of precisely the same value as

We and that all the principal witnesses are servants turned off by the Queen. Now, in the first place, a married woman, who

ipon." In this case there is a changing names, shifting places double motive. When MAC- of abode, und the fost of the BETH seeks for men to murder traits that make try the the displant Banguo, be looks out for such ing preture, without any of as Banquo has offentled, and, these, the turning of andithe 'indeed, 'such has almost 'uni- quarrels about money, are quite "formly been the first movement in every conspiracy that has ever been heard of against men. Here of the evidence of these persons. We find, then, that Majocchi had been turned off ! that De Mont had been turned off; that Sac-'thin lief been turned off; that the cook had been turned off: and we find also; that the master of the polacre had had a 'hilarrel with Bergami, on account of the latter having refused to comply with his pecuniary deniands! Why these Beople were turned off: what was their conduct shill what was their character, we have yet to been frequently seen about with Tearn, and a pretty account we shall have of them, I dure say, he had gone under a laise name, Blil! Without anticipating this, that he had been kept more. I say that this turning off, al- and that he had been brought "ways, observe, through the in- from a prison to the witness strumentality of Bergam, and box. Upon these facts paint This quartel about money be upon the additional one that he tween Bergami and the Captain had been the minate of Wittoof the polacre; I say that these thet; upon these facts you found. circumstances alone, even with ell the assertion that he was an out including all the other cir- indescribable villain, and that cumstances relating to rewards no person office to be without the off-guilty upon his evidence, without the off-guilty upon his evidence, without the

rials for a commission to work comstances of living discognite, sufficient to throw much more than suspicion on every particle Viewing, then, as I'do these witnesses to be as little worthy of credit as Castles Was, how can you have the conscience to slippose that we are to give credit to their evidence. He was an indescribable villain. vou said; and upon what did you ground your assertions? Why, that he had been recently cloathed in rags," that he aspeared before the jury in a good suit of clothes, that" her had the agents of the Treasury, that that whilence had been corre- hear of them. Your may say, boiled, in several parts of it, ht witnesses perfectly, credible. And jet you would now have us believe, that, unless the Queen can distinctly prove the beggive of the swearings of all these your witnesses, we ought To pronounce her guilty! Such a monstrous proposition as this; any thing so unfair and impudent, never before found its seav from the lips even of a Ordan Lawyer at as the at

Having nothing but such witmasses to produce is the strongest proof in the world that your ease was not only bad, but that you knew it to be bad. Your worthy fellowilabourer took oceasion to mention the names of several English gentlemen and lattics who were about the person; and actually living under the same roof with the Princess npan land, and some of whom eccompanied her even in the famous Polacre. I assert it to dated by these witnesses of yours to have taken place, without thise gentlemen and ladies Impwing something about them. Noivemay say that the amorous

that these amorous goings on might have been observed by the master and mater in the Polacre, and they might Wholly escape the knowledge; never reach either eyes or the ears of either of the two English gentlemen, who were penned up in the same Polacre, Wou, manuser this, and Cooke, Powell and Brown may produce a thousand witnesses to swear it; but when you have so said and they have so sworn, not one man, woman or child will believe either the saving or the swearing

No, and the question, the hiftversal question is why do they nat produce same of these linglish gentlemen or ladies f. And. the universal answer, to this question is, they dare not do it! Youask, with simplicity enough, why do they not produce the Bergami's? I do not know what they will don but this. I know, that the Borgami's, or, a he impossible for the facts, re-least, Bergami himself, could not be possibly brought as a witness for the Queen, seeing that he is a party accused, but this Liknow, too, that you might have brought him, and that he works might all be going on would have been a very good Appen land, and the English gen- witness for you, provided that tlemen and ladies never even he could have been prevailed

pronyto awar any thing against | who is a cousin of Lord Liverhet Majesty, But, the not calling of the English gentlemen and ladies, would, of itself, have destroyed your cause, even if the preparatory proceedings and the circumstances attending your own witnesses had not destroyed it. It is impossible to ascribe the not calling of these witnesses to any other than one cause; and that is, the certainty in which you were that their evidence would falsify the swearings of the gentlemen and ladies from Cotton Garden.

You ventured to call only two witnesses of a character different from those of your Italians, and your Swiss Countess: namely, Captains Pechell and Briggs. The latter swore that he knew of no impropriety of conduct on the part of the Princess, now Queen, and the swearing of the former falsified the assertion of the Attorney-General with regard to her Majesty's conduct when she went on board the Clarinde. The Attorney-General asserted, that her conduct jocchi and the rest of the tribe was tame: that she put up with from the fortress, an insult from this Pechell .-

pool. This Captain Pechell stood, therefore, very peculiarly connected; and, yet, when Captain Pechell comes, at last, he is able to produce no one fact against the Queen : though he clearly shows that he behaved towards her in a most unbecoming and insolent manner. This she punished in the only way that it was in her power to punish it; namely, by refusing to sit at table with him, and by refusing him an audience which he endeavoured to obtain. By what motives he might have been actuated in his conduct towards the wife of his sovereign, as the Prince then was; whether he felt himself secure from all harm in acting as be did: whatever might be his motives, upon that occasion, no one will say that he was a witness friendly to the Queen; and yet, out of his evidence, there comes not one single particle to corroborate, even by insinuation, the swearings of Ma-

Thus, then, your Italian pro-This is false. She resented the duction; the production of a insult by not suffering Pechell Commission, established for the to sit at the same table with purpose of getting at facts to her, and by refusing to see him make the Queen appear guilty; when he made a request to that these, witnesses stand wholly effect by Captain Briggs. Pe- unsupported by anything in the chell's father was, at that time, shape of corroboration. If it gentleman usber to the late be asked why, upon the suppo-Queen; his uncle was Receiver- sition of the whole originating General of Customs; one of his in a consultracy; if it he usked consins was a Captain in the why, if the thing were hatthed, Navy, as well as himself I and more plump specaring more ther cousin was a dudge in the bed and bolster work was not dia, and ano her causin was the introduced; if it be asked why wife of the Dean of Worcester, the witnesses were not, upon

supposition, instructed to therefore, has not at all tended swear that they actually saw, to strengthen your case, but has which it is the object to cause conviction that the whole orito be believed was so frequent- ginated, in that desire, which ly done; if this be asked, the has been so clearly discovered answer is perfectly ready. It is in every stage of the proceeda rule in all courts of law that ings, namely, to keep or get her numerous strong and well con- Majesty out of the country, let nected circumstances, are worth more in producing conviction than any fact positively sworn you say, that the preamble of this evidence was the fruit of a long laid and slowly matured conspiracy, nothing could be so well contrived as to abstain from positive oaths as to the real fact itself. Such abstinence would naturally give an air of ecrupulousness to the prosecutors as well as to the witnesses: and, if the prosecutors could make out, by a concatination of ing. How is the Queen to circumstances, the certainty of bring any body to sweat that the fact, it would be ten thousand times better for them than to have the fact positively sworn to by eye witnesses. So that this beating about the bush is this over-strained caution, as to swearing to the positive act,

it cost what it might, will selve

In conclusion of your speech, Upon the supposition that the Bill; that is to say othe charges against her Majesty are fully made out and that the Bill must accordingly pass unless she be able clearly, distinctly and positively to prove your evidence to be wholly false. This I deny, of say that she is called upon for no such proof. To prove a negative was never vet required of any human be-De Mont did not see what she has sworn that she saw? All that the Queen's advocates have to do is to show that these witnesses are unworthy of credit. what deceives nobody; but, on This is all; and, as the case other hand, has tended now stands, the public think strongly to produce that univer- that this has already been done sal conviction which prevails, by the witnesses themselves, that the whole thing has ori- viewed in connection with all ginated in a conspiracy; for, the circumstances attending the Milan Commission and those other circumstances, which I has led to this question" how is have stated at the outset of this it possible that this incessant letter. Mr. Brougham might adulterous intercourse, could be have safely gone on instanter; going on, day and night; for so his statement, together with the long a time, and in so many and evidence of a few witnesses of such different situations; and credibility, would have been no one single person should, much more than sufficient for upon any occasion, ever have the satisfaction of the public. witnessed the act itself, the trial might have been con-This over-strained cantion, cluded before now; and we

might, on this very day, have | Powall and Brown? Who was barn waiting to, see whether, it that compelled them to send amon such evidence as you have the far-famed Hutchinson to St. products, the House of Lords Omers! Who was it compelled would have passed this uppa-ى بىر باlaled Bill يى بىر

As to the case of her, Majesty, in the public opinion, it was decided when you closed your throughout the world that the case, which case had produced discret in the public mind; had produced a feeling, towards the prosecutors and their agents that: I shall not wenture to desoribe; and had produced a degree of affection and attachment . towards her. Majesty, such as I · believe never was before felt towards, any human being. You have closed your case: your changes and your evidence are before the world; and the . warm-hearted addresses, bouring, in open her Majesty from severy town and every village, , form the apprepriate answer to those, charges and to that evi-dence.

Feeble, indeed, was your attount to apologize for the prosecutors and their agents. We gould discover, however, from acquainted with the circumthat apology, that you were not stances relating to the witnesses; incensible to the weight of your and, what is more, they had all prepent troubles, and not blind their swearings down in black to those greater troubles which and white in the green, have, you behold in prospect. You All that we know now, they appear to see that your patrons knew before; and, as to their , and employers are beset with expenditure of money in this - difficulties on every side; and business, they have not conyou make a lame attempt to descended, even yet, to give us "cause it to be believed that the a glance at an account. Theremidficulties were unavoidable fore, there is no excuse for the
method the Ministers to send out
proceedings is their own volunthe Miles Commission? Who pause it to be believed that the a glance at an account, the Milan Commission? Who lary act. They are responsible was it that compeled them to for that act; and, I trust that expend our money upon Cooke, you will find that you have to

them to send down the Green Bags? Who was it compelled them to instruct your dear brother of the law to promulgate Queen had witnessed an imitation of the sexual intercourse? Who was it compelled them to go into a trial which the House of Commons had declared " must, " terminate how it might, be " derogatory to the dignity of "the Crown, and injurious to ", the best interests of the country?" Who was it that compelled them to do any of these things; for, if they have not been acting under some compulsion, theproceedings a reall their own.

They cannot have been deceiped. They well knew the nature and extent of the evidence. We find Majocchi, the simple Countess, and the disinterested Sacchini all residing in England for a long time. The Ministers must have been well bear your share of that respon-

I protein not to say, whether the Bill will be; passed or not. But, this I know, that one or the other will take place; and I am of opinion that it mattersivery little, with regard to the ultimate consequences, whether the Bill pass or be rejected. " Either way the system is sped!" It never will recover this blow, be you well assured. If the Ministers could have ventured to pass the Bill simply upon the report of the Secret Committee; run it through the Houses in twenty-four-hours, undoput it in execution the next minute, as was the case with the Reformers, in 1817, putting into it a clause of banishment as with as of degradation and divorce; then, indeed, their object might have been accomplished. But, when once they hesitated; when once they began to hegociate; and especially when they began to talk of trial, their defeat was certain. It was then; it was, from that very moment, 'clear as daylight to me, that they had sealed the doom of themselves and the system. Phever for one moment doubted of the perfect innotence of her Majesty. I was well aware of all the means that would be made use of to make her appear guilty; but I was also well aware of the enlightened state of the public mind, of the inlegrity of the people, and of the still powerful force of public opinion. I was not aware of the pro-disposition of a certain description of our fellow citizens and fellow sufferers whom I do

not chuse more minutely to glesseries; but I was quite some, particularly when I saw, what was passing in other parts of the world; that this description of our fellowickizeus would not long remain aninterested spectators of the scene.

My anticipations have been fully verified. The state of things is such now, that, let, the till pass or let it not pass, the system never can recover the plow that it has received; and for your consolation, loffer you this concluding remark, that your employers have dealt this deadly blow with their own thands.

* * Wk. COBBETT. **

" PEEP AT THE PEERS."

A new and corrected Edition of this work is now printed, wild for sale at No. 269, Strand, price 4d. We have received and adopted many confections. The communication relating to Old Bags and the Ridleys has made us laugh. New discoveries are making every day. It is very true, that "one half of the world does not know how the other half lives." We are daily receiving pressing requests to publish an account of the leasing, and other modes of disposing of the estates called the Crown Lands, which ste now public property. One correspondent remarks, that this

proporty in somily worth present Theodogo Llooke rould have given smount-we can formula correct opinion outminess but, it is very eestains that the liste King on ceived, on coming to the threas, sisttlement of nearly, amillion segesty-in-strokenge for the inborne decived from this property. What we should like to come at is a list of the parame who rent then severals partamof; diss property q the precise situation of the several mancels of property: the unemaking the rent paid to the publiciby the rentets restal the handing but he real annual worth of the property: Any of the faithful Commons might get tur this distrift they chose phut moure of them: have yet schosen to (do titue . It dis ; likely that we shall never get it as long as the present system shall lask; and, unless we do get it, no satisfactory Penr can be taken at the Subject. The faithful Cammons warry open dutidobates about Mr. Wanden's judgeship, and Mr. CROAKER'S 3001. of salary; but the faithful Commons do not think it warth while to meddle with this subject of Crown Lands, any more than Mr. BENNETT think hit it waith while to meddle with an affair submitted to all the persons prosecuted for

millious in a month of the bim some, maket informations Other Corespondents winkers know how, that immense and which is granted for secret sape vices is expanded receips that eighty ,thompad, pounds, prece seanted for England, and Jep thousand for Ireland, last year But here, also, we look with longing eyes to the faithful Commons, the Managaigns of the public purse," under a system which is the " enpy of surrounding nations, and the admiration of the world."-Other Correspon dents pour in on as with inquiries how it happens that the approx can cost almost, ten millione, pyear, when it requires so small a. portion of that sum, to pay #2/900 man-commissioned affiness and soldiers. But, to such questions, as these, we must defer giving an answer till a time, of much more leisure than me have at present the happiness for enjoy-mily our turn, we think me have some right to call upon our brother Authors for a little exertion on their part. We would suggestic to come a literatrious gentlemen to take a PEEP AT THE DUNGEON. This might contain an alphabetical list of him, with regard to which Mr. political offences since the year

1792 While whether the 1990 THE COURSE WINDS compliance where the impresent of The thing has passed withing Moder of the little with a state of the stat Billsoff's and is this are well at the in Cartifornia for Canada brieff Buter, blis andread out made the Billief Packetrates a Telicor Then the name or names Repair Suince; im Connada, No. The brookedithe dispersor or our Besting Aleis Brankinsks This feet , the marker of the try- Bernaude, underother columbs. hite: I filde to this in solutericities there were, such he appointed Maked! the ministrated was rest day, singing of botts, aring th defices of the Jurole's and connect, baths butthress frelibilly, the sum of the sentence, works, balooms, and, of wourse, End the place of Imprisonment. (runs being chesty) at saluable We know of ho work, except, proportion of demokriment; for, Borhipe our own " FEEP" (for on mich an oceasioup the but-WHAT Man White his own will change particolis not possispring the besty, better sulling by have been unitted has from halfed to distribite good them a want of togulay. How these this; wild we are well assured, establishers will have bloom their "Me. Connery, that you would stupid beade, when they found "Rend that helping hand, which the they must in a few days after "YOU have so gungrously lend to their teclebrations", that there as, he securing so a PBBP 4NTO plad become correctiond hand THE DUNGEON & wider sir how their neighboars, the Asia-Cultion, ill Stell it work must risens, must have laughed at "nécessarily" be beneficial, "It them ! Indeed, Castlerough, Li-Would, as the Scripture says of The magistrate, be a " terror to evil doers, and a reward to those toho do well,"—We are, : Siny with great gratitude, 17 Total a cost of a constraint

verprol, and associates, seem to have been born to bring shome mon all that bears the English name.

THE WHITBREADS.

The Courier of Wediresday tells ds. that two gendlemen, RELATIONS OF LIP ALESON WHIT-BREAD, came to his office to desire him to " contradict the un-- 4. A . "

"de Your obellient Seffants.

ted to tradingly in area

" warrantable statement in the "Times, that the sistem of Mr. Whitbread, wont with their Jubrather. to Brandenburgh " House" The Courier often calls for names, when names would fill a volume: but, will he give us these two names !-Only two. I should like to know these relations of the Whitbreads!--However, in this one circumstance Her. Majesty may see, that she has no friends except the mass of the people.-And, what need she of more? Having usebaken friendship there take need not care about the tag-rig pretenders to highblood. We shall see the day. when the Whitbreads will think themselves lucky, if they can get their names, down in print ramonizat the visitors of the Queen.

THE QUEEN'S ENEMIES. ... I have before stated, and larestate that of the two most calumnious writers against the Queen, one, without provoca+ tion, turned his wife; out of doors and kept her till she died, in a state of great misery, while he lived in great luxury and adultery with another woman: and that the other, without cause also turned his soift out of doors, does not now live with her. but lives with a much tog near young female relation of his own! These men may say, that their inclinations were not under their controll; but, must they not be profigate and cruel villains? Of such, and such only. and of the base herd who, or whose relations, live on the taxes, are the Queen's enemies composed.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

L. 37.---No. 10.1 LONDON, SATURDAY, SEPT. 23, 1820.

TO THE

WEAVER BOYS OF LAN-CASHIRE.

THINGS TO LAUGH AT.

THINGS TO REMEMBER...

London, Sept. 21, 1820.

WEAVER BOYS.

which, in scorn, was given to the brave and enlightened Reformers of Manchester and its vicinity, in the fall of the year 1816, that memorable epoch when silly rioting ceased, and when the resentment of the people was directed manfully and steadily against the real authors of oppressions and miseries. We have not yet fully accomplished our patriotic and loyal purpose; but we have made great progress towards it. Infinitely increased is the number of those, who see in Reform, and in that alone, a remedy for the evils that afflict deal to merit our attention.

the country and endanger its tranquillity. Our enemies; I mean our great, unprincipled, greedy, cruel, and cowardly enemies; the monsters, who have so long been seeking our very blood, are now smitten They look around with fear. them in vain for a prop whereon to place firm reliance. Their main prop is, they find, no longer to be relied on. They are frightened: they, at last, This was the appellation see their danger danger, from which they have no means of escape; or, at least, if they have any means of escape, this is the basest of all nations, and it deserves to be scourged, not with rods, but with scorpions.

While they are fretting and stewing, let us laugh; and God knows we have now things enough to laugh at. I shall take these things without much regard to the order in which I place them; but we shall find, that, even in this laughing work, we shall have a great

THE PRESS.

First of all there is the press. Our enemies thought that they had stifled it, when they passed their Six Acts in November last. They thought that they had then got something as good as a Bourbon Censorship, especially as they therein sanctioned Sidmouth's Circular and Parson Hay's law of holding to Nevertheless, they have in fact done nothing. Queen, to destroy whom is their great object at present, praises the press; extols the liberty of the press; says that it is to the press that she in a great measure owes her safety. In this case we have a proof of her Majesty's good sense, discernment, sound judgment, and gratitude; for, never did human being owe more to the press than her Majesty owes. It has been a volunteer in her service too. Not such a volunteer as we shall by and bye find the yeomanry cavalry gentlemen to be; but a real volungreat effect and zeal, and without the possibility of receiving

plains, that the Queen has all the most able writers on her Poor Corruption! Poor nide! Boroughmongers! They cannot, then, get an able pen for love or monev!

Judge Parke on the Northern Circuit made a long sermon to a Grand Jury about the mischiefs produced by the Press; and in the course of the sermon he said. that it was very wicked as well as very foolish, to set any value upon writing, whether in newspapers, pamphlets, or books. mercly because the thing was well written. This was very true; for, a man may put very good writing into a work, the object of which is to justify or excuse a Despot, who is at the same time a debauchee, a drunkard, a spendthrift, a companion of cheats, liars, cowards, blacklegs, contented cuckolds, and who is, himself, a cruel husband and a bad son; in short, a wretch whose consciousness of having not one single claim to respect, and every possible claim to universal detestation, would make teer, who has laboured with him shun the sight of man as bats and owls shun the light of day. In justification or excuse pay or reward of any sort. But of such a besotted and cowardly the thing to laugh at in this in- Despot, a base wretch hired for stauce is, that corruption com- the purpose, might put forth

justification or excuse of seat-against listening to the good selling tools of Corruption; of writings of the Radicals! This venal and prostituted Judges; is a thing to be borne in mind. of base and perjured Jurors; of place-hunting and blood-thirsty Magistrates; of murderers in the name of the law; of bloodmoney spies, hatchers of plots, and of all the other miscreants that do infest, or have at any time infested this world; in justification or excuse of any of ago, or rather they long ago. these, very well written things may be sent forth.

Therefore I agree with Mr. Judge Parke that we are not to think well of a thing merely because it is well written. in this case Mr. Judge Parke was speaking of the publications put forth in favour of Parliamentary Reform. That is to say, in favour of Radical Reform. And, the Judge, therefore, acknowledges that there is danger from the good writing in favour of such reform! This is something new, and it is something for us to laugh at. For a long while the contrary of this was asserted. Our writings were said to be very foolish; trash; only stuff to delude the been misled by such publicaignorant. But now Mr. Judge tions. Parke thinks it necessary to him that they had been misled

some very good writing. In warm even his Grand Juru It is not the trash that they are any longer afraid of: it is the good writing that they are afraid of, and they have now found out that it is very wicked or very foolish to approve of good writing.

> It is very true that we long proved by the shackles imposed upon the Press, that we possessed talents superior to those possessed by a thousand legistwo thousand Magislators. trates. and twenty thousand Bishops, Deans and Parsons, all having leisure and money to assist them. This fact was proved long enough ago; but now it is acknowledged: or else why give the country a caution against the power of the good writing of the Radicals?

Judge Bailey, lately at York, gave a long sermon to his Grand Jury upon the subject of seditious and blasphemous publications. This he did upon the hypothesis that some of the men mere trash; only two-penny brought before him, might have He had no proof before

supposition, that they might have been so misled; he took occasion to speak with strong reprobation of such publications, and to inculcate morality and the fear of God. Now. though I see no immediate cause for these observations, especially as there are about twenty or thirty thousand Parsons, regular and sectarian, constantly on duty, or at least in constant pay; vet I am far from disapproving of the Judge's sermon, and only object to it's brevity. In speaking of our morals, he might have inveighed with just bitterness against those who pour out upon the public and worm into every cottage in the kingdom the grossest and most loathsome obscenity; and thereby make the common talk of the people such as has hitherto been confined to the circles of the debauched, the degenerate and beastly crews that distinguish the west end of the Metropolis. He might have extended his reprobation to the double distilled adulterers that are so notorious: to the men who have two women living at one time, both of whom have been their wives. to the infamous women who flaunt about and unconcernedly

by such means; but upon the meet their two husbands at a ball; and he might, as he was in the moral humour, have dwelt upon the duties of a husband: he might have reprobated the wretch who takes a wife merely for the purpose of getting a deliverance from his debts; then surrounds her with bawds and prostitutes in the hope of obtaining, by causing her to be seduced, the grounds for a release from his marriage contract: and next, finding these efforts unavailing, treats her with unbearable brutality, drives her from his house and then lays a plot for her destruction. stances of this sort have not been wanting in this wicked world; and, as domestic fidelity is the basis of all morality in families; and as all societies must consist of families, this was a branch of his subject which the pious Bailey ought not to have left untouched. He, however, seems to have thought that God was most likely to be offended with things about which God has not thought proper to give us any commands at all, it being no where said in Holy Writ, that there shall not be a Reform in our Parliament, and he having no where said that men shall not seek to obtain

such Reform. The Judge's ser- occasion. They are a very pruhave gone into very useful mat-

THE PARSONS.

It will be unbecoming in us to laugh outright at these reverend persons; but it is nevertheless proper that we notice a little of their conduct upon the present occasion. Amongst the hundreds of thousands of persons that have come forward to address her Majesty the Queen. there have been, in England, are, Dr. Patr, who is a Rector lect, that it was about twelve Parish of Kimpton.

mon was good as far as it went: dent, a very cautious, a very but it unfortunately stopped just far-seeing race. The lawyers, at the point where it might though excessively cunning, fall short in this respect of the Par-I have often thought of sons. what would be the result, if twenty or any given number of each were set to work to strive for the attainment of the same object. Upon a reflection, however, after having duly considered all the various faculties and efforts which each should bring into play, I have always in the end awarded the superiority to the Parsons; and an but two Parsons out of, at least, old friend, who is now in Amefive and twenty thousand, in- rica, and who I hope is in good cluding the Dissenters. These health to read this, will recolof a Parish in Warwickshire, years ago decided by him and and Mr. Hutchins, who is the me, that if twenty Parsons and Curate of Kimpton and Grately, twenty Lawyers were shut up in Hampshire. I said in a for- without fire or victuals to the mer Register that it was Mr. and of their days, to strip and Fowle of Kimpton, because I to cat each other, the Lawver's found in the books, that Mr. would be naked first and the Fowle was the Rector of the Parsons alive last. With regard I was sur- to her Majesty the two races prised at the time, that a Rec- have acted, with some very few tor should have done such a exceptions amongst the Lawthing, and I am really pleased vers, precisely the same part. at the discovery that the gentle- The Lawyers, However, are man was a Curate. It is curious, less noted. The Queen's case however, to observe, how shy did not naturally and necessarily the Parsons have been upon this call upon them; but to the Par-

sons it made a direct appeal. - | his prudent course to confine his -How they ever can again ex- future efforts to his Pulpit. hort the people to domestic fidelity; how they can exhort husbands to be kind to their wives; how they can ever again condemn perfidy, false swearing and subornation, it is impossible for me to conceive. Mr. Hume, in his speech on Monday last in some observations on the Church establishment, very well worthy

GRA

It is curious to observe bow. exactly, in every branch of the system, the observation holds good, that the Queen's enemies and the enemies of the Radicals are the same. There is this little difference in the case of the Parsons, that they dared the House of Commons, made openly assail us; whereas, they are extremely shy in the case of. the Queen, and carry on teof attention. That is not the last | wards her a sort of negative hosthat the Reverend Gentlemen tility. They set their wives will hear on that subject; for and daughters and sons to work. amongst the good things that they give the farmers and their her Majesty has done is that of wives chilling and forbidden enabling us to judge more cor- looks, they proceed with abundrectly then we were able to do ant industry but with great rebefore of the real tendency and serve and circumspection at the effect of that establishment. same time. But, after all, the Two Parsons, a man at Man-light is too strong, and the peochester, whose name I have ple's eyes too penetrating to forgotten, and Parson Cunning- suffer any part of their conduct ham of Harrow, have openly to escape observation. They taken the field against the see as clearly as the Borough-Queen. To the former I gave mongers see the tremendous his payment four weeks ago; danger to them which the and the latter has received a triumph of the Queen would pretty decent drubbing from the produce. They, like the Bo-Traveller and the Times. I roughmongers, wish her out of propose to say a word to him the country as rats wish a cat by and bye, and will make him out of the house. And yet, the perceive, that, like the great case is so flagrant; all efforts to mass of his brethren, it will be effect the object are so odious; not, in order to prevent that bothering, that hectoring, that them be, and let us laugh at of Liverpood; that beld defler them.

· CANNING_

hogh at this fellow; then. there must be a law against laughing. Whither he is gone, what is become of him, nobody. pretends to be able to tell. He is a Privy Councillor he is a Cabinet Minister: he is President of the Board of Controul; is gone, and my sincere opinion and he is gone out of the country. He is gone after his wife. some say. How different from some men! He is gone to sea of the way. The Duke of Wel- thought proper to bameh itself. hisses that has sent him away? He was one of those who for-

there is so much danger attend-[Never was such a wondering their making such efforts, working moman as her Mathat they, though they clearly jesty. She has done more in a see that the triumub of the hundred days them all of us-Queen must finelly lead to what were able to down in the they dread as much at least, as course of thirty years. Sin hou. they dread the Devil, they dere delivered us of Caming, that. triumph, stir hand or foot swaggering blade, that suspass-There they are, then, spell ed both Bardolph and Pistol: bound and trembling: there let that bully of the booming ken of men without arms in their hands and with muzzles on-If we are not allowed to their months; that hectorer who exclaimed. " If I distranchise "Grampound, it is because I. "will preserve Gld Sarum!" That impudent, that insolent son of Mrs. Hunn; that brazen iester: that iron-hearted insulter of the bowels of Ogden: he is that he never will return. It is a cunning fellow. It has noted well the consequences of. remaining a httle too long sit: to get at his wife: some go assisted to pass a law for hanto sea to get from their wives, lishing Radical writers; and in In short, Canning has slipt out less than a twelvemonth, it has lington is gone abroad, too. This Canning was one of those What is the great "Captain of who menaced our great, gra-" the Age" gone for? Is he cious and glorious Queen with gone after his wife, too? Is it a prosecution if she should dare to bove of kisses or a hatred of set her foot on English ground.

bade her to some, during any max of his character. Here we What a change! The Queen is He has now to hear of the processions, to Branden-her to go abroad, hereays, behouse, and of all, the other atmerous circumstances and events, so well calculated to Has he mended the matter? By sting him to the soul. I wish I knew where the fellow was. . I would send him a copy of the " Peep at the Peers." to amuse him in his hours of solitude. would send him several other legis are however all now dethings, and particularly her Majesty's gracions answers to the Mechanics...of London and the Sailors' of the Thames. Oh! what a stab these must give to the heart of this enemy of truth and of human freedom! He, it was, as he confesses, who was the principal adviser of her Majesty to quit the kingdom. Did he give her a caution when the Ministry sent out the Milan Commission? Did he act as her Did he :let her friend then? know of the reports that were circulated against her! No: but he was one of the Ministers. who sent out a secret commission to bunt over Italy for evidence whereon to degrade and this man. He is plunged into destroy her. This caps the cli- difficulties out of which he can

part of her life, to England, have Canning in his true colours. Hel was our most bitter in England and Canning is gone and most active enemy; and away from it! He is now in how good and how sacred must then he our cause! He advised cause he saw that: "faction had "marked her for its own." faction he meant the people; the oppressed people : and they certainly had marked her for their own : for her Majesty was their fellow sufferen. His profeated. The people have now marked her as their own. He and his faction are defeated. and he never will again dare to show his face before her, Mai jesty. This man, a blustering bully in politics; a defler of men in dungeons and men without arms; a swaggerer with a hundred thousand men at his back. slipks away upon the approach of danger. Did he approve of the prosecution of the Queenz why then did he not stay to carry through the prosecution 3 Did he disapprove of the prosecution; why then did he not stay to oppose the prosecution? There is no possible excuse for never extricate himself. hatred threw around him; and need not tell you; you know is become an object of nothing very well what they are raised but contempt. By keeping out of England he may still live and there let him live. If he has which has been described as having been the portion of Luing and let us laugh him to scorn.

YEOMANRY CAVALRY.

You will say that this is no laughing matter; and, in one sense it is not, but, there are some circumstances belonging to this description of persons that ought to be made known? They are called volunteers: and the word volunteer means a man who serves without pay; or else, all the regular soldiers are volunteers, for they enter the service without being forced. We are everlastingly told, too, of the disinterested services of these gallant gentlemen, a specimen of which services you had at Manchester on the 16th of August, 1819, a day never to be forgotten any more than Sidmonth's letter of thanks to the Yeomanry employed upon that

He objects of embodying and keephas lost the dignity which our ing up this species of troops. I and kept up for. You know very well who they are and eat and drink and sleep; and what they are; but it is possible that you may not know that any feeling left it must be that your labour helps to PAY these gay and gallant and disinterested gentlemen. It is my duty, cifer. Let him have that feel- therefore, to inform you, that these volunteer corps, or yeomanry cavalry, stand with a sum against them, in the army estimates of the present year, of 169,500 pounds 13 shillings and 10 pence! A pretty round sum! Now mark, 17,279 old soldiers. pensioners, do not receive so much as this by about ten thousand pounds. So you see, these volunteer gentlemen actually cost us more money than this great number of old soldiers, all of good character, mind, who have faithfully served in that army, which has fought so many bloody battles. Take another view of the matter. The whole body of our artillery, which is by far the best corps of the kind that any nation has ever seen; this whole body, men, of, ficers and all, this corps of such fine men, so full of skill, of geoccasion. What are the real nius, of ability of all sorts, this

corps that has the care of so goons; twelve regiments of many garrisons, and that has Light Dragoons; making in the lonies, and in the deciding of horses, arms, furniture, cloathalmost every battle by land; ing, pay of officers, pay of men; this corps, containing such an every thing taken together, do immense mass of merit; this not cost three times as much as every thing, receives but little manry Cavalry! These are facts above one third more than these for you; and let the flippant The whole of the foot guards, contradict me if he can. nine effective battalions of the best soldiers that ever were brought into a field, and almost every man of whom has been either wounded, or wears a medal, on account of some memorable service. The whole of these battalions, all the officers. all the men, all the cloathing, every thing belonging to this matchless little army : stout men; picked men; choice soldiers; all these buttalions of limagine that forty days is a lit-Guards, cost us only fifty-four thousand pounds a-year more than the Yeomanry Cavalry troops, of whom you saw a specimen on the 16th of August, knew before. We are not told, 1819. All the Horse Soldiers nor need we care, in what manin the army, that is to say, two regiments of Life Guards; one Yeomanry. We know that it fegiment of Horse Guards; se-Guards; two regiments of Dra-lout upon them, those that pay

had so much to do in the de- whole, twenty-four regiments fending the country and it's co- of Horse Soldiers, including whole corps, men, officers, and these bands of volunteer Yeovolunteer Yeomanry Cavalry! petit maitre, Lord Palmerston, cost of these gentry, therefore, is no laughing matter; but, the cheapness of them; their disinterestedness is a thing which we may amuse ourselves with. Recollect, too, that these Yeomanry gentlemen are excused from the horse duty. That you will perceive is worth to them each about as much money every year as would pay a foot guardsman for about forty days, and tle more than any of these people spend in military service You will now know something more about these corps than you ner this money is given to the comes out of our labour. We regiments of Dragoon know that if it were not laid

the taxes would not have so There is no law for calling ceive it in victuals, drink, lacednot a straw. I know that they have it, and that is enough for that they could not receive any money from us; and yet it seemed strange that they should sally forth without receiving something in some shape or In this state of doubt other. I resolved to look into the matter, and the result was that which I have stated to you: so these gallant troops, pray conader them as being in your pretending to be public spirited take the liberty to laugh as much as you please.

LOCAL ADJUTANTS.

some years, ago, you were called labour, as the whole of the pendisbandéd. forgotten them.

much of tax to pay; and that them out and renewing them. is all that we need know about What, therefore, will be vone the matter. Whether they re- surprise to hear, that we have 20,495 pounds a year to pay to jackets, or in hard money, I care Adjutants of Local Militia? There are, it seems, no less than two hundred and eighty of me. For my part I confess, that these men, amounting to an I was fool enough to believe average of seven to a county, who are paid out of the public taxes, at the rate of four shillings a-day each, or seventythree pounds sterling a-year; so that they swallow no very. nearly as much money as it takes to pay the pensions of three thousand of our old soldiera! Many of these Adjuthat now when you see any of tants have never seen a day's service in their lives; and yet, in consequence of the few days pay; and when you hear them that they were out exercising, or pretending to exercise, or'. and loyal gentlemen coming imitating exercise, never going forth purely for the public good, out of their own county; for this little trifling nothing of a service, two hundred and eighty of them. are receiving as much money You may remember that, out of the finits of the people's forth by compulsion, to serve in sions of nearly three thousand of corps called Local Militia. Those our old sokliers, the greater part sorps have been long since of whom have, perhaps, been We have almost wounded in battle! Think of They have this! This fact is of more imso existence in any shape, portance than a thousand decla-

matory harangues. Facts like that dictates observations like a great part of my duty to communicate such facts to you. As to communicating them to those who had the power of bringing them forward, and proposing ties. correction of abuses, that I long these Adjutants receiving sevenwhile a subaltern officer in the try, to make such inquiries; to

this stick by us; and it has been these; or is it a love of justice and of humanity? These Local Militia Adjutants; these favoured persons are, you see, distributed about in the coun-It would be curious to ascertain what they were before tried in vain. Only think of they became Adjutants; who got them their appointments : ty-three pounds a-year each, who they are related to: in with liberty to go where they short, it is the duty of every please, and do what they please, man, in every part of the counarmy, who has probably es- keep these facts that I have caped from death in twenty stated in his mind; and to spread battles, is thrown upon half- as widely as he can, the knowpay with a less sum, and re- ledge of them amongst his strained, at the same time, neighbours. In fact, it is the from following any trade where- duty of every body who sees a by to assist him in making out person with regard to whose a living! Only think of this manner of getting his living. seventy-three pounds a-year to no notoriety exists in the neigheach of these men, while thou- bourhood, to make enquiries how sands upon thousands of Mid- he gets his living. This is actshipmen in the Navy, who, for ing up to the spirit of the law. years have been engaged in The law requires that justices of battles and all sorts of dangers, the peace should bring men beand have led lives harder than fore them and women too, who that of a dog, are turned adrift, have no visible means of getting without a penny of compensa- their living, and make them tion, to beg, or to starve, their give an account of themselves. age being such as to render The law does not say that a them extremely inapt to take to poor man shall be subject to this any pursuit disconnected with law, and that a rich man shalk the sea! Is it faction, as the not. It extends to gaily dressed. reptiles call it; is it faction fellows, as well as to fellowa

clothed in rags; nor does the liams had been a justice of peace circumstance of keeping a carriage and servants at all probibit the magistrate from making such inquiries. When, in 1789, or 90. BURKE first used his prostituted pen, in defence of the have committedhim as a vagrant, eld despotism of France, and, in of course. All those who reside order to urge England into a war with that country. DAVID WILLIAMS, in a pamphlet published soon afterwards, said, that if he were a justice of peace for the county of Berks, he would actually have him taken up, and make him give an account of the manner in which he got his living. Mr. Williams was perfectly right; for the old hack had no visible means of hving; and, in a few years after, he was fastened upon the public for a pension of three thousand pounds a-year for his life, with remainder to his wife for fifteen hundred a-year, if she should outlive him; and, at the same time he got a grant of £2,500 wyear to be paid to his execusors for five lives; and the fact is that this burthened nation has already paid more than seventy thousand pounds to this man, his wife, and executors, and we are still paying two able to get at only the cost of thousand five hundred a-year to the Local Militia Adjutants. those executors. If Mr. Wil- Another time, I will; if I can.

of the county of Berks, and had had the old apostate taken up. he would have found him destitute of the means of honestly obtaining a livelihood; and would in the different parts of the county, whatever figure they may cut, ought to be suspected of living by improper means. unless their proper means are subject notoricty. of The late Garnier, Wickham. of used to be looked upon as a great country 'squire, until F told the people who he was. and what he was, and how he got his money. This is the way to humble them. The " Peep at the Peers" has done much; but much more remains to be done. We must get together the names of all those who live upon the taxes, if possible; make a complete alphabetical list of them; then find out their places of residence; so that every man, in his own neighbourhood, may know what part of his showy neighbours are fed by his labour. In the present instance, I have been

get at their names, so that we children should not be taken may have them posted up and brought home to the knowledge of those who pay them. surely is not too much for us to know who those are that live moon one labour.

WIDOWS' PENSIONS.

We pay 114,882 pounds in pensions to the widows of officers of the army. As it recutires that the officers should be killed in battle, or in actual service abroad, this is a sum towards which I should cheerfully contribute. But, while we pay pensions to the widows of commissioned officers, is it just that the widows of the men should receive no pensions at all? Upon what ground, I should be glad to know, is this distinction made? The soldier looses a life as well as the officer. His widow is bereft of her husband as well as the officer's widow. Her children are left destitute as well as the officer's children. And these officers' widows receive as much, in pensions, as about thirteen thousand old soldiers receive in pensions. This is a very curious fact; and well worthy of being borne in mind.

care of, as well as the rich man's. It may be said that the soldier's widowand children may go to the workhouse; but the workhouse is a different thing from a pension; or, if it be not, why should not the officer's widow and childrengo to 'the workhouse? But, as we shall all along find, the good things are kept for those who have already enough.

GENTLEMEN SOLDIERS.

If we had a member of Parliament; if we had one, who would not gabble for us. but. who would work for us, the facts I am now about to state to you would have been circulated long enough ago. Formerly, the English Army, Navy, and Artillery were, in considerable part, supplied with commissioned officers from the ranks. and from amongst the able seamen. This practice was politic. as well as just. It operated as a great encouragement to good behaviour, trust-worthiness, fidelity, and courage. But, of late-years, and particularly since the Duke of York has been Commander-in-Chief, and since the elder Melville was put into the There appears to be no reason Admiralty, a new, and widely why the poor man's wife and different, system has prevailed.

Academies and Colleges have money. It was erected under been established for the purpose of breeding up, and educating, a pack of boys for the express purpose of making them commissioned officers in the Army and Navy and Artillery. immense pile of building, one of the most grand and splendid in the kingdom, has been erected at a place called Sandburst, between Bagshot and Basingstoke. in the county of Surrey or of Berks, and at about 38 miles The spot was from London. a barren heath; it has been inclosed, elegantly laid out with plantations, splendid coach roads and other decorations, extensive kitchen gardens, porters' lodges and all the other concomitants of grandeur. In addition, there is a long row of elegant mansion houses at a distance from this magnificent building. Each house has its separate commodious garden. The houses stand front, and other decorations whole area is inclosed by a fence, the very lack of which convinces you that the architect cared no-

every possible disadvantage, as to expence. A pond of water has been made by excavation: and a redoubt erected, that the " young gentlemen" may play at soldiers. In this place, there are, it seems, kept between two and three hundred " gentlemen Cadets." They have a Governor. a Lieutenant-Governor, a Major, four Captains of Companies, with Quarter-Master, Pay-Master, Adjutant, Chaplain, Sergeants, a band of music, Drummers, Fifers, and a whole crowd of professors and masters, with twentythree men servants, four women servants, a cook and three kitchen maids, two house-keepers, and a parcel of nurses, whether wet or dry; is not stated. This is a goodly family for the nation to keep! The Secretary at War gives us an account even of their washing, down to their very sheets, and of the repairing at forty or fifty paces from each of their shoes. It is, in some other. There is a terrace, in respects, as much like the account of our master of the workcommon to them, all; and the house, at Bishop's Waltham, as any thing that I ever saw. This, you will observe, is the seed-bed for rearing young officers to thing about the expence. The command those of the fathers, east, altogether, of this place, sons, uncles and brothers of us has probably been a million of radicals who happen to become

soldiers; and observe; too, that, the words, but I will to the senif the commissioned officers be taken from this seed bed, there can, of course, no officers be taken from the ranks. The above establishment is called the ROYAL MILITARY ACADEMY. There is another Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, for the purpose of supplying the Artillery with gentlemen officers. There is another for instructing the young officers of Engineers. And, at Portsmouth, there is a Royal Naval College for the supplying of the navy!

Now, Blackstone says, that, in England; that, in this country of Freedom, there can be no danger from a standing army; because, says he, and I beg you well to attend to this because : because "the officers, being "taken promiscuously out of the mase of the community, " having been educated in the " principles of freedom, and the " men having had the same sort " of education, never can be " supposed likely to become the "instruments of despotism; or " to turn their arms against the " freedom of their country !"----What would Blackstone say if he were alive now. I have not

timents. And, if those sentiments be just, what is the natural and necessary conclusion? Why, it is this: that, if the officers of an army be not taken promiscuously out of the mass of the community; but he trained up'from their infancy as a distinct cast wholly cut off from general society, habituated to implicit obedience to the Sovereign, and those under him, they are likely to become dangerous to public liberty. In truth, it is against nature to suppose thas such men, when they grow ap to be men, can have any feelings in common with the people! They are so completely cut off from every sort of communication with the people; they are under such rigid discipline, that it is impossible that they can have any notions to comment with those that are affort in the country. By the superintendo ance of Magistrates, Pólice mon? horse and foot, Spies and in formers, the Press has but a very poor chance; even in towns and villages. The inn-keepers and publicans, whose house week places of great resort, are, 464 directly, under control as to Blackstone before me, at this the publications to be read the moment. I will not swear to their houses. No man, I will

licence, will dare to auffer this Register to lie exposed on a table in his house. What, then do you think must be the freedom of the Press in the Royal Military Academies and Colleges! Not one publication is there ever seen except such as the Governor, Lieutenant-Goverilor, or Major, chooses to licence. Long ago the regimental messes, have been instructed, as well as the ward-rooms on board the ships of war, not to permit such and such publications to be intloduced, and, if introduced, to banish them: What freedom of the Press, then, can you believe that the infants enjoy in the Royal Academies and Colleges.

"Thus, then, you see the seed beds, or nurseries which have been invented to supply the army and navy with commissioned officers. These pretty pupils are, of course, not taken from amongst the sons of the "Lower orders." The fact is, Aristocracy: and, of persons English Military and Naval something else besides the polis

venture to say, that malues his force. There was before, a sort of connection and intermixture: A voung gentleman became an officer in the Army or Navy, because he had a toste for it.-He had, generally, something of fortune besides. But now, he has to be nursed, washed. shod, clad and fed at the public expence, before he becomes an officer. Observe, he knows how to do nothing but be an officer. Take him from that and he is the most helpless and destitute of creatures. Can there be imagined a creature more dependent than this?

The common soldier can, of course, have no hope of everrising to be an officer; and, as to the Navy, I believe that, according to positive regulation, no common seaman can now be promoted to the rank of a commissioned officer; though, unden the old system, we had several very excellent Admirals that came from before the mast.---However, it may be said, that as soldiers and sailors now know that they are the sons of the this, they enter into the Army and the Navy with their eyes who have what is called inter- open; and have, therefore, no What that word interest reason to complain. But, if means, you know very well.— they have no reason to com-This is a new feature in the plain, we have; for there is

tical considerations, which be-| made upon the labouring claslongs to this subject of Academies and Colleges; and that is. the expence, which, for the current vear, is as under:

Royal Military Academy at Sandharst £91,471 Royal Military Academy 7,780 at Woolwich Royal Naval College at 7,220 Portsmouth -Instruction for young Gen-2.020 tlemen Engineers -

£38,500

Thus, there is paid out of the taxes raised upon the people at large this sum of money for teaching, feeding, cloathing, lodging, and nursing, the sons of the nobility, parsons, and others of the " higher orders," in order duly to qualify these gentry to take command of those of the "lower orders" that may become soldiers and sailors. If this be fair play the devil is in it. I believe it to be the first instance of the kind in the world. We know very well that, by paying placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, grantees, and taxing people; we know very well that by paying them immense sums of money, we do enable them to cloath, feed, lodge, wash, mend, and teach of, of a direct charge being in need of their mama much

ses, who are stigmatized by the appellation of "the lower ordera:" this is the first instance that I ever beard of, of the lower orders being taxed for the purpose of keeping at a school and paving for the schooling, and other necessaries of the children of the " higher orders."

If we had a Member of Parliament! Oh, if we had but & Member of Parliament, how clear all these matters would soon be made. In stating the sums as above, you will observethat there is the interest of the money which all these buildings have cost. They have not cost so little as a million of money. The interest of that is fifty thousand pounds a year. buildings decay. Twenty years purchase for a house is a good! price. So that, the educationof these pretty gentlemen cadets. does not cost us less than about: nincty thousand a year! Some of them go to the College merebabies. I have seen some little pale looking ricketty things. with their foraging caps on and. G.R. in the front of them, who appeared to me not to be sotheir children; but this is the high as to reach my lower rib. first instance that I ever heard and who seemed as if they stood

more than of a drill serjeant, | pretty valuable; since they must Only think of rattling such poor cost, upon an average, about little creatures up in the morn-sixteen hundred pounds per ing, by the sound of the drum! head; that is to say, if, with Only think of making them good doctoring and good nursmarch about in ranks and files ing, they reach their eighteenth and columns, with their poor little hands down by the side of their thighs, their heads poked up and their little feet flung out before them; with a great big serjeant in the front bawling "eves right!" and "eves left!" " halt, wheel, halt, march!" and God knows what besides, while a contagious belly-ache infantine army! Some of them die, of course; for I see that they have doctors; and Gil Blas says.-that when his master was ill. the servants, who were very

year. But, there must be some casualties, as they call it in the army. No desertions, of course: but some deaths; and, in every case of death, there's all our money gone! All our cloatlying, all our food, all our washing, lodging and shoe-mending, nursing and all: all is a sheer loss. So that, we may runs through the ranks of the fairly calculate, I think, that for every gentleman cadet that we bring to maturity, we pay, first and last, rather more than two thousand pounds! These little gentlemen have masters of all fond of their master, upon see- sorts. Masters of French, masing three physicians come into ters of German, masters of landthe house, fell violently to weep-scape drawing; and, what is ing and gave him up for dead, truly carious, the naval cadets Now, our Cesars go to the aca- have, dancing masters found demy, I believe, at the age of them, at our expence, which the eight or ten years. They can-military cadets do not appear to not very well be fit for com- have. So that, we shall have, manders before they get into please God they live and do Suppose, how- well, plenty of dancing Postever, that they reach eighteen, Captains and Admirals. Is not upon an average, before they this a pretty way of spending get commanders of men. They our money? And do we not realcost us about 2001. a year a ly live under a government, that piece; so that, they ought to be is the "envy of surrounding na"tions and the admiration of so express myself at their and " the world?"

You have been surprized, I dare say, as I myself was, to see that only four or five women belong to the Sandhurst establishment, while there are twentythree men servants.: But I believe that the establishment in the Academy itself is purely male. The women, I think, live in a detached department at a considerable distance, except the name. perhaps, or in cases where the gentlemen cadets are Under so moral a very young. government, care is taken, of course, to suffer no females to approach that are not of very considerable age. Indeed, when we reflect that this establishment is under the controll of the Duke of York, we naturally anticipate the adoption of every precaution calculated to insure the banishment of every thing hostile to morals. The situation of the Academy is such as to preclude the possibility of the approach of any persons not expressly admitted. There is roll-call and parade, and go-tobed-tom, and every thing, just youths take the order, if I may establishments,

trance. They devote their vessels wholly and entirely to the seta vice; and the distance at which they are placed from all temptate tion produces. I believe, autricias conformity to their vows these used to be observed by those rosy gilled monks that the French did so well to kick out of their convents.

Thus, my friends, I have given you some account of the new manner of providing. the army and the navy with commissioned officers. It is a matter that you did not understand before: and vet it is a thing very well worth taking the trouble to understand, as to the real object that our rulers have had in view in making these establishments at such an enormous expence, I shall offer no opinion; for, though I know the object pretty well, I am quite certain that the object will not be effected. I am very sure that events will evacuate the academies before much times has passed over our heads. As the conclusion of the war, they were kept up upon an arguas in a barrack. So that, the ment of this sort, and I beg von place is, at once, an Academy, to notice the argument: It was a monastery and a fortress. The said that, having made the they surcly.

counts to be kept up: This are of plants for the serme and this gaupaty inhich imaghtyhaw bean : meetisfactory to contontielta: jiqqaengii wan quita: stili-i ciest so : satisfytour stithful Red pessentativis. Moving inside an unniversary and mischierous establishments this hoving been lifthing two udity toster-posts eldirowania fran inpubliter segrencest for backing and these eifidhlishdeshie mit, waaran waans spressible inflamment in favourced mainstre tole should tothe estations Military madd tulaval stofficent though, shahat ving time. ten this and tubaltorns stid mide Rendste hillands opportunite name bald-ney. cells this bald-part list i was about a stack of ready made officers; experienced offiedts v.:officers, that want to the employed a mos have a stock enough iti risit was for twenty years this the dringing of these into full pay from the half-pay piet, of from the list of midshinmani, are dor an act of instice sindings repeated benefits; to the pitty brought in ; and we save to surselves othe expense of the half-pay at the same time. No! the hithful Representatives did not madenstand this; and therein form they determined to tax us for the expense of keeping up

naux. ... After ! thing .. with Thin staring, him dall in the face! what a reprobate wretch; what allanditions andichiasphedious watch asustilid bel who will reals, disposed types, on sestings verament, is, the 32 environ sutrounding aptions, and the admin ration of the worldsdord venty shoes, sravats, and disute cities Academy available T: this nice - This inasymorheotimenalines most ticklich sabjects vi Bispent tora midito retendintest mitami gerous her reall 4 44 codients lines the clothing retrooping a the mest as wood well known passold a drog in 1817, tompot, an so richthrif we attempted what they culled seducing a soldies from his due tu. And, it was next to impost sible to have any thing to de with a soldier, without explosiing one's self: to this charge. For instance, suppose a comp ... ter to ask a soldier to go aco drink a spoteof begrowith him, and suppose the soldier to be required, while drinking, the spot of been soibs in his guard-beises or barracles. . Here'is meducining from visual and appeal bleafenout bny menteenothing buthauth wi might be leanged for inviting a soldier to take a pot of beer, hot-beds to raise a fresh stock though that soldier might be

his son or his brother! Talk | hurt by the wicked Madicals. DRACO, or any other lawgiver, anroass this?

The smooth, precise, really very pretty clerk, commonly catled Lord Palmerston, who is his Majesty's Secretary at War, and who has the superintendance (very properly) of the shirts. shoes, gravats, and clouts of the A cademy at Sandhurst; this nice gentleman told our faithful representatives in parliament, during the first chapter of the present Session, that Betracks were absolutely necessary for the suspose of " keeping the soldiers from having any communication with the people." Well done. apt pupil of Old George Rose! Thou doest honour to the school of Pitt and Dundas! Thou art right worthy of being an associate of Castlereagh, Sidmouth. Jenkinson, and the Son of Mrs. Hunn!

Here you will see, my friends Weaver Boys, is an open avowal of another part of the general design. When we have complained of the expence of Bartacks, we have been answered by one shuffle and another (and at one time it was pretended that

of Draco, indeed! How could We were told that divers tout Magistrates, in stinder places? had made preming application for Barmacks to be built in their neighbourhedd. With these doubted the fatt? for the year sons are plain : Asst, to discove the people o next, to keep the solidiers away from the weeple. and, though had not least, "to bands a good stan of the public money to be expended speed w mear the estates of the estate lovel Magistrates. But there was als ways a shuffle of some sort of other till now; and now this hamble imitator of Castlernaris has told us in so many words; that the object of Berracky is to prevent the soldiers from having any communication with the And thus is not only **pe**ople. the thing done which Blackstone reprobated as incompatible with the preservation of the countita. tion of England; but further, the thing is avowed to have been done upon the very ground? which Blackstone states as the great objection to the same thing!

However, we always guin by driving the fellows up tute a corner; by compelling them '6 Barracks were necessary to pre- speak out; by leaving them ad serve the soldiers from being subterfuge; by sticking them

up belorathe world in their true; only tended to establish the gerpulneness of the Address and lothe mean while, in spite of to do honour to that spirited-Barnoks, and of Laws to put us and really loyal regiment. Your th death if we beduce to soldier will find, that Mr. Alderman. frontibil date to go and drittle Wood, in his Letter to the a pet of degers, in mute of these; Duke, of Rutland, have some the sempennication, the inter- pretty significant and important change of thought and of feel | observations; and volt will find ing going and and roll abition that the Duke, though he badnot the Maldiage and their Botheruit sonse enough to keep himself Grandfatherse Linder Northeward but of the squabble bad senses Commetted Buttlers: The Sole enough to give the Aldermants: dien and the specifical talk that observations the go-hyd amor an gather; they have not right to i What is the real state of the talk, tagether wanti other wills Army, and by army Linean the talk segether in spite of all the Freel Army; the regularious many laws and regulations in the the Artillery, the Marines, that world. Laura ambasquent (page, regiments of blotse and the mid you will, And; if I have room giments of Foot! What is the! for it, a correspondence curved later of this army, in to the same on between Mr. Addermen Wood timents, wishes, and, intentioner and that profound gentleman of our Sons and Brothers and the Duke of Rutland, and his relations compassing it, with neh Officers; being his underlings in gattl to sumitives and with reit the regiment of Leisestershire gard to the Queen, I shall pre-Militiantiof which he is the tend to give no opinion; though Colombia the populate rough that I hear a great deal and reminat correspondence. You will find great deal about the matter. that propy possible effort has But one tdiffe most fantistished have middle to cause it to but be-obtained upon public ditientions lieved, that the fieldiers of the by jobs adveldance in Bi will lint Adicastesphire. Militia which not apite of bantshing and smallingo and any Address to our best, laws, venture the toucht upond truest and stangabest friend, her These adversaries have dised? Majorty, Who: Queen. You will vered, of late, that coldidre dugatet had that all these efforts have never to deliberater. That then

done this, you will want no towards a fund for lending antendency.

saries of ours have recently you She Devil you will hardly told up, that the Horse Soldiers say that Soldiers aid not deli-

are and they to do what they are | "the great Captain of the Age," bilden; to abstrin from doing the Hero of the Helder; and to white they are forbidden tordo a some others! Wow, did these mover to thinks having others hazzas takes place in courses appointmit to think for them; quence of aswerd of contactual and, in a word, to be mere mu- being given for thou to Mikhes chines, composed indeed of eyes; die, what a shocking when pool curs, brains, hearts, Bonnis, flesh; decrive us, vass the secure of shuttles, which tamberents there those human he if they did not ab to all purposes to which they proceed from word of command? are to be applied, as to all their they believeded from the dell'etcapacities, montal as well as cor- the delibers schuker there he am poreal, they are to be settlines act profeding from build subure. as complicately as are west brome must be deliberation a said their and apaining jennies. I New have we the authority obioles. then release these machines, adversaries themselves ofter adjuand them wook back at the " give- lag; that woldiers may family beflester emist" who are to have deliberate. But and new merk the uningraph them to and than me! Downwar we meniber that look at saliat Blackstone may a great many of the regular reabout the cort of army that engal giments and regiments of diffmot do de suffered to exist in the tob pagracia to subscribe sand Bogland hafid when you have did subterbela day's sed cook thing further to illustrate the sistance to those people that destribe of our adventages, were called Gelmon suffered? whather as to it's nature are You must demember this Hor Y remember it very well. How. But come! we will not be then, Corruption; new, Then, shuffled off thus. These adver- you old strumpet; now, then, og Bunkelow Heath, gace the berate here! "Kon will herely Ming three: glerious cheere! say that they gave up a natife of They have also recently told us; their own hard-corned pittance. that bedies of Soldiers have upon word of command; for it done the same with regard to they did, they were rebeed! that

robbers were highwayshen; and I frigal meal for that day. "Well: they night now, if they be alive, to be hanged! Oh! No You will say that they were not trans-robbed; that they were not bulied out of their money to be given to the Germans; that nobody fold them, with a significant look, that it would be better for them to give the money than not. By no means; you and I both know that nothing of this sort took place; and that the gift of the modey was the perfectly columnary act of the soldiers. ed black to Woll, then, Corruption; well then, thou diabolical hag! There must have been deliberation here. One would imagine, too, that it would require a pretty : 1/. long and minute detailed deliporation; a good deal of statewas green to bring the mile will ment of fact and of reasoning; a good deal of considering and balancing; & wonderful deal of discussion and persuasion, before a soldier could be induced volooks Sol of he funtarity to fast for a day, it being notorious that with him the slopies and roots that with him twelfpies and roots the work when the slopies are the form to yet the condition of the slopies and the slopies are the slopies are yet. necessary to furnish even a very

then, old bypocritical had, "here" was deliberation enough in the serve, too, that the result of the delilieration was the misks the commander for the regulations and even the government itself. the organ of executing the will of the men! Away; then, with the " hunibug; "the "thousing" cheating, villainous doctrine that soldiers are not to delibedune Bat Frank other bag !! P tell'thee or thed about matton of the world, "that the which hy Act itself, anthorises soldiers to deliberate. It is this Act an which hope the existence of the army rests. And that Att says that a soldier shall be pu-Hished, if he thedbey and latter command of his superior officier! Now, thou sanguinary old hag. what is this word lateful put in here for, if the soldier be mover to deliberate ! If a superior offcer were to order a soldier to shoot the King, 1116 7.1 Queen either; it is true that the officer would be guilty of

old har would not the soldier and, of course, thou sinfamous he guilty of high treason also I pld hag, thou corrupter of the If an officer were to draw forth heart, thou cruel old harridan. a hedy of men and order them it rests with the soldier himself to to and shoot a parcel of peo- to determine what commands ple in the Strand, the soldiers are lawful and what commands would all be hanged for murders are unlawful. If the soldier were to be sure, and the officer would commanded to kill the King; be hanged or transported as an to kill any private citizen; to accessary before the fact, Ap rob a house; to break into a oording to your doctrine, an house for an unlawful purpose; of or very a regiment of in short, of theye, or to do wight slaughter all the people any other act that was unlawin a town by means of his regiment and all the murderess fuse to do the act. This nobowould escape punishment; , and exen the officer, himself might order behind him and get out of the kingdom himself before Corruption. please, the soldier is, in his own person, answerable for all the acts which he commits in viola-

highertreasons, but, thou sailed tion of the laws of the land; The thirt is there in 10'1 "1"" 2 (1) El 1967 2 (17 et 180) ful; it would be for him to redy can deny; but how is he to refuse, until he has thought upon the subject; until he has considered and well weighed whether the act be right or wrong; lawful or unlawful and how is this work of thinking and considering to be ried on without deliberation? . I DOS GORRESTIO : : : : : :

Equally applicable is all that I have here said to bodies of sol diers as well as to individual sol-Tiv- 10:1 =110. diers. Whether it be a single sol dier or whether it be a thousand ALCA W STAF US ..

them would be guilty of high treasnn. Yet, they must either at once obey the command: or rafuse to shey the command. Before they can refuse they must deliberate; and then thou brutal and bloody old Hag, what becomes of your doctrine? The regiment has only this alternacome tanitors.

soldiers that compass the death | nobody to command us. If we of the King, or the Queen, violate the law we do it of our the effect is the same. If a regi- over heads; but a soldier, if he most, having received the com- pay no attention to the law, mand of their Colonel to march which makes him a soldier, and for the purpose of attacking indeed, also to the oath which killing, or imprisoning either binds him in more immediate the present King or the present duty towards the King: if he Queen; and, if they were to ad- pay no attention to this law, he: dvance lealy one single step may be induced, by the comupon the word march being mands of others, to commit even given, every mether's son of the crime of treason, for which: crime and for every other that he commits, in violation of the laws of the land, he is responsible in his own proper person. Therefore, instead of soldiers, possessing no right to deliberate, and carefully to deliberate. too, it is their bounden duty. Having placed this matter is time; to deliberate, or to be a fair, and, I trust, a clear light, I shall say no more about the 1 (Rho, truth is, my friends, that army at present, but mesely this; soldiers, more than any of us, that I always hear with very and called upon carefully to de- great pain of aquabbles and liberate; because they may re- quarrels and affrays between the crise commands, which are un-soldiers and the people. There lawful; whereas we are in no must have been a very anxious damper of this sort; we have desire to have a quarrel, when

an affray could arise out of a in all their sentiments; that they dranken soldier's catching and are true to each other; that apple off a stail: at Leeds fine heyere faithink teltheir showers was literally to the apple of which generally speaking to and their "how de lib. Le would be a murisian liter have no destrice feelings to me thing indeed, if a people schools wards the people of darget 43 lyssentsonen all important object can remember when I was out. could suffer their cause to suffer such a person as some of them: injury for the sake of the apples very Life , Guardan and a said For God Almighty white let us know, that I should met chase net quiesel with could some and liked to be called a ". Piquidiliga biothers morely because they Butcher," brotter have a made ate thrested in red coats 4 Let brick-bats/thrown at new headt unflever abuse them, flowt them, I, therefore, exhatt Yall miness; despise them; and slum them who wish to see der all There are dome of the people tracted country restered to Rep. in Liendon, who vet revile that piness and freedom, north abole! and this gallant corps, the Little post to revited not to than to the Galans, ilaie cety iluieraise those moulto shan a deliber aire deliber gulled seeb one employed in an of the descriptions of three successions. enterphise, aids which latter at la mentenny little graniman (ag: with her and the people had watch the the says abach and wild by loss as proficed and Printery Bear the process of the indicate reduced orotis complement! I think a morning of friendship go and I well'what' soldiers are; most carnestly beg of you to

well treds mitteest: Wandschift corrected edition without come the many many days that my Smildes on well in to expressions 16fig stothauth was confidenced to and prought brown applied that women gol with residual for giller ter hart to appropriately assembline from Pknow that they are generous adopt my example in this feelofficer countrymen, who, from and the people. This alone causes merely accidental, and ought to convince you of the surgred with coatsofar colour dif- necessity of living upon the ferchatchism the tof rank own. Pray most kind and friendly terms remember what I have said here. with your brethren of the army Day not spekt for occasionated and the 'navy.' Never thun ctarpelling with and picking them; but, on the contrary. heles, in the coats of the Sol- seek and carefully cultivate an diers. They have had no bad intercourse with them. Find motive indeconing Soldiers; it occasions for communing with is not likely that many of them them on all matters of mublic much more thoughtful beads upon their shoulders than out to them such as werenders Lhave: and vet, I am sure that Libeoppie a Soldier with hardly keewing theavisor the where fore a Saldiers are noisy mand mentile sime electrice of dans beams fixe-many surf therewere the eidthesolid driver obtained their their really seemed as the property Prenide some date dans offered color NA Optimalice de notaminion con play the game of the atredous nice high proofs. , distributed deligibits give account of quarrels and of

ing of friendship towards those fightings between the seldiers interest. Furnish them, or point and other publications as you' deem calculated firmly to imiplant do their minds a crise | and a clear sense, tob, of their duff towards their Hountry sand their Kingra Inchestaconduct them and treat them as brethren stand that your mutual friendship may of the " Peep at the Peers" is be ardent, steady, durable, and sale, price fourpence. conducive to the best of all. garthly ends is the fervent the press sould be to have to prayer of the and the mineral Transmis House in the WM. COBBETT.

M.B. Parson Canaingham; off the Authors beg leave to hope duct, and some remarks on their gent public. dear temporalities, shall be touched upon next week.

our brave soldiers. He defend- ter. ed himself against two lawyers ; Pho: Links before the in Links him.:

plotted; and will be ready for needle in a bettle of her; can sale, bound in boards; by the form an idea of the labour that turday next.

butter printed than the first, for tion shall no longer be the slovenly execution of which ceived.

Harrow, his brothren, their con- for the forgiveness of an indul-

The Peep into the Dungeon. will probably not be undertaken That worthy little, public by any body, except I should apprited man, Sam, Wanding- and courage to undertake it my-TON, has been tried at the Mid- self. It is the getting of the dlesex Sessions, for promul- materials that constitutes the gating a hand-bill, relating to greatest difficulty. A plan for the Queen, and calling upon doing this will probably be the moople to lave and cherish pointed out in the next Regis-

and an honest jury acquitted House, is to be a contrathon piece to the " Peep hi in The first volume of Cobbett's the Peers :" but these only who Parliamentary Dehates is com- actually have hunted out a must be performed before this A second and corrected edition work shall be completed. Howof the "Peap at the Peers" is ever, it must buildene sifer foto, now on sale, price fourpence. or, mther, her Majorane the There having been more time Queen, has been graciously to do the work, this edition is pleased to ordain, that this ma-

THE ADDRESS OF THE LEICES-

(1791 - (From Aled, E'ravaller.)

The following correspondence has passed upon the above subject. We think it our duty to lay it before the public, that the manly character of Alderman Wood may be appreciated as it deserves. The other letters are beneath comment:—

Leicester, Aug. 27.

* Brk: - As Lieutenant-Colonel bluthe. Eeicester Regiment of Militia of request the favour of you to send me the names of the two individuals whose signacures were to the Address purporting to be the Address of the Privates of the regiment to the Queen, and also to mention from whom 'vou' received'it, and by while it was presented. I ask these questions, as it appears that the privates of the regi-- mentinever even heard of the Address during the time they were embodied, and I observe W beam date three days previous To their dismissal.

the line the honour to be, &c.

f in The Local test

Landon, Aug. 20, 1820.

Collection of the 26th requesting me to send you the names of the 18th requesting me to send you the names of the 18th requesting to the 18th red individuals: whose significant whose significant whose significant from the Privates of the Regiment: under your equipment; also to mention from or hom: I redeived at, and by

whom it was presented; and I should undoubtedly at once give you the information desired: were I not induced to infer. from the particularity and frame of your questioning, that the Address is considered by the Commandants of the Leicester Militia of an improper character; and that some proceeding may be in contemplation against the individuals of the regiment by whom the Address was signed. Your omitting to assign the ultimate object of the enquiry, fortifies me in this supposition : and I shall not therefore feel myself at liberty to send you the names of the parties without their previous concurrence, unless it appeared that the Address was not intended by the Privates of the Regiment to have been presented to her Majesty. If the Address, purporting to be an Address from the Privates of your Regiment, was, not, in, truth. authorised by them, I shall not be found backward in exposing the deception; but shall be most anxious to give you all the information in my power. For the present, however, I must decline doing more than refering you to the Serjeant-Major. who, I am informed, was diepatched by the Officers of the Regiment, to repress the shoats of the Privates of the Leicester Militia in fexour of her Majesty: from whom I should apprehend you will be able to obtain much more satisfactory information than it is in my power to give. I remain, Sin,

Your obediest servant,

(Signed) MATTNEW WOOD.
To Lieut.-Col. Huke.

Arlington Street, 5th Sept. 4820 Sig. Having seen two letters which have recently been exchanged between yourself and the Lieutenant-Colonel of the Leicestershire Regiment of Militla, I fell it incumbent upon me, as its Colonel, to inform you. that the ouestions but to you by Colonel Hulse were not asked will any view of proceeding against those men whom you night name, as having signed the Address to the Queen, purporting to be from the Privates of that Regiment, I am not aware of any proceedings that could be instituted against them: certainly not, after it had been satisfactorily ascertained, that the two names which it is understood were alone subscribed to the Address were affixed to it, without the knowledge of the men themselves." by individuals not belonging to the corps. An instance of such pulpable fabriention is scarcely on record, and the detection of it was due to the itselted bonour and military character of the regiment; and since it was evident, either that the person to whom the suppor sitions Address was transmittenhauction, 1000ale

ty upon the dishanding of the to different parts of the mield. regiment. I transmit to you the and the orders had been read to

copy of a letter, which, upon that particular point. I have received from my Quarter-master: in which the real circumstances that occurred upon that occasion are fully detailed. It is right that I should add, that ill-designing persons are at this moexertions to entrap some of the privates into a late avowal of their sanction of the Address, in the teeth of the positive disavowal which was fully and decisively given a few days since by 420 privates, to the non-commissioned officers who went round for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the case, and who, from accidental circumstances, were mable to see the remainder of the men, put have the honour, &c.od w (Signed) RUTLAND Col. Luicestershire Regime dt.

To Alderman Wood Larry tu'l lad! Saltao cared have retout level

Leicester, Sept. 3, 1820. My LORD DUKE-I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter of the .1st inst.; and lost no time in seeing the Serjeant-Major, and again ed had been egregiously doped, inquiring from him the particuor that her Majesty, to whom it lars of what took place in the was presented, had been shames drill-field the evening before the fally angiosed upon. Hierat Col. regiment was disbanded. It was Huse stalt chimself culled upon they customy thring the period to afford you the opportunity, of training, for the men to fall which now I again offer of as- in at their companies private sisting in the exposure of the parade; both morning and evening, when they were marched habserve that your letter al- by their respective non-commisludes to the reported shouts of sioned officers to the drift-field? the men in favour of her Majes - mathercompanies had marched

them, when the serjeant-major I have before a stated to called for the serieants to collect their reports; during this time four or five men in plain clothes joined in conversation with some of the grenadiers, and No. 1. company. One of them said, "Come, my lads, give us three cheers for the Queen, and said, now," when two of the grenadiers and one of No. 1. company pulled off their caps and cheered, and not more than eight or nine seemed to take any notice of it. On seeing this, he immediately fell them in, and the townsmen skulked away. Shortly afterwards I arrived, when the serieant-major reported to me what had occurred. I blamed hum for not ascertaining their maaus

and residence, of unitnoting ten Alderman Wood must have been misinformed respecting the serieant-major being sent by the officers to repress the shouts of the men, as there were no officers present. The adjutant and myself only attended the drill, (and he was dining out that day) Colonel Hulse thinking the men would come on much faster under the serjeants, till they became perfect with the firelock. The day the regiment was disbanded there was no parade except by companies to give in their arms and accoutrements at the magazine. I commenced taking them in at six o'clock in the morning, two companies attending every hour till the whole were received. and no men could conduct themselves more properly than they did during the time I was receiving them.

your Grace that the ment word marched from their privates lead rades, morning and oversing to the drill-field undenities see jeants a laturavelneo o speak o the whole regiment assembled in the marke Wplace, Writen with officers of cotine insection tand took post with their contrantes.

The Leicester, Chromiete of this week baving stated a deal more than is true. I have taken the liberty of forwarding one for your Graceis derinals and am very sorry to see that any of our men have beloamed the detroes of a set of designing men, and with the exception of Lilly, Newton. and Brooked, and perhaptione few others right confident the privates hoes Machine 206 Any such thing as no Address sur ! I have the honohe see

DEARTS Quarter-master, L. M.

Leicester, Sept. 3, 1820.

Wee the undersigned noncommissioned officers of the Keicestershire Regiment of Militio. do hereby declare, that, during the late training of the negiment, we never at any time heard of an intention, on the part of the privates, temperent an Address to the Quenny and that, since an Address has been presented to her Minjestynson their behalf, we have som the men resident in Leacester. and the different with action in the county; to the number of 420, all of whom positively disavowed any knowledge of such Address, or that the same was ever seen, heard, or read by

them, or ever gave any sanc- does he forfeit the right of exdeclare, that if an Address had been in contemplation during the training, the same must have come to our knowledge.

Serjeant Majora W. Wheatley. Seriemete... Thee. Johnson, Geo. Highton, J. Hutchin, Geo. Johnson, W. Lewie, J. Jelly. Jo. Dudgeon, Th. Joane, Th. Hoges, J. Hicking bottom, J. Fossett, J. Souires, J. Mackers, J. Low, J. March, R. Babrey. Corporate-H. Nicholson, War. Welton, J. Smalley, T. Sills, W. Elliott, W. Carey, C. Bass, W. Bishop, J. Waldrom, Je. Maffie, N. Cox, J. Wakerley, J. Newton, J. Bradshaw, Ro. Adeock, E. Whittingham. Drum-Major Jo. Gisborne. Drummers J. Norton, Thos. Warden, Wm. Asher, Wm. Newcomb, C. Houghton, W. Hall, J. Brewin.

Brandenburgh-House, Sept. 7.

My Lord,-In answer your letter of the 5th inst., I have first to observe on the extraordinary circumstance that an Address from the privates of a regiment to their lawful and persecuted Queen, should be deemed by their Colonel an insult to the honour of the regi-This idea, if it have ment. no other merri, has at least that of novelty. The soldier does indeed assume the military garb, but in cheerfully performing this part of the duty of a good subject, he does not forfeit his civil rights, much less

tion therete; and we farther creising his judgment, and of. acting agreeably to his feelings as a man.

That the men had a right to express their attachment to her Majesty, and their aborrence of the treatment that she had expefienced, I know full well. I am convinced that the Address contained the real sentiments of this regiment; and I know that it was agreeable to her Majesty to receive the same.

As to the inquiries said to have been made of the men individually, and reported by the Serjeant-major, Adjutant, and Quarter-master, I am too well acquainted with the nature of the powers of such persons Over the men, to pay the smallest attention to such reports, "

The account which you are pleased to give me of designing persons even now engaged to entrap some of the privates into an avowal of the Address, induces me to inform your Loidship that I have this morning recived an Address signed by 300 of the privates, accompanied with a letter, stating that a much larger number have signed it, if they could have obtained the Address at their residence.

By one reflection, however I am consoled, and that is, that the private soldier has at last come to be considered as a being whose feelings and wishes are worthy of attention.

I have the benour to be ka MATTHEW WOOD.

Po his Grace Hie Duke of Authund.

Arlington-etrect, Sept. 9, 1890. Six.—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the With respect to 7th instant. the Address which you state yourself to have received on that day, signed by 300 privates of the Beicestershire regiment of Militia '(which regiment, should be remarked, has been disembodied more than 6 weeks) it is singular that it should have been thought necessary to obtain additional signatures to an Address which three weeks since you published to the world as having proceeded from the whole of the privates of the regiment. If is impossible that a more striking presumption can be afforded to the public of the truth of the charge of gross and infamous imposition and lorgery which attaches to the Address presented by you to her Majesty on the 17th of August, than the facts, that the Address which purports to be from "the Privates of the Leicestershire Regiment' had, according to your own admission, only two names subscribed, and that, except by the two persons whose names were so subscribed, the Address had never been seen or heard of. As to the additional signatures, to which you appear to attach so much importance, I will only transcribe a sentence in the letter which I yesterday received from my Adjutant, dated on the 6th instant:--" I have this morning been informed that an Address to the Queen, with upwards of 200 signatures,

it would be found that many are down who never did belong 16 the regiment, others are affixed with the decided assent of the parties, and some have been obtained by false represents tions." There is nothing in the remaining parts of your letter which appears to me to require any comment or toply. The 's

I have the honour to be. Sir, your obedient humble servant,

(Signed) RUTLAND Colonel Lelcostershire Modistriby, To Alderman Wood.

To the Editor of the Lelegster Chromicle.

Bir,-Perceiving, by the Courier of Monday last, that his Grace the Duke of Rational still labours to have it believed that the Address from the Leicestershire Militia to the Queen was fabricated; and also that Quarter-master Deakin says, " with the exception of Lilly, Newton, and Brooks, and perhaps a few others, the privates knew nothing of the Address," we beg you will allow us to state, that 300 of the privates, having seen. the Address, which was signed by deputy, contradicted by Colonel Hulse, and Quarter-master Deakins, declared they had a full knowledge of it when it was agreed to, and, to prove this, signed their names another copy of the same Address, and wished it to be presented to the Queen for her was yesterday forwarded; but satisfaction. This was accord-I have no doubt, were it possi-lingly done, and since that time ble to see the list of the names, I num ers of privates, who were

out at harvest work, have made application to sign their names also. The Duke of Rutland and the Adjutant further wish it to be believed that the names signed to the Address were not those of men belonging to the regiment. To this point, however, we are ready and willing at any time to make an affidavit, if required; and we have no objection to accompany a non-commissioned officer, to see every man who signed the Address, to prove that the names were not forged. Now, with respect to the men shouting in the field, Quarter-master Deakins asserts that there were only three men who shouted: this Mr. Deakins must know to be void of truth. The fact is, that the men were all marched into the field, and broke up for half an hour as usual, while the drill-serjeants received their orders. This being done, almost all the privates began to buzza for the Queen, which greatly engaged the Serjeant-major, who immediately ordered the drum to beat, to

المروانة أراميا أومان Harry Br Oak

· Keatte auto

fall in, which every man did. The Duke states, that the noncommissioned officers obtained a positive disavowal of the Address from four hundred and twenty of the privates, and that, from accidental circumstances. they were unable to see the remainder. Now we can prove. that in the Loughborough district alone; out of forty-two men, only ten were asked the question; and that at Oadby, Serjeant Jelly and Corporal Smally saw only three out of twelve, though the names of all were set down as disavowing the Address. Conscious of having done our duty to our King. as well as to our Queen, we remain. &c. Thomas Staines, David Brookes, John Cooke, Richard Newton, Wm. Lilley, John Langton, John Atkins, John Wingell, Wm. Peake, Valentine Woolley, James Merrell, James Roote, Jeremiah Wood, Wm. Hodgskin, John Kent, Richard Billings, Thos. Dilkes, Poter Parker, James Johnson, John Mann over ville appraining news - not really setting a not be got about make that but madicated a

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

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A LETTER

370

PARSON CUNNINGHAM,

ON

He insolent Publication rei specing her Majesty, the Queen; and on the Conduct of the Parsons in general.

London, Sept. 27, 1820.

PARSON,

Well as you have been beaboured by others; sound as as been the lashing which they have laid on your reverend shoulders; baited and buffeted as you have been, you must not be suffered to get off yet; you have received temporary chastisement; but it belongs to me to give you such as shall stick by you for life.

It is, for two reasons, necessary to state the history of your insolence and turpitude: first, that all who shall read this Letter may see clearly the grounds upon which it proceeds; and, second, that you may have no occasion to complain of misquoting, or of misrepresenting. I shall, therefore, first of all, insert, at full length, your Letter to Mr. Whitbread. All

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the world will say, that you i" in general, and especially for are unworthy of such particulan notine: but you are one of a barge body which is a principal component part of the System, and it is as a sample of that body that you are deemed worthy of exposure. For the purpose of saving time and space, I shall number your paragraphs from one to the end.

" 1. Sin,—As a freeholder of " the great county which you " represent—as an individual "for whose vote and assistance " in the county you have more " than once been pleased to ex-. press a desire—and as the mi-"nister of a parish bordering "upon that on which you are, "probably, at this moment in-" flicting the puisance of which " this letter is designed to com-" plain; I take the liberty, " however reluctantly, of ad-" dressing it to you.

" ture of regret and indignation, " a placard pasted over many of " ty-and by a committee of " the walls in the neighbour-"hood, announcing that you "tinguished individuals polit-" were to take the chair at a |" cally opposed to those Mini-" meeting Paddington-" green, summoned to collect " and convey the condolence, " sympathy and approbation of "the females of the vicinity to " the Queen, and to take into " consideration the investiga-" tion now pending in Parlia-'" ment.

" 3. Now, Sir, my anxiety for |" jury. "the interests of good morals

"those of my own parish (a " part of which is almost sure " to be drawn within the vor-" tex of this public meeting); " an apprehension of the multi-" plication of such meetings; " and lest other men of charac-" ter should be tempted to pre-" side over them; --- all these " motives constrain me, though " with much pain to my own, " mind, thus to address you.

"4. I wish, then, to take the " liberty of asking, what bene-" fit you conceive likely to be conferred on individuals, or on " the state, on the cause of legitimate freedom or of sound. moruls, by the convention of " such an assembly?

" 5. Consider the plain eir-"cumstances of the case, as it stands at the present mo-" ment.

" 6. The Queen is not indeed "proved to be guilty of aculterous intercourse with her " menial servant! but she is 40-" lemnly charged by the Miris-" ters of the Crown-a body of "2. I have seen, with a mix- "men acquitted even by their " enemies of perjury or cruel-" Peers, including several da-"ters, of crimes of the mos " gross and detestable, patur. " And this charge is supported " by the testimenty of an in-"mense body of witnesses, \$ " yet unconvicted, and, accor-"ing to the persuasion of those " sands of impartial persons, nt " likely to be convicted, of per " 7. What then, I repeat th

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"question, is the good likely to;" their wives or daughters, or " result from such a meeting ! 8. Is it your object to ain-" dicate, the Queen? Surely no "reaseable man will be more "antished of her innocence be-" cause you, with a few gentle-"man who can read and iorite, "and many of both sexes who "abrink-from all such acted "cratical distinctions, think "t proper to assert it in speeches " or shouts upon Paddington-" green.

" 9. Is your object to alarm " the House of Peers into a de-" oision favourable to her Mal ".jesty? But surely, Sir, you "know too much of the high " spirit of your countrymen, and " especially of that noble house, " to believe that they will sar-"render any thing to terror "which they refuse to argu-"ment, or generosity, or hof! alour. "110. Is your object to get rid of the Ministers? But

" what man, in his senses, will " not prefer what is called the "tyranny" of the Ministers---"that is, of men of sense and " honour-to the worst of all ! the land we distant the "Arannies, that of the mob. "\under' where dominion it is " the natural tendency of these " meetings to place us!

""11. Is vour design to gra-"tify the political with which "a line have most of the leaders "cent till he is proved to be " of that body pursued in partia-"mont! Mave they substituted " nueses against the Queen as " slamour for reasoning—treated !" liars, though as yet wheen-"the admitted familiarities of "victed of falsehood; and all "the Queen with her courier as "the ministers of the crown as

" the wives and daughters of "others, to trumpet forth the " praises of a woman who may, "Nwithin a month, do proved to " have violated all the common " decencies of life (' ' ' ' ' ' ' '

4" 12. Finally, is your object, "what i would least of all sus-" pect it to be, the seating your-" self permanently as repre-"sentalive for the county of " Middlesex 6: A seat so won or ": preserved would be neither an Malonour nor requifort to the " winner. Live to hange need

\ .448. But, Siv, if you declare and " abble to vinstruct us in the ad-"contages of such assemblies. " you will perhaps: alfowing " briefly to state some of their "energy of the land the

"14". In the first place: You " are encouraging many, who " plainly need no such encou-"ragement, to insult and tra-"dace your Sovernigh) with a "suborner of perjuted wil-" nesses.

. # 15. In the next place, you 44 are bridging unto contemply he l'highest court of judicalure in

· "16. You are, by hiving light " names 40 gross offences, sap-" ping the very fenndation of " morals: 1...

* 17. Youare, with the maxim " in your mouth, that every you act? But how different 1st man is to be esteemed infin-"guiltant streating all the wil-" hight offence -- called on " base and profligate conspira"tors, though their honour and I'm the King! --- Uncleanliness. ", humanity have never been " let it not be once named among " called into question.

" a model to the females of this " country an individual, of whose " moral purity you cannot but "entertain some doubt : and " whom you would not probably "suffer a mother, daughter, " wife, or sister, to visit. "." 19. You are, inally, che-

"rishing in the minds of many " unthinking and uneducated " persons a spirit of radicalism "-a spirit of which the ele-"ments are the rejection of " Sortpture, and a sontempt of " alk the institutions of your "country; and of which the "result, unless avented by a " merciful Providence, must be " anarohy, atheists, and uni-" versal ruin.

" 20. You, Sir, will not, I " think, be sufficiently ungener-"'ous or unjust to say, in answer " to all this, that I am 'a cler-" gyman, and have nothing to "do with such subjects." But "others may urge this objection. To them, therefore, I " would say, in conclusion, that " this is not a question of mere " politics, but of morals, of de-" cency, and of religion - a ques-"tion involving, in my judg-"ment, all the decenties; vir-"tues, and comforts of public " and domestic life. This brief "letter is, in fact, nothing more " than a practical comment on "the doctrines which, as a " clergyman, I am required, "on the highest authority, to " preach from Sunday to Sun-" day, 'Fear God'- Honour

" you.' The clergy are the con-18. You are holding out as "stituted guardians of mo-". rule' in the sountry; and now, "if ever, they are called upon "to 'stand in the breach,' and " endeavour to 'stay the plague' " of political anarchy and moral " wolletion.- I am, Sir, your " obedient Servant.

... J. W. Ounningham. " Harrow-on-the-Hill, Sept. 14."

The first five paragraphs contain a statement of your metines, or, rather, pretences, for intermeddling upon this occasion: for giving us a specimen (of which we stood in no needly of what a " meddling priest". really can do; and, therefore, upon these paragraphs I shall only observe, that they merely serve to develope, your hypocricy.

In the sixth you enter into matter, and in the very first sentence, you are guilty of two impudent and wilful falschoods. You say, that the Queen is charged " by the Ministers of " the Grown, a body of mon, " acquitted, even by their ene-" mies, of perjury 'or cruelty." What do you mean, Parson? What had the or to do here? However, you mean us to understand, that, even the enemies

them of, " perjury and of crueltu.". As to perjury, it is a specific crime, known to the laws; and, the ministers have not been arraigned for perjury. It is possible that they never may be. At any rate they have not yet been arraigned for perjury; and, therefore, it is a falsehood to say that they have been acquitted of perjury. They have not appeared yet in the character of unitnesses. With perjury they have not been charged; and therefore of perjury they have not been acquitted. This. therefore, is falsehood the first.

. As to cruelty, however, that is another matter. With cruelty they have been charged, and upon many occasions, too. You may not call it cruelty to have prosecuted the Tin-man of Plymouth for tendering Addington money to give the Tin-man a place; to fine and imprison this man; to produce his death and to being his wife and family to beggary; while, in a very short time afterwards, the trafficking is places, when brought home to persons in high life, was wholly passed over, and visited with no sort of punishment! but I call it ctuelty, accompanied them; to cut them off from all

of the Ministers have acquitted with the grossest hypocrisy, and exhibited in its most detestable You may not call it cruforths. elty; a Parson may not call it cruelty, to do any of those things, 'of which Mr. Finnerty, in the name and on the behalf of his injured country, accused Castlereagh, and for accusing him of which Mr. Finnerty was shut up in jail for eighteen months, loaded with the curses of the bad and the blessings of The people of this the good. country will never forget the meritorious conduct of Mr. Finnerty upon that occasion. The. sentence of imprisonment did not remove the charges he had Parson may made. think it cruelty to treat a man as Mr. Finnerty was treated in the jail of Lincoln. A Parson may think it by no means cruel to shut the people of Ireland up in their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; to punish them with transportation for disobedience; and to transport them too without trial by jury. A Parson may not think it cruelty to seize on great numbers of men; to drag them out of their beds by night; to load them with irons; to hurry them away to distant You, may not call this cruelty; jails; to put felons dresses upon

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communication with friends, re-floading with irons, tossing and open all the letters to them and ture in the body of a man who speak to no one, except in the three-score. Upon this being presence of a jailor, and through related in the House of Comtwo grdlings at many feet from mons, Canning made it a subeach other; to keep them in ject of jesting, and, in the course this horrid state for nearly twelve months; and then to turn them out with broken constitutions, without a penny in their pockets, to find their way home to their beggared and starying families; and, all this being arraigned or being suffered to know what crime was laid to their charge or who had been their accusers: even in this series of acts, a Parson may be able to discover nothing partaking of cruelty. RILEY, one of these memorable victims, unable to indure with patience his separation from his family, and all the other sufferings belonging to his situation, put an end to his existence in his dungeon; a thing at which you, I dare say, would chuckle, or, at produced by cruelty! Mr. Og- mane

lations, wives and children; to buffetting about, produced a rupfrom them; to suffer them to had been sound to the age of of his answer to the charge. called the sufferer " the revered " and ruptured Ogden;" at which the House burst into laughter! A Parson will doubtless applaud this brilliant sally, and will think that it was showfor no crime at all, and without ing great mercy to Mr. Ogden: not to trample all the bowels out of his body. A Parson may think, and will doubtless say, that there has been no cruckt. committed on the excellent, public-spirited, and enlightened people of Cheshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Paisley and Glasgow. The employment of Oliver, the attempt made through the instrumentality of Castles, a Parson may think by no means cruel: The sixteenth of August exhibited no cruelties to the eyes of a Parson. In a Parson's even least, would be ready to swear the Oldham Inquest would, that the catastrophe was not doubtless, appear a most huand just proceeding. DEN, a very old and very wor- Equally visible would the hathy man, was amongst these manity of the Ministers appear victims. Dragging from his home, to a Parson in the applaume

gistrates and Yeomanry of Man-presided at a meeting, the obchester, and in the rewarding of ject of which was to agree on Parson HAY, one of those Ma- the means of promoting a pargistrates, by giving him the liamentary reform; at which living of Rochdale, worth twen-meeting neither riot nor breach ty-five hundred pounds a-year; of peace was committed by the and which gift is the more strik- people, the like of which meeting, as it must have proceeded ing had been held without inimmediately from the wish or terruption in an infinite number concurrence of the Archbishop of places for ages past, and, of Canterbury himself, the living being in that Archbishop's of August, pretended by any gift! It is curious enough, that human being to be an unlawful. in this most signal manner, the meeting! Two years and a church gave its sanction to those half, a Parson will say, were sinmemorable proceedings! Parson will say that it was sin- towards Cheshire and congragularly humane in the Ministers, tulate that county upon having the Magistrates and the Yeo- from the Quarter Sessions; to time to prosecute a considerable charged all at once, of selling law and before special juries: LEY, for suffering just indigna-The sequel a Parson will think tion to boil over; as to the trimore humane than all the rest: ple sentence on Mr. HARRISON, Mr. JOHNSTONE and Mr. BAM- by BAILEY, amounting, I. bemore than a hundred miles from or four years imprisonment in their homes; and a Parson will jail, these a Parson will think swear that there was not the criminally lenient; but I do shutting up Mr. Hunt for two Mr. BRUCE, even after he was

given by Sidmouth to the Ma- | years and a half, for having was never, until the sixteenth A gularly lenient, and he will turn while they were applauding seen a poor man sent to jailmanry, to refuse all inquiry into remain in jail four years and a their conduct; and at the same half for two or three offences number of the injured parties cheap publications! As to the with all the weight of crown sentence on Sir CHAS. WOLSEnamely, the imprisonment of pronounced by WARKEN and FORD, for twelve months, at lieve, to three years and a half smallest degree of cruelty in think that the transportation of

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had been found guilty; I do think that this, together with the cool, the studied, the long contrived affair in which Edwards was employed, and which ended in the bloody work, performed by a masked executioner with a long and sharp knife in the Old Bailey; I do think that these may satisfy even a Parson; nay, I do think they may satisfy even you!

Parson will approve, of course, of a thousand, or, perhaps, ten thousand other acts, which I could call forth from the resources of my own memory, especially if I were to go back to the deeds of Pitt and his associates; but there is no doubt that a Parson will have discovered no cruelty in any part of the treatment of her Majesty, the Queen; no cruelty when, upon the death of her own father, the first conspiracy against her was set on foot; no cruelty in prevailing upon her to suppress the exposure of that conspiracy; no cruelty in loading her with insults the moment her only friend and protector was deprived of his capacity to yield her protection; no cruelty in

acknowledged to be wholly in- her child from her; no cruelty nocent of the crime of which he in the not ordering of a Court mourning for her brother, who lost his life in gallantly fighting for England: no cruelty in setting on foot a new persecution against her, the moment the breath had left the body of no cruelty her daughter; in publishing the superscription placed upon the coffin of her child, and while the father grand - father's names and were there, omitting the name of the mother; no cruelty in causing her to be hunted by Ompteda and others, who caused her to be insulted whereever she was to be found; no cruelty in the tendered bribe and insolent of Hutchinson; cruelty in any of the subsequent acts; no cruelty at all in silently permitting detestable ruffians to compare her to a street-walking strumpet, and to insist that if she cannot be destroyed as a criminal, she ought to be sacrificed as Oh! no! a Parson a martyr, can see no cruelty in the bringing down of green bags; in abserting that those green bags contained heavy charges; in raferring the contents to a secret committee with the Archbishop of Canterbury at it's head; in tearing her from her child, and laying the report of that com-

mittee, full of odious charges jesty to wait another three against the Queen, before the House; in bringing in a Bill of Pains and Penalties charging her with the foulest of crimes, and in sending these documents all over the world three months before any opportunity was to be afforded her of disproving the charges! A Parson will see no cruelty in refusing her a list of witnesses, in refusing her a list of places; in keeping her as much as possible in the dark and taking her by surprise, after her enemies had had whole years to mature their preparations and insure the means of her destruction. A Parson will see no cruelty in the opening speech of the Attorney General, laboured and studied as it was; the result as it was, of the coolest deliberation; no cruelty in it, though containing the foulest accusations, made in the most artful manner, and though it must have been known at the time, what has since proved to be the case, that, there, was not even evidence to, be brought from Cotton Garden to support the foulest of these eccusations. A Parson will see no cruelty in this per in the summing-up of the that their enemiss should access Solicitor General; nor in the them of emelty; may, even that necessity imposed upon her Ma- is not necessary: it is only he-

weeks before she could possibly enter upon her defence. this is, I dare say, right in the eyes of a Parson; who can see no cruelty in any of the things which I have mentioned above; and who would see no cruelty in any of those other things which I could mention; but barely to mention which would require, instead of a banishmentlaw pamphlet, a twenty shilling volume.

Now, Parson, if your head should awim a little (as mine really does) from this enumeration, stop a little; take a turn in the pleasant garden that the public finds you, and then listen to me with attention.

in all the acts that I have mentioned above; take them all together even, you may my there is no cruelty. Nay, it is possible that there may be no cruelty. But, and now mark me, Parson, the "enemies" of the ministers accuse them of cruelty. Mind that, Parson; in order to convict you of false bood, it is not necessary that the ministers should have been guilty of ernelty: it is only necessary

not acquitted them of cruelty. appearances. As to politically op-It is notorious that many persons posed, what does it mean? Does notorious that her Majesty is regard to the Queen? Or does incessantly charging them with it mean that they are seated opcruelty, in which charges she posite each other in the House? contained against the ministers this point is, and to show how in the Addresses presented to false and treacherous your re-Tace of all this, you have the im- politically opposed Lords! I pudence to assert; you have the will tell you, Parson: Lansaudacity to put forth, and that, down, Buckingham, Ellenbotoo, under the garb of sanctity, rough, and, (keep a serious face, "the flagitious falsehood, that the Parson) Lauderdale! These are ministers are "a body of men the Lords, are they, who are pota acquitted of cruelly even by litically opposed to the minis-"di their enemies," There is one ters! Did you ever read the text of Scripture, Parson, which Peep at the Peers, Parson! But, you seem to have forgotten: the less one says upon such a Lying lips are an abomina- matter, the greater is one's pru-"tion to the Lord." Bear this dence. The public know very in mind, and you will not again well how to estimate the politisay, that even the enemies of cal opposition of these Lords; "the ministers acquit them of cru- and so do you, too; but, you

tito cause Talschood to be be guise that you were drawing

cessary that their enemies have tion; but is a little covered by charge them with cruelty; it is it mean opposed to them with only echoes back the charges However, the best way to settle her by the people. And, in the presentation is, who are these Thought that the public did not Proceeding on with your sixth know how to make the estimate: 'paragraph, you assert, in order you thought that the little dis-" Reved, that the charges against over the matter would assist in - the Queen were made by a com- effecting your malignant and mittee of Peers, "including se-selfish purpose. Your words, " veral distinguished individuals, like the jesuit's creed, admit of a · * politically opposed to the mi- construction that would inske "his is a sheer false- their meaning true; but, if we shood as to meaning and inten- take in the context you are here

again guilty of an intentional [" be consicted, of perjury." By falsehood. Your object is to cause it to be believed that the committee was promiscuously taken, and composed of men, amongst whom opposition existed as to other matters; but, if truth had been your object, if justice and not injustice had been what you were seeking. you would have said, that, though this committee was not wholly and entirely composed of the ministers, it was composed of men, every one of whom had been nominated, selected, chosen, picked out, by those Ministers! And, therefore, the representation which you give was false. It is a falsehood, Parson, which you have uttered here: and a falsehood, too, having an evil intention in view, which, as tou well know, constitutes one of those crimes to which Christ himself has awarded everlasting punishment.

Going on still with this sixth paragraph, which is a perfect constellation of falsehoods and misrepresentations, you say that the charge is supported by the testimony of an immense body of witnesses, "as yet uncon-"victed, and, according to the

the word impartial, we clearly understand that you are one of these persons; but Parson, shuffling Parson, why make use of the word convicted? why make use of the word convicted, Parson ? There has been no trial of them yet for perjury; they may never be tried for perjury; if tried for perjury, it might be impossible to convict them, and yet, we may, the moment they have done swearing, safely say that we will not believe a word that they have said. According to your doctrine, Parson, a jury must always believe what a witness swears; must act upon it; must continue to believe it, until that witness be convicted of perjury: they must hang the innocent man first and leave the witness to suffer for perjury afterwards! How you would sweep us off, Parson! Accord ing to your doctrine, we are to believe every thing that is sworn by any villain upon earth, until the said villain be actually convicted of perjury. According to you, CASTLES ought to have been believed; for, not only was he not convicted of perjury, but he was never tried for per-" persuasion of thousands of im- jury. And yet he was not be-" partial persons, not likely to lieved. His swearing passed for

nothing, though it was full as I might suffer this to pass with purposes, a lie.

ninth paragraphs contain empty thrusted up against your nose if flippancy, unworthy of serious the thing was worthy of the notice. Yet, there is one sen- trouble. Never have I seek a tence in them upon which I document come out of their scribe the persons met to ad- facts, we expect, of course; that, and where you (wittily, as you soning and false grammar. In imagine) observe that they my Grammar of the English " cratical distinctions;" learning belongs peculiarly to specimen (at page 173) of "er-

positive as that of BARBARA merely observing, that it is at KRANTZ, or of any other of the once, insolent and take; but I tenants of Cotton Garden .- will not. In the first place, I Therefore, this is a mere shuffle insist on it, that, taken as a on your part; a mere evasion; mass, the Privileged Orders are but it aims at the producing of the most ignorant part of this a false impression in the minds community, not excepting even of your readers; it's intention the country labourers themis to deceive and mislead, and selves. I next insist, that, as to this too, for the purpose of pro- literary learning, the persons ducing an injurious effect with chosen from amongst the rest of regard to her Majesty, the the privileged classes to con-Queen; and this, according to duct the affairs of the country. all the principles laid down by are, amongst men having any moral philosophers, and by di- pretensions to literature. the vines, too, is, to all intents and most illiterate in the country. Ten thousand proofs of the trith Your seventh, eighth, and of this might be produced, and shall make a remark or two. I hands, not exhibiting faults both allude to the part where you de- in Grammar and in Logic. Palse dress the Queen as being in ge- it is sheer want of literary knowneral unable to read and write; ledge that produces false rea-" shrink from all such aristo- language, for the use of soldiers as and sailors, apprentices and much as to say that literary plough boys, I have given a the privileged orders, to the "rors and nonsense in a King's high blooded race, to the Peers, " Speech." Surely if there their families, and the Parsons. were any literary knowledge

whites we should find some traces of it in a King's Speech; or, at any rate, we should find some one correct speech, in "the course of years; and yet, - Leolemnly declare, 'that' I have never vet seen one of those compositions; which did not abound even in vulgar errors.

"In order to satisfy my readers "that these americans of mine are not without foundation. I will here quote a passage from the last speech delivered from the Throne. This was the King's ineterration speech; this was the Speech uttered at the begibning of a reign. This was a me from having a little sport document, which ought to have been distinguished by every thing calculated to inspire respect, veneration, and confidence. Instead of this, the mat- here is, in the use of the word ter of the Speech was bad; the drangement of it confused; the blanguage of it-undignified; the reasoning in it not only incon-"clusive, but ridiculous; and, as to the Grammar, it will suffice to take the concluding sentence. : " Ferust that an awakened sense and palpable enough; as if it " seduce them, will bring back the verb have to the very same a:by far? the greater part of nominative. So here we have,

possessed by the Aristocratical to those who have been unhan-" pily led astray, and will re-" vive in them that spirit of lov-"alty, that due submission to " the laws, and that attachment " to the Constitution, which " SUBSISTS unabated in the " hearts of the great body of "the people, and which, under "the blessing of Divine Provi-" dence, HAVE secured to the "British nation the enjoyment "lof a larger share of practical "freedom; as well as of prop-" perity and happiness, than " have fallen to the lot of any " nation in the world."

Want of room will prevent with the nonsense about awaken. ed sense of dangers and of arts. and about the powers ascribed to this awakened sense; but subsists, an instance of gross, flagrant, and vulgar Grammatical error. The spirit of loyalty, the due submission, and the attachment required, of course, subsist, and not subsists. And, as if this error were not gross " of the dangers which they would not be sufficiently visible " have incurred, and of the arts to all eyes, the writers of this "which have been employed to precious document must apply

a thing which subsists and "hearts of the great body of which have secured! Can any thing be more gross than this? Say not that the Ministers were cureless: That would be a scandalous apology, even if it were true. They knew no better. "They are illiterate, ignorant men. And, in order to prove that it . was not carelessness; and that the whole mass of the high blooded race are alike illite rate, let us now take that part of the answer which the Commons gave to this Speech, which part is an echo to the sentence above quoted; and we shall find the most ridiculous exhibition of dunder-headed ignorance that ever was put upon paper. It is in the following words: "We concur most heart-"ily in the benevolent wish," "expressed by your Majesty, " that an awakened sense of the " dangers which the, have in-"curred, and of the arts which " have been employed to seduce "them, WILL bring back the " far greater proportion of those " who have been unhappily led " astray, and WILL revive in "them that spirit of loyalty. " that due submission to the " are confident SUBSISTS in the was the nominative; and so it

" the people, which, under the " blessing of Divine Providence. " HAS secured to the British na-" tion the enjoyment of a larger " share of practical freedom, as " well as of prosperity and hap-" piness, than HAS fallen to the " lot of any nation in the world." Here is a mass of stupidity! This is trash, indeed! The learned and faithful Commons, with their Speaker and the Ministers at their head, did make shift to see that subsists and have, both referring to the same nominative. could not be right. They, therefore, took out the King's have and put has in its place; thus, shewing, at one and the same time, that the King's grammar was bad, but that they whew how to make it worse! They outdid the tinkers here. for they made two holes, without mending any one. But, this was not enough. They must tinker again at the very last member of the sentence, where they take out the have of the King and put in a has. One or the other must be false grammar; but, as it happens, the King was, in this case, correct. The "laws, and that attachment to faithful Commons thought that "the Constitution, which we share, which is a singular noun,

was; but there were two shares; | them with the addresses to her mamely; a share of freedom, and a share of prosperity and happiness. Se that, the King was right and the tipkers were wrong. But, even here we are not to step: The King says, "I trust," that is to say, I confidently expeck, that an awakened sense will revive and will bring back. Now, the faithful Commons, in the first place, concur, as they say, in the "benevolent wish" of the King. He had expressed no wish at all. He trusted. And his language was correct, when Be said that I trust that such a Wing will produce anch. thing; but the faithful Commons, by introducing the word with, and retaining the word will distead of using the word may. 'make illiterate and vulgar trash of the very foundation of this conclusion of their address; for, what would the public say of -was, if I were to say, "I wish " that Parson Cunningham will become a man of sincerity.* Inshort, look at the two pas-. sages, Parson: then compare

* To disarm cavil, I state, that I have

Majesty from the Soldiers of the Leicestershire Militia: and from the labouring classes of Manchester: make this comparison, Parson; and then say, whether you be not an impudent and ignorant fellow yourself, in having ascribed the possession of literary learning exclusively to the aristocratical There is great baseness orders. in this besides, knowing, as you must, that you sprang immediately from a hosier, who began life in the capacity of a footman. You are guilty here of what GOLDSMITH calls " a base " abandonment of one's own " superiority." It is the incense administered by mean men of talents, that produces, the empty pride and the intelerable insolence of the pessessors of wealth and power, and that contributes, more than any thing else, to perpetuate corruption and oppression.

Your tenth paragraph, which you call the Ministers men of sense and honour, and in which you abuse the people. is already answered. We have seen how far the Ministers are men of sense and honour; but, when you talk of the mob, and of their dominion being the

not copied those passages from newspaper reports of the Speech and Ada dress; but, from the Records, printed by Order of the Paithful Commons.

men born in this country, can Ministers have be more illiterate; can possess And how different would his · less literary talent than the preers: whether you think it posnible that any set of rulers could gave him in less than eight and have plunged the nation into onlamities than those which now etare us in the face in every tion: whether any set of rulers secuid kave done more than drive hundreds and thousands of astisans from the country to carry their ingenuity and indestry to enrich and strengthen trival nations; and whether any ect of rulers could possibly have acted a more unmaply, ungene-· rous: a more wicked or a more foolish part, than our present · rulers have acted with regard to her Majesty, the Queen? The end of the present struggle, no man can foresee. But what is the present situation of him, you praise the leaders of the whom it is our wish as well as Whige and, by your praising

merat of turancies, we may deavour to uphold in splendour just ask you whether you think and in honour? What is the it possible for any government, situation, in which the council or set of rulers, composed of and instrumentality of these placed him? Majesty's situation have been sent Ministers and their support- if he had followed that advice, which L a back-bone radical. forty hours after he became more afflicting and disgraceful King? If that advice had been followed, His Majesty would at this moment have felt its part of this kingdom; whether salutary effects; and some such any set of rulers could have pro- advice he would have followed. duced a greater debt, more if he had been surrounded by exinding taxation, a greater some of those men, whom you ... mass of rain, misery and starva- have the audacity to stigmetize as meb. This is the season for reflection with his Majesty: and if he coolly reflect, and follow the bias of his own mind. uninfluenced by the whispering and the calumnies of base and corrupt men, we may all yet be saved from that horrid precipiee. to the very verge of which these Ministers and their numerous supporters, who are the objects of your adoration, have brought both their Sovereign and his people.

In the eleventh paragraph, our duty, to uphold, and to en- them, we should discover that

Queen, if we had not clearly Whitbread. seen the fact long and long enough ago. There is nobody a mere specimen of impudences but downright fools, who are and flippency; and in the four descrived by that miserable teenth you return to your old rump of faction. We see what practice of uttering falselicoding a double game they are playing; the most impudent manner, and and we laugh at their vain at- in inviting an exposure of those Compts to get into power by whom it is your object to shells assisting iń Queen. They are powerless; Mr. Whitbread with encouraginal they are contemptible; nobody but fools think any more about suborner of perjured witheres! them. But, in this same para- Where is your authority for this? graph, you say, that there are. "admitted familiarities" of the Queen with Bergami. This is another falsehood; shother It has been said, indeed, and criminal falsehood. You mean very truly said, that the Dones indecent familiarities: familiari- lases, though acknowledged by fies indicating a criminal inter- the Ministers to have been percourse; and it is a falsehood to jured, were not presecuted for say, that any body admits of perjury. It has been said, insthese; because, when we talk deed, that the perjured with of admitting, it means that the nesses of 1806, have pensions, opponents of the accusers make which, if true, is a most horthe admission; and this is a rible fact; a fact which has been falsehood; for we, who defend repeatedly stated in print, and the Queen, make no such ad- which remains, as yet, without mission. Take, therefore, this contradiction. And, this I know inischood and answer for it as well, and pledge myself for the you can.

expressive of your own cha- the two Douglases, who swore racter by the motive, the against the Queen in 1806, had

they were shomies of the tive which you impute to him.

The thirteenth paragraph is sacrificing the ter and defend. You character others to insult the King, as a In what instance has the House been charged with the suborned ation of perjured witnesses? truth of the fact, that Sir John The twelfth paragraph is Douglas; that is to say, one of mean and base and corrupt mo- a Pension at the time of his

try regretted, in 1818, that the forms of law rendered it difficult for them to prosecute this Bouglas for periury, they did nat take away his pension!-Mark me, too, Parson, that his was not a pension for life; but a pension held during the King's pleasure! The Prince Regent became King, in fact, as far as power, and pleasure went, in 1812. The Ministers; this same set of Ministers, came into power in 1907; and yet Sir John Douglas; though they said he had been guilty of perjury; though they said that they lamented that they could not punish him; this same Sir John Douglas enjoyed his pension to the end of his life; though that pension was held during: pleasure; and though he did not die !'till, I believe, within these two or three years. At-any rate, I pledge myself that he enjoyed his pension for many years after the Ministers had received proof of his perjury against the then Princess of Wales.

Therefore, Parson, you might as well have left this subject

awearing; and, now mark me, jured witnesses, there are many Parson, that, though the Minis people who do suspect that witnesses have been suborned; and there are many more who have lately pricked up their ears at hearing from the mouth of Castlereagh himself that 'the secret service money had been employed in Italy by the means of the Milan Commission. lence, then, Parson: say no more about subornation: leave us to draw our own conclusions from the above facts; from the high wages given to the master and his mate; from the splendid mode of living, and from the confessions contained in the letter of a chambermaid transformed into a Countess; from the enormous allowance to Barbara Krantz; from the respectable. figure, change of name, and residence in a Parson's house, of Count Milani, vulgarly called Sacchini; from Theodore Majocci's confessions as to his Visit at the great house in Pall Mall, and as to the gold, which, in such unaccountable quantities, he exhibited before the eyes of his companion. Say not another word about subornation, Parson: but leave us to draw from these alone; for, though nobody ac- facts such conclusions as are cuses or suspects his Majesty to pointed out by nothing more have been a suborner of per-than plain common sense, only

a very moderate quantity even you take into your mouth, and of which is required for the express, with a little spice of false purpose.

Grammar, the maxim, that every

Your fifteenth paragraph complains, that Mr. Whitbread is bringing into contempt the highest Court of judicature in the land! Stupid Parson! In the House of Lords it has been said. many and many times over, that the House has brought itself into contempt. In the House of Commons, a Member stated in his place, and he stated it without receiving a word of contradiction, that he had every day of the trial been in the House of Lords, that he had noted down the most prominent ciroumstances in the proceedings, and that he had repeatedly heard Members of that highest Court of judicature in the land, CHEERING THE WIT-NESSES, when giving evidence against her Majesty the Queen. After this, the efforts which you have been pleased to ascribe to Mr. Whitbread, if that gentleman have made such efforts, must have been perfectly gratuitous; but, however useless they may have been, as well as uncalled for, it is very certain that they could furnish no reasonable ground of complaint.

In your seventh paragraph,

express, with a little spice of false Grammar, the maxim, that every one is to be presumed innocent until proved to be guilty. We shall see presently how this maxim applies to the purpose for which you have brought it forward. But first, since you have put it in our way, let us see how it applies to the conduct of those whom you have the impudence to applaud. They sent a threat to the Queen; they menaced. her with prosecution if she dared to set her foot on these shores: they omitted her name in the Liturgy; they omitted her name in the superscription on the coffin of her child; they refused her a yacht, and refused her a Palace. All these acts, and many, many others; all these acts of pre-judgment and precondemnation, did they do against the Queen; and you will observe, Parson, that not only was her Majesty not then proved to be guilty; but even you yourself expressly say, in this same letter, that she is not even yet proved to be guilty!

You see, therefore, Parson, that maxims are two-edged tools, and require to be used by none but those who are actuated

iniustice exercised towards her Majesty: but it amplies not at all, in the case to which you wish it to apply. You say that Mr. Whitbread treats all the witnesses against the Queen as perjured liars, "though, as yet, " unconnicted of falsehood."-M's curious to see your Parsonlike manner of shuffling your words, as cheating gamesters are said to shuffle cards, substituting, by legerdemain, one card The maxim says, for another. that men are to be deemed innocent 'till proved to be guilty. You perceive that these liars have proved themselves to be guilty of falsebood; and, therefore, in your application of the maxim, you shuffle out proved, and whip in convicted! This, while it shows nothing in fayour of the witnesses, while it shows not at all, that the maxim applies to them, most amply disyour insincerity, and your firm internal belief that they verily are those perjured liars, which you complain of Mr. Whitbread for calling them.

But, there is another member

by sincerity and have truth in I" Ministers of the Crown as base, view. The maxim applies ad- "and profligate conspirators, mirably well in illustrating the " though their honour and hu-" manitu have NEVER. BEEN " CALLED: IN QUESTION!" I can go no further. I have wished to avoid it, though addressing myself to:a Parson,; but I must now call you the most impudentliar that ever opened a pair of: lips! What! Has the honour, has; the humanity, of Castlepongh, Sidmouth, Canning, Liverpool, and the rest, never been called in question ! You, Person, will... doubtless, say that it ought not: to be called in question. You, will say, that their bonour inbright as the meridian sun :. that their humanity is soft as language of doves and: the sweet as the balm of Gilead itself; you will say that their power has been exercised in the most merciful, most sparing, most gentle, most feeling, manner; and that their sinconty. their openness, their scern of all disguise, their abhorrence of low dirty under-hand moans; will become preverbial to altertimes. But, as to the last; to the assertion that their hononr and humanity have never been called in question, from of this sentence; and in it you the utterer of such a lie, Good say, that Mr. Whitbread treats the Lord deliver us! You must have

open; for, can you open a news- and universal ruin. most impudent and profligate assertions that ever was made by mortal man.

contains an impudent asseran assertion like this.

contains a charge against the Radicals, who, you say, reject

been sinning here with your eyes | rally tend to anarchy, atherem; paper; can you hear a man ruin, it is now universal, exopen his mouth; can you read cept amongst those who live out a speech at any meeting, or in the tythes and taxes; and, therethe Parliament; can you read fore, all that the Radicals could an Address to the Queen; can possibly do in this way, would you read any one answer of her be to make the ruin fall on ail Majesty to any of the numerous alike fairly. Anarchy is only addresses, without knowing that another word for an absence of the honour and humanity of the a fair administration of ins-Ministers are called in question? tice. The worst sort of anar-You cannot; and therefore, this chy is that which protects the assertion of yours is one of the few, and leaves the many to be scourged and pillaged at the will of those few. When ther we at present taste of Your eighteenth paragraph anarchy, or not, I shall not is simply an effort of jesui-take upon me to determine. tical hypocrisy, except that it But, without yielding my right to say more of this matter andtion on your part, that Mr. ther time, let me ask you, which WHITEREAD " must entertain of the Devil's imps it was that: " some question of the Queon's urged you on to ascribe atheis-" purity." If Mr. WHITBREAD lical principles to the Radicals ? think as the public in general Where do you find a proof of think, he entertains no such it? Who amongst the Radicals question; but I confess that no has attempted to inculcate atheanswer, other than horsewhip ism? You are a great man for or broomstick, is appropriate to producing proofs; but here you abandon the maxim, that men-The nineteenth parag. aph are not to be pronounced guilty without proof; a maxim which you were so eagen to twist into the Scriptures and contemn all an application in favour of the the institutions of the country; gentlemen and ladies of Cotand that their endeavours natu- ton-garden. Where do you find

what you say they are; and on some future occasion. why do you not attend to the children, and " here your the doctrines that you are com-" tengue from laing and slan-" dering?" What right have not, after this, that we shall be before the words " fear God," nice in speaking of the body to stand. wicked and insolent

You say that this is not a questhis influences conspiracy. But King and even of fearing God. how mothin and teligion can warrant you in endeavouring to tien to henous the King is your give countenance to these dia- base undeavours to disheseur bolical precedings, let us hope his Consort; whether you thow

the preof of the Radicals being that you will endeavour to show

You say that you have here precept which you give to the given us a practical comment on manded, on the highest attherity, to toach from Sunday to you to bring charges against Sunday. These doctrines are, us, without supporting these "fear God, honour the King, thanges with proof? Expect name not undeatness." Inst in the Scriptures, which you belong. Priests have " love the brotherhood." Those always been moddling; but it you tmit, I see, as making no in seldens that even they have part of the doctrines that you meddled in a way to extremely teach. To have insurted them would have puzzled you; for Your last paragraph begins they do not steam the Ministers. with a sort of saving prevision, the Tax-esters, the Parsons. which was not necessary, under Edwards, Oliver, Castles, the any circumstances, and particu- Milan Commission, and the inhisly under the present circum- hebitants of Cotton-garden: no: stances, if you had some for they mean the People at large? ward as the friend, and not as and yet would have found it not the enemy of the oppressed to suit your purpose, to tell us, that the " highest truthority" sion of more politics; but a ques- commanded you to love those tion of morels and of religion. whom you had just been citling Very true; for morality and Mon and ATHEISTS. You sliptrue religion calls upon us all pad out of this difficulty by to wet our those against this omitting a precept, which takes distinctly personation, this foul, precedence of honouring the

Whether you show a disposi-

your feat of God by exhibiting and girls of England, and no vourself arrayed in arrogance, dearly paid for by the sweet of insolence, hypocrist, and false- the brows of their fathers with propriate commentary on the this commentary should remain doctifines which you teach from anintelligible, one of the Bi-Sunday to Sanday, at Harrow shops is reported to have the on the Hill. I shall leave the rected the translation of a very pairlie to ludge; but the people ticklish part of the evidence of of Patrow on the Hill will cer- mistress Barbara Krantz, The tabily want no commentary Bishop, doubtless, in Viluette on the precept, which, from forth a loss and detailed deserte-Studies to Sunday, you teach tion in good plain English of against the "not once naming what Mrs." Barbara ewore she thanks to that noble House the object down upon parter. which is the object of your and so bringing it befold the praise; thanks to that highest eyes of our boys and girls almost and thanks particularly to the of Mrs. Barbara herself; In Bishops, the commentary on taking this uncommon talks, that procept; the commentary the Right Reverend Futher th circulated by the Ministers and dians of morals"! ?! by the House of Lords, in the Report of the Secret Committee, Parson, through the whole is in the Bill of Pains and Penal- your letter. Profiting from your ties, and in that mass of filthis example as a thing to shim, I. ness and falsehood, the opening have used no falsehood, no misspeech of the Attorney-General; representation, no deand also in the evidence drawn ception; no shuffling. from Cotton-garden, after being met you at every point, and I imported from Italy expressly should be very willing to leave for the instruction of the boys your own congregation to judge

hood! Whether such be an ap- mothers. And, lest any whiteful of uncleanities amongstithem," the win the bed, and in posting Court of fidicature in the fand; as plain as it lay before the eves on the precept not even to God, was, beyond all question, minie uncleanness; this com- actuated by the consideration, ment has been most amply ex- that the clergy are, as you aiemplified and most extensively sert, the "the constituted guar-

I have thus followed with.

other word on the subject; but, gallant woman in the world. Parson, as you stand forward in the mame of the whole body te which you belong. I think proper to add a few remarks with regard to the conduct of that body generally.

struggle in the country, which straigle fills every body with some degree of alarm; and of which struggle even the friends lament the existence. This struggle owes its origin entirely to the Church! Mark that, Parmen. The beginning of the Many was the leaving of her Majusty's name out of the Lisurey. Had it not been for this step, all might have been avoided; but when this step had lity resting on its head. once been taken, the struggle occusity. At was a mark of diswas an open challenge given to tained. It was the grossest indignity

between us, without saying an- fered to the bravest and most

When this act had once been committed, there was no retreat without disgrace. Disgrace must fall upon somebody: upon the advisers of this indicamity, or upon the Queen her-In the first place, the present self; and her Majesty bravely resolved to risk fortune and life rather than suffer the diagrace to remain upon her. The consequences of that resolution we of the Ministers themselves now have, in part, before us; the remaining consequences we have yet to witness ... What those consequences may be, it would be temerity to attend even to guess at; but be they what they may, I again cay; that the Church will have the prime part of the responsibi-

Before her Majesty's name became matter of absolute new could have been left out of the Liturgy, there must have been henour imprinted on the charac- a consultation with the Bishops. ter of the Queen. It was an or with a part of them, at least. open accusation made against At any rate, the Archbishop of her. It was an indelible record Canterbury must have been of infamy upon her head. It consulted, and his assent ob-This was a matter every drop of blood in her veins. which peculiarly belonged to him. He is a known friend of the Ministers. His family has and insult ever offered to any enormous power. His cousin busiant being ; and it-was of- in a Duke, his brother Lord.

Speaker of the House of Commone. This was, I say, a matter which peculiarly belonged to him. The law was clear as daylight against the omission of the name; and if he had made a representation to the King against the omission, is there a man in England who can possibly believe that the omission would ever have taken place!

Therefore, the whole of the mischief is traced back directly this origin. All the former proceedings; the Spies, the Miha Commission; and all the subsequent proceedings, up to the opening of the Green Bags, trould easily have been obliterated from people's minds. But this omission in the Liturgy was not to be gotten rid of. was a stigma not to be endured. It was an act of injustice too glaring to be retracted. Even now, it is this omission in the Liturgy that forms the insuperable har to accommodation. cannot be submitted to by the Queen without everlasting disgrace; and it cannot be retracted without disgrace and inflemy on those who advised it, for their subsequent acts.

Thus is it as clear as day light lotted to him. Lord Palmerston

Chanceller of Ireland, his son that the Church has been the original cause of every thing that now fills you with dread. Comfort yourself, therefore, as well as you can. But, keep your slanders on the Queen and. on her friends within your lips. You have rendered no service to the cause of the Queen's persecutors; and have only done mischief to the order to which von belong. Priests have. in all ages, been the fast friends of political injustice and oppression. Why this is so, would admit of an easy explanation. Thex have generally profitted from their labours; but, in the present case, it appears clear to mo that, if they mean to insure their destruction; if they mean to leave themselves without a gleam of hope, they cannot do better than to imitate you in putting forth, by tongue as well as pen, viperous slanders and impudent falsehoods.

WM. COBBETT.

DIVERS SUBJECTS.

THE LETTER TO LORD PAL-MERSTON must come into my pext Register. Parson Cunning and without punishment, too, had lies occupied more of my room than I had, in my mind, al-

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deserves good notice, and he Commonwealth, far exceeding son without his full dose. attention, and Lord Palmerston invites us to discussion.

CITY OF LONDON.

'This great City is a little kingdom in itself; and, as it has great weight, from its name and feputation, it requires to be looked into a little. It has a chief Magistrate; a species of nobles, an upper and lower House; and it has also its places, sinecures, pensions, and grants. It has its Exchequer and almost every thing else appertaining to an independent Government. Its revenues far exceed those of the Republic of New York, which contains pretty nearly two millions of people, and the taxes to maintain the whole of the Go-

shall have it; but I could not in riches and resources the kingbridg myself to send off the Par- dom of Hanover; the whole of The this Government is maintained affairs of the Soldiers merit great at an expense far less in total amount than the public revenues, of the single City of London 1 Therefore, this is a thing worthy. of attention; and, as I have heard a little about the manner in which this revenue is disposed of, I shall, as occasion serves, look a little closely at the sebject. The gentlemen who compose the City of London Parliament, are not, I am told, wholly deaf to the admonitions of selfinterest, nor wholly blind to the great merits of their own relations, any more than the Mombers of another Legislative Assembly, which must be named with caution lest we get laid by the heels or be banished. When the good people in the country are looking up to the Patriots in vernment of which, consisting of the Common Council, little do a Governor, a Council of State, they imagine that certain lines a Senate, a House of Assembly, of conduct are made to square Judges of a Supreme Court, with the obtaining of a post for Judges of inferior Courts, Law a son in the Court of Requests, Officers in abundance, (for even for instance; and that, when we one is too many) officers of Mi- are surprized at the want of harlitin, and all the other officers and mony between the Patriots, it persons appertaining to an in-should arise from a struggle for dependent Government; the such a place as this between the whole of the Government of this som of one, and the son-in-lew

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am not without hope of getting a Peop into those documents which with show us how this sevenue is expended; for, it is a shocking thing that the good people in the country should be humbugged with the notion that all is purity, where corruption is, I verily believe, as rank as in any community in the world. In the mean while, let not the country be deceived. The Court of Alderman and the Common Council and by no means patterms of parity; and their donisides, upon any occesion, are by no means to be looked up to as the criterion of the sentiments of the people of Land on.

THE METHODIST PARSONS.

These gentry have, in two instances, recently been addressing the King! For what! nobody can well tell; but, at the same time, nobody can possibly blame the addressers. For my part, I wish they were joined by the Clergy of the Church. This union would be very usaful: it is all that is wanting to make the state of things complete.

KING'S EXCURSION.

lage of Cowes, in the Isle of and Shipwrights go up to the

of another Patrict. In short, 1 | Wight, where he is receiving addresses from, and giving most gracious answers to, the Inhabitants of the village and the Watermen of the village, from both of which respectable bodies his Majesty has received deputations! He appears also to have received an Address from some people at Portsmouth, and to have knighted a brewer of the name of GARRETT! An Address. the Courier says, is signing at This is good news. Portsea. I am very happy to see, that the King treads in the steps, in this respect, of his heroic Queen. TheKing's answers to Addresses differ, in some respects, from those of her Majesty; but, as practice makes perfectness, we may hope to see improvement. His Majesty, while at Brighton, rode very frequently; but, the Courier says, that he did not ride out of doors. He landed once at Cowes, and remained on shore for "full twenty minutes." His Majesty does not appear to have landed at Portsmouth: the reason not being stated, it would, of course, be impertinent to ask it.

THE QUEEN.

The King is bying off the vil- The London Dock-yard men

Address; and also the Ladies Courier, in all the circle of viland Gentlemen of the Metropo- lainy, can find their match, let lia-On Tuesday the boatmen, bargemen, and hightermen, of In both of these cases there has the River Thames, will go with been excessive cruelty towards an Address to the Queen by the water. These bodies will not were good, and scholly unioncontain less than a hundred peached. Two such villains are thousand persons. However, his Majesty has addresses from the Methodist Conference and from the rillage of Cowes.

VENGEANCE.

The Courier threatens to take vengeance on bad husbands; and to expose their sins to the world: that is to say, unless the Queen's friends show more forbearance. We commend the Courier; and, whenever he is ready to begin, we will furnish him with some materials. First. there is a villain, who has turned his wife out of doors, and who actually lives, and carries on an incestuous intercourse with a young woman. Next, there is a villain, who turned his wife out of doors, and cohabited with a strumpet for many years, during the life of his wife, whom he left almost to starve, and has since made the strumpet "an "honest woman." These two villains are most desperate writers " from the Manchester Radicals,

Queen, next Monday, with an against the Queen; but, if the us have them out by all means. wives, whose characters not to be found in England, except in this instance; and both of them are everlastingly talking about morality and religion.

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MADNESS.

To nothing, certainly, short of madness, can the following offusion of the Courier, of Wednesday last, be fairly ascribed. It seems to have come from ... Whitehall. It smells of the skop. Whether it come from the hand of the Great Doctor himself, or has been prepared by one of the under Apothecaries, we cannot say. A pillow of hope might not be amiss to compose the crack-skull to sleep.

" The Answers delivered in " the name of the Queen to fac-"tious, seditious, and even trea-"sonable Addresses, become " daily more audacious and " alarming! It is impossible " that her Majesty can wilfully "authorise such communica-"tions, if she is not insane. " Some short time ago we pub-" lished the copy an Address

" lie attention and reprobation " indignantly to reprobate sen-"to the violent language in "timents which can have no " which it was couched, and " warning the Queen herself of "the constitution to its centre. "its evil tendency. Her Ma-" jesty receives this impudent " composition, and answers, or "is made to answer, that she " receives it with satisfaction. " But this is a trifle to what fol-" lows. The Addressers had "spoken of the events of the " 16th of August, 1819, in terms " of most virulent abuse, de-" scribing the legal interference " of the military as a massacre. "The Queen not only adopts " these sentiments, but identify-"ing herself with the rioters, "says, 'We cannot but know "' that the same hand has been "'our common oppressor.' Now " she had elsewhere distinctly " called the King 'my oppres-"'sor.' Here, therefore, she is "made to assert, that to the King's " personal oppression are to be " attributed the unfortunate oc-" currences of last year at Man-"chester! That a lurking in-" cendiary traitor should pen " such infamous language, is " easily conceivable—but that a " wife should so wickedly, false-" ly, and outrageously calum-" niate her husband, that a "Queen should so openly stir "up the people to rebellion, is "what we cannot suffer our-" selves to imagine. Why is " not the villain who devotes "his pen to these diabolical " purposes, dragged from his "lurking-hole to the punish-"ment he so richly merits? "And why do not the respect- but a madman would have com-"able classes of society through-splained, except in irony, that

"for the purpose of calling pub-|"out the kingdom step forward " other tendency than to shake "and to arm the populace " against law, liberty, and pro-" perty? One other phrase de-" mands notice. It occurs in " most of the replies to the Ad-" dresses presented on Monday, " and it is remarkably indicative " of the real views of her Ma-" jesty's secret instigators. The "Ward of Farringdon-without " is informed, that 'the selfish "' faction' is aiming a blow at "the rights of every individual " in the realm. The inhabitants "of Cripplegate are reminded " of the ' domineering views of " 'that selftsh faction.' "Spitalfields Addressers hear " of the tame 'selfish faction' " as her only enemies. And the " people of Leeds are informed, "that' the selfish faction are "'her Majesty's accusers.'-"The people of England, who "know that under this term, " ' the selfish faction,' is includ- . " ed all that is great, venerable, "wise, or honourable in the " country, will not fail to ap-" preciate such language. They " will feel that she, who is " made to express her hope that . "she may be the means of " ' overthrowing the power of " 'this faction,' and of 'de-"' livering the people of Eng-"" land from oppression,' " made in effect to assume to " herself the office of First Re-" volutionary Leader." This is raging madness. Who

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monipusly of her "husband!" is But, the Doctor is certainly mad! For my part, I look upon the answers to the Addresses, not, indeed, as being wholly written by the Queen; but, as containing her own thoughts and sentiments; and, indeed, as emanating from her particular instructions, and passing from under her eye. The Queen is industrious, attentive, watchful, blessed with uncommon geickness and with extraordinary boundness of judgment, Her Majesty has a will of her own. It is her own great mind that sets all measures relating to her affairs in motion. She seems to have been born for the exalted place, which, for many years let us hope, she is to fill. A person of such rare capacity, such benevolence of heart, and such bravery, is truly worthy of a crown.

NEW SORT OF CRIME.

At Webstead, near Bury St. Edinunds, a man has been sent to juil, to take his triul at the Quarter Sessions, for saving, in the Church, just after the Parson had pronounced the prayer for the King, "and GOD BLESS "THE QUEEN ALSO.". The person thus dealt with is a Mr. THWAIGHT, and the Parson's name is Thomas Inage, who has two livings, the Rectory of Webstead and that of Stanning- Peers.

the Queen spoke rather uncere-, field. Twenty pounds were, it said. demanded of Mr. THWAIGHT, which he refused to pay. He also refused to find. bail, and was, accordingly, committed! The Quarter Sessions should be looked to, and somebody should go down from London, watch the proceedings, take down names, note the circumstances, and do every thing necessary to insure a complete record of this affair.--N. B. The Queen's friends, in all parts of the country, ought to be particular in noting down the conduct of her enemies, if they procood to acts of violence.

NOTICES.

The first Volume of Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, bound in boards, will be ready for delivery on Wednesday next,

The last Register, No. 19. has been in such demand as to . cause a new edition. It does, indeed, contain some most stinging matter.

The Register, No 6, which contains the Answer to the vile Speech of the Attorney General, is out of print; but the Annaer. itself, printed separately, has been re-published, and may be had in any number, price three pence.

MR. COBBETT,—There is advertised, a work, called, "A "Peop at the House of Commone; or, the Cat let out of the " Bog." We know nothing of this work. It does not come from our source. Our's is to be called, " The Links of the Lounlished by Mr. Benbow.-Yours, The Authors of Peep at the

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HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

The following Address has been presented to her Majesty from the Artisans, Mechanics, and Labouring Classes of the town of Manchester:—

"TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN.

"May it please your Majesty, We his Majesty's loyal subjects, the Artisans, Mechanics, and Labouring Classes of the
town of Manchester, beg leave
most respectfully to approach
your Majesty with our congratulations on your return amongst
us, in contempt and defiance of
the artificas and threats of your
enemies.

· "We beseech your Majesty to accept our condolence on the demise of your ever-to-belamented daughter. We assure your Majesty, that in no part of his Majesty's dominions, was the loss which the nation sustuined on that melancholy oceasion more deeply regretted or sincerely felt than in this town and neighbourhood. We looked forward with anxiety and trape to the day when it should please Providence to invest her with the authority of the high station to which she appeared to be destined, as a period at which not only the nation at large would have entered upon a brighter and happier course, best this district in particular would have been delivered from an odious and oppressive Aocal domination, aggravated by all the evils which ignorance and folly can accumulate upon a suffering population.

We feel that the measure now in progress against your Majesty, is subversive of every safeguard of the rights and liberties of the people. We believe that the design in degreding and dethroning your Majesty, by the monstrous Bill which the Ministry have introduced into Parliament, and which at once creates, the crime, and fixes the penalty, is to give a striking and practical instance of the absurd claim to omnipotence, which those who six in the seats which ought to be filled by the recentatives of the nation, set up over the laws and constitution of our country. If the first subject in the realm can be destroyed, without even an offence against the law being imputed to her, who can hereafter describe the difference between such a state of things; and a state of absolute despetism, in which the will and plean sure of the Prince are alone the rule and measure of obcdience.

"Apart, therefore, from all the considerations of the grie. vous injustice which your Majesty will individually suffer, by such an outrage upon the laws as that by which it is sought to deprive you of your undoubted rights, we are convinced that, upon public ground, and with reference to the general safety, we are bound to raise our voices in defence of your Majesty, and we do solemniy declare in the language of one of your Majesty's Counsel, that may be whatever enacted against you in Parliament, we will never consent to pay sespect to any person who, in

virtue of such enaciment, may As far as our power can extend usurp your Majesty's situation. We regard your title to your rank to be as well-founded and perfect as that of his Majesty on the throne on which he sits for the public good, and for the public good only; and we applaud your Majesty's determination 'to resist the attempt to dishonour you with all the means which it shall please God to give you?

"The artisens and mechanics of this populous and powerful district partake with us in admiration of your determination, and in readiness to assist you in carrying it into effect by all the means which we constitutionally possess, and which we humbly tender to your Majesty's accept-

ance.

"Your Majesty cannot be unacquainted with the severe privations and deep sufferings of this immense population; and doubtless your Majesty's benevolent heart has been wrung at the dreadful events of the fatal 16th of August. The same power which scourged us is now oppressing you; -it is not less our interest than our duty, therefore, to stand up against your Majesty's enemies, who are also the enemies of the rights and liberties of the whole people. designs of this faction must be defeated; or the nation sinks at once into utter and hopeless We declare that we would rather die than live un- mer, was certainly more forparing for us. solemn and serious resolution. Imore powerful in its means.

we will prevent your Majesty from being unjustly and unlawfully sacrificed. We have no fortunes to offer, but we hold our lives valueless when instice and freedom are in danger."

To which her Majesty returned the following most gra-

cious Answer:---

" I receive with great satisfaction this loyal, affectionate. and impressive Address, from so numerous, so useful, and so emcient a part of the community as the artisans, mechanics, and labouring classes of the town of Manchester. The true honour of the country has been in the highest degree promoted by their incomparable skill and their unrivalled ingenuity, while their persevering industry has so largely contributed towards the means of maintaining the dignity of the Throne and the power and glory of the kingdom.

" No time nor circumstances can remove from my mind that beloved object which so vividit excites your kind condolence. and still so tenderly interests my affections. If this calamity frus trated the fond hopes of the people, how much did it deduct from the sum of my happiness; and add to the number of my The deep-rooted and atrocious woes! It aggravated my other manifold afflictions, by the invention of a new conspiracy, which, if it was not in its origin more detestable than the forder such a state of things as midable in its aspect, more artthat which our enemies are pre- ful in its contrivance, more ex-This is our tensive in its ramifications, and

My own innocence, combined that the same hand has been of the people, has been at once my. solace: and my support ander this new and terrible perseention...

"The conspiracy by which I have been attacked has alread; been more than half vanquished by the flagitiousness of its chiefs and the turpitude of its auxiliaries. The most artful combinations of perjury cannot long endure the piercing scrutiny of treth.

"I am happy to perceive that the industrious classes in the town of Manchester, as well as in the rest of the kingdom, regard the unconstitutional attack upon my rights as an illegal invasion of their own. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which threatens my degradation, weakens the security of that sacred tenure by which every Briton is protected in his liberty, his property, and his life. He who veherates a free Constitution will indignantly repel the introduction of arbitrary power in any of its varied forms.

We naturally compassionate the severe privations and deep sufferings, even of the idle and the dissolute; but how much more forcibly is our sympathy expited by such privations and sufferings, when they are accumulated upon the industrious, laborious, frugal, and virtuous part of this exemplary community! My mind has indeed been often agonized by the recollection of that dreadful day, to which the industrious classes of Manchester particularly allude;

with the good sense and justice our common oppressor, let us, as far as we are able, bury the past in oblivion; and trust that. though these things have been. they will be no more! Let us endeavour to calm the perturbed passions and to heal the bleeding wounds of our distracted and lacerated country; and, for myself, though my afflictions have been many in number and long in continuance. I shall think them all amply compensated if they should, at last, prove the means of contributing towards the harmony, the prosperity, and the happiness of the kingdom."

> Her Majesty has returned the following gracious Answer tothe Address from BIRMING-HAM:-

"I have the most unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this affectionate Address from the people of Birmingham and its vicinitv.

"The losses that I have sustained during my long absence. upon the Continent, have been irreparable. But as, in the constitution of the moral world, there is never any evil without some subsequent or concomitant good, I have derived no small degree of solace from contemplating the probable benefits of which my afflictions are likely to be productive to the people of these realms. If I had experienced no suffering, and been treated with no indignity, that union of mind and heart would never have been seen which now binds the nation from one but while we cannot but know extremity to another in the sacred cause of legal right, and of and are productive of nothing Constitutional liberty.

"To my wrongs, therefore, the nation may, ultimately, be indebted for the recovery of its rights, and the vile attempt to effect my degradation may exalt the people to a higher pitch of freedom and prosperity.

" No Queen was ever the subject of so many, and such barbarous persecutions as I have experienced. But while these persecutions have had little offect in ruffling my serenity, or in marring my happiness, they have proved a bed of thorns to my adversaries.

." The spirit of malignity is never a spirit of repose. It is the serpent gnawing the heart; and if there be at this moment one who, more than another, is an object of pity for the suspicions to which he is a victim, or for the infunietude to which he is a prey; for the innumerable vexations which he is hourly, nay, momentarily feeling; for the recollections of lost happiness and of deserted virtue; for the consciousness of malice that has been rendered impotent, and of vengeance that has missed its aim: such an object of pity is, perhaps, to be seen at the head The moralof my adversaries. ist of aftertimes, when he wants examples of abortive malice, or unsuccessful treachery, to give effect to his lessons, or to breathe a living energy on his page, will not long be at a loss to know from what part of our history to extract an impressive proof that couning, malevolence, and | perfidy, excite nothing but scorn, levery man's cause.

but misery."

ANSWER TO VER ADDRESS FROM THE WARD OF FARRINGDON-WITHAUT.

"The Inhabitants of the Ward of Farringdon-without have long shewn themselves the friends of liberty and the enemies of oppression. It gives me, therefore, great pleasure to receive this animated, constitutional, and affectionate Address from citizens of the metropolis, whose principles are so congenial with my own.

"The warm, indeed the unexampled, sympathy which I have experienced on the part of the British people, has not only alleviated my sufferings, but has added strength to that fortitude which the internal sentiments of integrity would never suffer to languish in my heart. At the same time, if I do not feel, perhaps I ought to feet, more grafitude than resentment towards my enemies, for the wrongs which they have endeavoured to heap upon me, when I consider that those wrongs are likely; under the direction of a superintending Providence, to assist the nation in the recovery of its constitutional rights and liberties.

"The people of England are now strongly convinced that the selfish faction is not merely attempting to deprive me of my honour or my rights, but is, through me, aiming a fatal blow at the rights of every individual in these realms. My destruction would prepare the way for the. destruction of public liberty.-My cause, therefore, has become It is, indeed, the cause of all classes—of ning, and the general welfare the high and the low-of the for their end. poer and the peasant—of the rich and the poor: for to which of these classes is a free constitution not a benefit? or to whom is it not a blessing to be independent and free! But if my rights are once sacrificed at the shrine of tyranny, liberty will soon become only a name. It will, at least for a time, be buried in my tomb. It will, indeed, revive; for it is an indestructible essence: and, while man exists then the earth, it cannot be enthely destroyed. But it may suffer a temporary extinction of its spirit, or a paralysis of its powers.

"Anarchy is the greatest of all evils; but anarchy is usually the climax of bad government. Bad government sacrifices the interests of the many to that of the few, till the very elements of the social scheme, wanting the strong cement of the common good, are so shattered and disointed, that they can hardly be held together by any principle from within, or any power from without. The vessel of the state is then cast for a time, like a scattered wreck, upon the waters

"If the people ask me "What are we to do in the present peril of the constitution?" I answer, My people, my friends, my children—be united, be temperate, be firm. Let justice be your constant guide, your regulating principle. Suffer not yourselves to be hurried into the approbation of any measures, however minated. specious they may seems, that! have not justice for their begin- sweetest satisfaction to be in

"Let Liberty be the object of your unfeigned devotion, your unbounded love ; but on the one side of Liberty place Justice, and on the other Humanity.-Without these two fair associates, Liberty is apt'to become a devastating tempest, or a consuming fire."

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE WARD OF CRIPPLEGATE-WITHIN.

"I am deeply obliged to the Inhabitants and Freemen of the Ward of Cripplegate-Within for. an Address so loyal and so affect tionate towards myself, and at the same time breathing the purest sentiments of constitu-

tional liberty.

"The light of liberty was long preserved in the ark of the British constitution, when it was extinguished, or almost extinct, in every other part of the world. It is from this light that the people of other countries have originally derived a large part of their present political illumination. Here the spirit of liberty was first kindled; and hence its sacred heat was imparted to the bosoms of the wise, the generous, and the brave, in other branches of the great European family. while other nations have been indebted to us for a portion of this heavenly fire, we have ourselves suffered the flame to become languid and weak in that temple of constitutional freedom which it once so splendidly illu-

"It would afford me the

any degree instrumental in rekindling the dying fire of national liberty, and in rendering the British constitution what it once was—the glory of the world.

"In the conflict which I am waging with my adversaries in defence of my violated rights, I am defending the rights of every Englishman. If I am successful in this conflict, the victory will redound less to my own personal satisfaction than to that which I derive from the reflection that the rights of individuals and the general liberties of the sation will henceforth be secured

against the domineering views of that selfish faction, which is equally an enemy to every improvement in the political condition of man in this country, and in every part of the world.

"Perhaps I ought to triumph in the indignities I have experienced, and to rejoice in the wrongs I have suffered, as those wrongs and indignities have been the means which Providence has employed for exciting such a spirit in the nation as must tend to secure the rights of the people, and to enlarge the practical benefits of the coastitution."

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A LETTER

To

Mr. BROUGHAM,

ON

His neglect of Duly, with regard to the Defence of her Majesty, the Queen.

London, Oct. 5, 1880.

SIK.

Public expectation was raised to the highest pitch at the moment when you entered the House of Lords, on Tuesday last. I cannot say that I participated fully in this expectation; for I have never been able to get rid of the impression made on my mind by the mysterious silence at St. Omers; by your transactions of 1819 and of April 1820; by the speech threatening to theiert the Queen; by the Protocal megociation; and especially be the Queen Fauswers to the addresses from Preston and Nottinehant, which manifestly were the work of you and of Mr. Denman, and which work, If it bad not been instantly put a stop to, would have sent the Qheen from the country, and made her the everlasting scorn of the world. I was, therefore, not confident in my expectations, especially when I saw you lingurian at two hundred miles distandersom your Royal Client, and your colleague at half the distance in apother direction. This seemed very undocountable while there were fifty or sixty witnesses to be examined, and while there were so many

other things that would have kept a zealous advocate at his post! I am not to be told of indisposition. Indisposition, whether from gout or pains in the chest, may serve the turn of tricky patriots, who wish to skulk out of acting up to their professions; but if an advocate be indisposed, it is his duty to resign; and not to retain his post without giving up the whole of his time and talents to the performance of its duties; especially in a case like the present, where all the best feelings of the heart ought to have co-operated with all the powers of the mind. Instead of making: a flashy speech at Cheltenham, Mr. Denman ought to have been pinned down to some spot. where he could have heard from her Majesty every hour, if :necessary. The generous enther. siasm with which he was received at Gheltenham ought two have inspired him with a desise. to imitate it. It was rightly mterpreted, the strongest, admonition for him to return instantly to his all-important due. ties in London, You, as we shall by and by see, give a lively, a most animated, and... almost a terrific picture of that... duties of an advocate. You represent that those duties mayo. possibly include the sacrificing even of himself! You and your i' colleague appear, however, mot. to have been very strong ly in - E pressed with a sense of those duties, when indisposition,

which may mean a little failure at large and before the whole consumption; when indisposition, not sufficiently severe to prevent you both from travelling with great speed, over a great extent of country; when such indisposition could keep you from the scene of action, till within eight and forty hours of the moment when all the tremendous powers of the truly terrible enemies of your client were again to be arrayed against her; when such indisposition could produce such effects, it is pretty clear, I think, that you must both of you have lost sight of those all-powerful duties, of which we shall by and by find you giving so ranting a description.

On these grounds I had formed an opinion not at all favourable to exertions, from which so much was generally expected; an expectation founded on the bold and resolute tone which you took, upon some occasions, tewards the close of the case of the Queen's enemies; but which expectation ought to have been greatly damped, by the very acted on the last day of the sitting, at the time when the adjournment took place.

I am not about to enter into an examination of your mode of attacking the evidence of the enemy. That was a matter ready cut and dry, prepared by men not afflicted by indisposition at so critical a moment.

of appetite as well as a galloping world, a full and powerful statement of the Queen's just grounds of complaint; of all her sufferings; of all her agonising torments; of all the injuries and insults wantonly inflicted upon her, and the bare recital of which, without any of your bombastical and hyperbolical decorations, is enough to chill the blood, to make the hair move on the head, anti to fill the breast with an indescribable mixture of hope and despair, of pity and indignation. You talk. in the course of your speech, of perjured witnesses brought against your client. You talk incidentally about a conspiracy; and did you want the judgment to perceive that it was necessary to pave the way to these developements and conclusions? Did you want the judgment to perceive that these discoveries of perinries and conspiracies must have little weight, unless traced back to, and connected with, a natural and efficient cause? No; you did not want judgment to perceive this; but you wanted the will, boldly to wadecided, and, indeed, the go into the detail, by which very equivocal part which you that cause would have been made evident to all eyes, and by which your defence would have formed a complete whole, implanting perfect conviction in every impartial mind. All that was material to your client's case you thus omitted; and, in-. stead of it, made the greater part of your exordium to consist of a fulsome and nauscous What I have to find fault with eulogium on those who were is your neglect to lay before sitting as the Judges of your your hearers, before the nation Royal Mistress, and thereby depriving her, by possibility at least, as far as you were able to deprive her, of all ground of complaint as to any judgmen: that they might pass upon her.

Carrying in our minds these preliminary observations, let us now come to a somewhat closer examination of your speech. You set out with disclaiming, for the present at least, all intention to go into recriminatory matter. Your words, as given in the report, were as follow:

"In this situation, with all " the time which their lordships " had afforded him for reflection, " it was difficult for him to com-" pose his mind to the proper "discharge of his professional "duty; for he was still weighed "down with the sense of the " heavy responsibility of the task " he had undertaken. He must "also observe, that it was no " light addition to the anxiety this feeling to foresee "that, before these proceedings "closed, it might be his un-"exampled lot to act in a way "which might appear incon-" sistent with the duty of a good " subject—to state what might " make some call in question his " loyalty, though that was not " what he anticipated from their " lordships. He would now re-" mind their lordships that his " illustrious client, then Caroline " of Brunswick, arrived in this " country in the year 1795; she " was the niece of the Severeign, " and the intended consort of the " heir-apparent, and was herself " not far removed from the suc-" cession to the crown. But he " now went back to that period

" ing over all that had elapsed " from her arrival until her departure in 1814; and he re-" joiced that the most faithful " discharge of his duty permitted " him to take this course. But " he could not do this without pausing for a moment to vin-"dicate himself against an im-"putation to which he might " not unnaturally be exposed in "consequence of the course "which he pursued, and to as-" sure their lordships that the " cause of the Queen, as it ap-" peared in evidence, did not require recrimination at pre-" sent. The evidence against " her Majesty, he felt, did not " now call upon him to utter " one whisper against the con-" duct of her illustrious consort. "and he solemnly assured their " lordships that but for that con-" viction his lips would not at" "that time be closed. In this " discretionary exercise of his " duty, in postponing the case' " which he possessed, their lord-" ships must know that he was' " waving a right which " longed to him, and abstaining " from the use of materials which " were unquestionably his own. " If, however, he should here-" after think it advisable to ex-" ercise this right—if he should " think it necessary to avail him-" self of means which he at pre-" sent declined using—let it not " be vainly supposed that he, or " even the youngest member in "the profession, would hesitate " to resort to such a course, " and fearlessly perform his duty. " He had before stated to their " lordships—but surely of that it " solely for the purpose of pass- |" was scarcely necessary to re-2 L 2

"at all hazards and costs to "other persons, and, among "them, to himself, is his first "and only duty; and in per-" forming this duty he must not " regard the alarm, the tor-" ments, the destruction, which "he may bring upon others. "Separating the duty of a pa-" triot from that of an advocate, " he must go ou reckless of con-" soquences, though it should be " his unhappy fate to involve " his country in confusion. He " felt, however, that, were he " new to enter on the branch of " his case to which he had al-" luded, he should seem to quit the " higher ground of innocence on " which he was proud to stand. " He would seem to seek to " justify, not to resist the "charges, and plead not guilty "-to acknowledge and exte-"nuate offences, levitles, and " indiscretions, the very least of " which he came there to deny."

Now, Sir, your principal reason, or, at least, the only plausible reason; which you here give for your non-recrimination, is this, that by resorting to recrimination you might seem? to quit the higher ground of inobserve, that it was an instance nation needed:

" mind them—that an advocate, person is threatened with a pro-"in the discharge of his duty, secution, when such person, be-"knows but one person in all the fore the prosecutor has been "world, and that person is his heard, begins to accuse the ac-"client. To save that client by cueer of crimes, instead of de-" all means and expedients, and fending himself, or denying the charge; when, in short, an accused party, does what you, in the character of her Majesty's Attorney-General, and, as I am pretty sure, without her Majesty's consent, or knowledge, did, in the House of Commons. on the memorable seventh of June last, when an accused party thus acts, it is properly called recrimination, and recrimination too of a very suspicious charactér.

But, after the prosecutor has been heard, and when the prosecuted comes to her defence. is she not to state all the facts necessary to show what the character, what the conduct, of the prosecutor has been; and, this for the obvious purpose of showing the nature and strength of his motives to the prosecution, and also of showing what he would be likely to do, to what lengths he would be likely to go, what means he would be likely to employ, in order to effeet the destruction of the party prosecuted! This is not recrimination: this is defence: and this you know as well as I; for what is so common as to ask a prosecutor upon cross-examinanecesses. On this I have first to tion, whether he has not had a quarrel with the accused! And of bad taste, as well as a want is it not notorious; is it not inof justice to your case, to make sulting the understandings of use of the word recrimination my readers to assert, that, it is at all. There was no recrimin never neglected to endeavour to When a person shew malice in the prosecutor'; is openeed of a crime, when alto deduce that malice from former overt acts; and by such " remind" them that your ilsources of the accusation, and, to demolish any but the very best of evidence brought in it's

support.

This mighty advantage you wholly abandon, and that upon the flimsy pretext, that, by resorting to what you were pleased to call recrimination, you might seem to quit the higher ground of innocence. However, as if for the purpose of defeating your own professed intention; as if for the purpose of showing, that with all your high tone, some suspicions of guilt still lurked in your own mind, you repeatedly observe that you shall, if compelled, resoft to recrimination at last! Compelled! Compelled by what? Why, by a failure to prove her Majesty innocent, to be sure; or, at least, by a failure to set aside the Bill. What was this, then, but a threat, that, if the Lords did not acquit the Queen, you are armed with recrimination upon the King! No one can deny that this is the fair interpretation of your meaning; from your lips.

means to develope the true lustrious client first arrived in this country in the year 1795, and that she was then Princess Caroline of Branswick! How the Lords must have bless. sed themselves at hearing thisnews, conveyed to them, too.in such a pompous manner! They were expecting, I dare say, that you were going into that detail of ill usage, comspiracies and perjuries, before a secret tribunal, to enter into which was so natural and so obviously necessary ; being persons of an extremely compassionate nature: endued with. uncommon sensibility : made ap almost wholly of the milk of human kindness : so tenderly alive, as by numerous acts they: had proved themselves, to all the calls of humanity and morey a being persons of this description, the Lords must have felt as poor Pilgrim felt when the Mountain of Sing was taken from his breast; they must have felt as one feels when suddenly relieved from the horrid suggestion tions of the night-mare; when it. you in the downy sacconts of at and I think it will be agreed on sweetly-feed Lincoln's Inn, told all hands, that any thing more them that you had gone chuck to injurious to your Reyal Client the year 1795, only for the part i could not possibly have fallen pose of skipping over the whole of the nineteen years between The defence of the Queen de- 1795 and 1814th. in 2191.

manded, and the nation expect- Nevertheless, if you had been c). ed, a full, a clear, a fearless so disposed, you might have:v statement, of all the wrongs she " reminded" their Lordinips of or had suffered, of all the injuries several things, all of which bein and insults heaped upon her up long to your case; all of which to the very hour of the com- were absolutely necessary to dow mencement of what is called the full justice to your client; many trial, You tell the Lords a very of which were but imperfeetly. important piece of news; you known to some of the Lords;

known to very few of them; the far greater part of which were, as yet, but imperfectly known to the nation; hardly any of which were thoroughly known to other nations, where, however, the Bill of Pains and Penalties had been amply circulated; and the whole of which, if fully and clearly stated by you, would have found their way into the minds and hearts of all the people in this country, and of those of the far greater part of the civilized world.

You might have reminded their Lordships, that, with her setting her foot on the shore, the persecutions of your illustri-You ous client commenced. might have reminded them of the persons by whom she was instantly surrounded; and, here it is that I boil with indignation at your conduct! Here it is that I feel against you anger in proportion to the zeal that I have always felt in the cause of this injured, oppressed, and insulted Queen, whose generous mind open, approbation: thus shack- riage.

some of which were, perhaps, | can I do, compared with what you might have done? You know as well as I know, that you had those powers in your hands, which nobody else had, and which nobody else could have; and the exertion of those powers vou neglected to make use of.

> Passing over what I dare not touch on, but which will be finally touched on and fully exposed, too, in spite of every thing that you can do to prevent it; passing over these things, which would have made an impression on sound hearts and minds, and not have excitéd ridicule, as did your pompous prayer at the close of your speech; passing over things, which I dare not speak of in plain and honest language, there were things, which, though many of them perfectly notorious, deserved enumeration at the least; merited being stated upon this occasion, forming, as they did, the prelude to the prosecution, against which you were tendering a defence.

You might have reminded and gallant deeds are so great their lordships that, in 1795, an honour to her sex and to the your Royal client, then seven nation! Here it is that I feel the years younger than her hussting! I dare not say what you band, was demanded in marcould have said: if I dared say riage by him; that she was not it, I have no means of promul- left to her own choice; that she gation, such as you had in your obeyed her father's will in givhands. Shackled by the Six ing her hand to the now King. Acts, and a banishment law You might have reminded their staring me in the face; Acts to lordships, that the husband rewhich you gave your hollow op- ceived from the people nearly position, but which had your se- seven hundred thousand pounds cret, as the spy-system had your in consequence of this mar-You might have reled; thus placed in continual minded them of the duties, the peril of separation from coun-solemn vows, the most sacred try, friends, and family, what engagements of the husband.

You might have reminded them that the husband, of his own choice, separated from his wife. she then having an infant three months old in her arms; that this took place within thirteen months of the day of marriage. and that the sole ground upon which he so separated, as stated under his own hand, was, that bis inclinations were not under his own controul; for the truth of all which you might have appealed to one of the Peers then sitting before you in judgment on your Royal Mistress!

Here if you could have found in your heart to omit your nauseous panegyric on the Peers. you might have found a fit place for describing the feelings. which upon receiving this unprovoked insult; this unmerited expulsion from her husband's bed; those feelings which must have swelled and agonized the breast of a high-minded Princess, of a virtuous woman, of a dutiful daughter, of a faithful wife, of an affectionate mother. Were there not here wrongs to be complained of? Were there not here violated rights? Were there not here the grounds of seeking for motives to that series of acts which at last have. led to the prosecution against which you were called upon to defend your Royal Mistress?

You might have reminded their lordships of the transactions of 1806; of the collection of information; of the carrying of that information to a cunning old pensioned Chancellor; of pregnant; that the apothecary the laying of that information swore that he had never told before the then King; of the Ministry of that day, amongst, and that he believed the cona Commission consisting of four | Lord | Moira; | that, AFTER

of the Ministers to sit and receive evidence against the discarded wife; of that wife never being told a word of the mat-1 ter, till a Magistrate came to summon and take away her own servants from her house; and you might have reminded their? lordships, that, even upon that occasion, this gallant lady said. "let them go, and bear witness " that I do not speak a word to "them before they go." You: might have reminded their lordships, that it was then positively " sworn to, that the Princess had 3 been pregnant, had had a child. and had given it suck; that all this was proved to be false; and that though the Ministers themselves confessed that the witnesses had been guilty of perjury, they found an exense for not prosecuting them for that perjury.

You might have reminded their lordships that it was contrived to induce the then King to write a letter to the Princess. giving her a caution to be more reserved in future, which caution has been basely swelled into a reprimend. As to this reprimand you might have told them. that it proceeded wholly upon ex-parte testimony; that the aecured was never heard in her defence; that she always from . the first declared that there was periury here as well as with regard to the child; that one of the witnesses, Fanny Lloyd, had : sworn that an apothecary had told her that the Princess was Fanny Lloyd any such thing, whom was Lord Moirs, ad-thery of the fact what these vising the King to authorize sweetings took place blately at

was sent to sweer before the Commission; that the Commissioners laid her swearing before the King; and that it was upon evidence like this, that the Mrnisters recommended, and that the King wrote, his letter of caption. You might have reminded their lordships, that the witnesses upon that occasion, the false swearers upon that occasion, were not only not punished for perjury; but that even after the acquittal of the Princass some of them were received at the court of the late Queen! You, being a Member of Parliament, ought to be ashamed not to know, whether the whole or any part of those witnesses be. or be not, now in the receipt of pensions under the Crown; but, at any rate, you might have asserted to their Lordships that Sir John Dougles held a pension during pleasure at the time of the perjury, and that he held that pension during pleasure to the end of his life! Was not this a fact worthy of stating? You talked loosely about a conspiracy; but, nothing did. you do tending to implant firmly a conviction of the fact in the minds of your hearers.

You might have reminded their lordships of the exbitterness which excluded her when her daughter first ap- you have been taking to acpeared in public. Was there complish them. nothing to dwell on here? Was: Your next topic is a very cuthere, nothing to pourtray in trious one. It consists of an adthat series of measures which mission that the Queen, while tore the child, and the child from the panions not very suitable to her mother? Had you infgusten radic. This admission would this egytiputed time of ultrap-passing to be a mere overwoiling

THIS, this same Fanny Lloyd | you forgotten the omission of. the mother's name on the coffin of the child? And, oh! had you forgotten the melancholy manner of that child's death; and the anheard-of cruelty of making that death the signal for setting on foot the very persecution which had led to the present terrifle struggle?

Could you find in all the transactions; in all the circumstances which I have here hastily run over; could you find. nothing whereon to hang a link to connect the past with the present? Could you find nothing that would have paved the way to your statement respecting the perjury of the witnesses brought from the fortress? The fact is, you could have The matter found enough. was abundant; and the ability was not wanting. You might have spoken out plainly, fearlessly, and effectually; but then you must have spoken that, which would have effectually destroyed all those hopes and expectations, which you manifestly had in view before the trip to St. Omers, and which. after long apparent balancing you seem to be unable to abandon. All your efforts, however, at smothering will be of treme and even outrageous no avail; and, at last, you will find, that your views will be Majesty from Court in 1814, defeated by the very course that

mother from the abroad, did associate with comrallelad! pentecutions? ... allow of approblem; seeing that if waster

a C sigo on sting of four Lerd Visira; Clat.

wholly unnecessary, and, indeed, if the thing come to be examined, wholly unfounded in truth. However, when we come to look at the use that was made of this omission; when we come to see that, under the pretence of shewing some of the hardships to which her Majesty was exposed, you take occasion to tell the Peers that they and their wives are choice and dignified ecciety; that they are the." First Society in the WORLD;" and that it was no humiliation even in a Queen to count their society; when we come to see this, we find a meaning in the introduction of this uncalled-for, and apparently most silly admission. The passage of your speech to which I allude is as follows:

"One admission he did "make; and let the learned "counsel who supported the " bill take it, and make the most "they could of it, for it was "the only admission that would "be made to them. He grant-"ed that her Majesty had left "this country for Italy; "granted that while abroad she " had moved in society chiefly " loneign, inferior probably to "that; which, under happier. "circumstances, she had known " -and, very different, certain-" ly, from that, which she had " proviously enjoyed; in this " country. He admitted that "when the Queen was here, " and happy, not, indeed, in the " protection of her own family,

" The charge against her was-"that she went to Italy, and "that, instead of associating " with the peers and peeresses' " of England, she took to her "society only foreigners. "fully admitted that her Mai "jesty had been under "necessity of associating with " Italian nobility, and sometimes" " with the commonsity of that' " country. But who are they' " that bring this charge? Others" "might blame her Majesty" going abroad-others' " might say that she had ex-" perienced the consequences of' "leaving this country and asso-" ciating with foreigners; but it "was not for their lordships" "to make this charge. They" "were the very last persons" " who should fling this at the" "Queen; for they who new? " presumed to sit as her judges" "were the very witnesses she" " must call to acquit her of this" "charge. They were, in fact." "not only the witnesses to" " acquit but had been the cause" "of this single admitted fact." "While her Majesty resided in" " this country she contrously " "threw open her door to the " peers of England and their" " families. She graciously com-" "descended to court their se-" ciety, and, as long as it suited! " certain purposes which were " not her's—as long as it served: "interests in which she had no . " concernment long as she could!" "be made subservient to the "ambitious views of others : "but in the friendship of their "she did not court in vais " londships and their families, ." But when a change took place "that she moved immore choiced" -when those interests were "und dignified seniety than uny: " to be retained which bhe had's "in apprice bee has since had disn." been made the improvement of "good fortune to be placedo" grapping when the blust lof s

" newer and place to which she " was doomed to fall a victim " had been satisfied—then in "vain did she open her doors "to their lordships and their "families: then it was that "those whom she had hitherto " condescended to court—and it " was no humiliation to court-"the first society in the world, "abandoned her. Her Maiestv " was then reduced to the alter-" native of begging society in " this country as a favour, or " of leaving it. She could not, "by humbling herself, have ob-"tained the society of British "peeresses, and must "sought that of other classes. " or gone abroad. Such, then, "being the circumstances, it "was not in the presence of "their lordships that he ex-"pected to hear the Queen re-". proached for going abroad. "It was not here that he had "thought any one would have "dared to lift up his voice, and " make it a topic of censure that "the Princess of Wales had as-"sociated with foreigners-"with some whom, perhaps, she " might say she would not, and "ought not to have chosen un-"der other and happier circum-".stances."

Upon what ground you thought it conducive to the interest of your client to bestow this nauseous panegyric upon the Peers and their families. I do not know; but this I know, that if I had been in your place, and if Lhad read, as you must have read, the public declarations of your Royal Mistress berself, I should not have praised the Pears and their families, eventhough I had been convinced,

fectly as all the rest of us, that they are the most virtuous, most conscientious, most honourable and most disinterested of all the persons in this known world. I' might be as well convinced as you are, that their wives are virtue itself; that husbands and wives are paragons of conjugal: constancy; that looseness of manners; that adultery, single or double; that fornication, simple or compound; that greediness; that profligacy; that the tricks of black legs; swindling on a grand scale; that stupid arrogance, and stinking 🔧 cowardice: " meanness that soars " pride that licks the dust;" that all these are wholly unknown in that assembly, and in the families of that assembly, to whom you were addressing vourself. Of all this I might have been as well convinced as you are: but, while the declarations of my Royal Mistress upon the subject lay before the world, I never would have uttered that which should be found to be in direct contradiotion to those declarations. might have been as thoroughly convinced as you are, that the Ministers; that the Green Bag Committee Lords; that those who brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties; that those who have repeatedly voted in favour of carrying on that Bill; that those who refused your Royal Mistress a list of witnesses; that those who refused her a list of places; that those who have shut the witnesses up in a fortress; that those who have barricadoed the streets, and surrounded themselves with as I dare say you are, as per- horse police as well as with

regular soldiers; that those amongst whom are the men that employed Cooke, Powell, Brown, and the rest of the hunters after evidence: that those amongst whom are great numbers of persons (including two own brothers of the King) holding lucrative offices, during pleasure: I might have been as thoroughly convinced as you that this was the most proper tribunal in the world; that these were the fittest persons that could be found on face of the earth to judge between the King and Queen: I might have been quite sure that this was the case; but if I had carried down protests to them as you have done, in the name of my Royal Mistress, against their jurisdiction; and if I had had as you have lying before you, the declarations of my Royal Mistress, as to the character of this House of Peers. I would have suffered my tongue to have been torn from my throat rather than have called them and their families "the "ornament of the country, and " the first society in the world,"

One would have thought the thing impossible; but when once a real talker gets a gait, as the Yorkshire-men call it, he never knows where to stop. On he goes through thick and thin. One would have thought it impossible that you should make shift to sing the praises of Pitt and of Perceval, upon this occasion; but you did it; and we shall now see how: "How wretched "was not the lot of this lady "as displayed in all the events " of her chequered life! It was, " always her sad fate to lose her

" surest protector, when danger "threatened her; and, by a " coincidence most miraculous in " her eventful history, not one of " her intrepid defenders was ever " withdrawn from her, without. " that loss being the immediate" " signal for the renewal of mo-" mentous attacks upon her ho-" nour and her life. Mr. Pitt. " who had been her constant " friend and protector, died in " 1806. A few weeks after that: " event took place the first at-" tack was levelled at her. Mr. " Pitt left her as a legacy to Mr. " Perceval, who became her " best, her most undaunted and " firmest protector. But no "sooner had the hand of an "assassin laid prostrate that, " Minister, than her Royal High-" ness felt the force of the blow "by the commencement of a re-"newed attack, though she "had but just been borne " through the last by Mr. Per-" ceval's skilful and powerful " defence of her character. Mr. "Whitbread then undertook "her protection, but soon that... "melancholy catastrophe hap-.. " pened which all good men of " every political party in the " state, he believed, sincerely " and universally lamented: then " came with Mr. Whitbread's " dreadful loss the murmuring of " that storm which was so soon. " to burst with all its tempes-"tuous fury upon her hapless " and devoted head."

of Perceval, upon this occasion; but you did it; and we shall now see how: "How wretched "was not the lot of this lady "as displayed in all the events of her chequered life! It was, always her sad fate to lose her "best stay, her strongest and life individual and the events of her chequered life! It was, always her sad fate to lose her those two executable and event and event head.

If, instead of poor Whitbread, whose name a real friend would refrain from mentioning, the devent was an event and event head.

ecrated Ministers, PITT and PERcerval 1 People may abuse the devil as long as they please; but I am satisfied he never did haff so much harm to mankind: during the same space of time I mean. They were the scourge of England; and, by the means of England's resources, they were the scourge of the world.

Never was a more true word said, however, than that PITT left the Princess as a LEGACY to: Perceval. The little sharp terrier of a lawyer seemed to regard her Royal Highness in that light; and he turned his legacy to most excellent ac-The legacy put him into place and put his enemies out of place; and the same legacy kept him in place when he would have been turned out, had it not been for the legacy. His conduct towards her Royal Highness; or, rather, her Royal Histmess having listened to his advice, was the source, and the only source, of all her future ca-When the commission of 1806 had ended its inquiries; when the perjury had been detected; when the scandatous conspiracy had been discovered; that was the time for exposure! That was the time for crashing the enemies of the Princess. If that had been done then she would have held her courts when the Prince became. Regent; she never would have been separated from her child; she never would have been whiledied out of the country; and her name would have been in bthe Liturgy now, and she wish'a crown upon her head?

That Perceival himself deemed the expedite necessary to the interest and safety of the Princess is onite clear; for, he had not only collected all the materials together; not only had he arranged all the documents; but he had had them printed in a book which was to have been published on a certain day! But, only two days before that day arrived, the little lawyer and all his tribe became Ministers. We remember the pretence for that change of ministry. The pretence was a false one on the part of the coming in ministry. The ousted fellows might possibly be gulled; but this was the true cause of the change of the ministry. that it was the true cause is proved as clear as day-light, by the fact, that Perceval, instead of publishing the book according to advertisement, went to the printer's, took the whole edition, carried them home and burnt them. Three copies had escaped, two of which were bought up at an enormous ex pence. The third was reserved for a higher destiny.

And, yet, you have the effrontery to declare that Perceval was your Royal Mistress's best and firmest supporter and, constant friend! She was an excellent legacy to him indeed. It was she kept him in place when the Prince became Regent. To her he owed the immense sums which he himself received; and to her his son and widow owe the immense sums which they now receive. This was a subject which, if I had been under your particular circumstances, I would have avoided as men avoid, under certain circumstances, talking of halters. Your overture to the Ministers in 1819; your renewed negocia-

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tions in April 1820, or, soon after the late King's death : your extraordinary backwardness in communicating with her Majesty after the late King's death; the strange story you told in answer to Canning on the 7th of June last; the promise that you then made of explaining the matter another time, and your never having explained it from that day to this; the confession that came from yourself, that you had been engaged with the King in a negociation in 1819, or, at least, that you had voluntarily carried a message from the King to Lord Liverpool on the subject; your conduct in the case of the Protocols; your conduct with regard to the resolutions sent to the Queen by deputation; the answers to the addresses from Preston and from Nottingham; your sneers and scoffs at Mr. Wood: all Alderman things, and a great many others, not forgetting your defence of the Spy-system, while you knew your Royal Mistress was beset with spies: all these things, none of which would ever have been mentioned by meany more, but which are all remembered, ought to have made you shun an eulogium on little lawyer Perceval. All these things ought to have made you, when a topic like this was affoat, silent and as demure as certain females are said to be at a christening. is clear that you wanted to talk about any thing but the real thing; but you would have done better by introducing your Dame Schools and your Education Digest, or your Agricultural, Distress; helf a dozen leaves of deep and dark balder-

dash from the Edinburgh Review; any thing but the history of lawyer Perceval; for it is utterly impossible to hear of that history without reverte ing instantly to the circumstances relating to yourself. which I have above hastily figne

together.

It is very curious that, in this speech of yours, you praise every body but the person whem it. was your duty to defend! Gne would have thought that you might find something to praise in that illustrious personage. The greatness of mind that she has displayed under her manifold and unparalleled sufferings: her rare benevolence and hu-: manity; the consciousness of innocence and the ardent love of honest fame, which she gave proof of in her prompt decision: at St. Omers; her courageous: and heroic conduct upon so many: occasions and under such peril-: ous circumstances; that kind-: ness and affability, mixed wish: dignity of deportment. which has won her the bearts of all classes of people, except: the greedy and profigate feetion, whom the nation detests: in some of these; in some one of these, at least, you might, I: think, have found something to dwell upon, since panegyric was to be your theme. But, no! The House of Peers, the Peers wives and families; the Ariston: cracy; the Throne, the Attac. These were Pitt and Perceval. the objects of your admirations. and your Royal Mistress was left to find a panegyrist where the could,

You might have alluded to, and even mentioned, the glotious spectacle, which, even white.

you were speaking, was exhibited on the Thames, and which was announced to you and to the " ornament of the country." from the cannon's mouth and in the shouts of not less than fifty thousand people. You might have told the " first society in the world" that more than a hundred thousand people were et that moment assembling within four hundred yards of your Royal Mistress's mansion; that two thousand boats and barges were bearing an honest people to her door to pledge themselves to maintain her rights or perish in the attempt. You might have told the ornament of the nation that two hundred flags were waving upon her lawn, and that when she made her appearance on her balcony, every eye was moistened by the reflection that she had suffered so long, such malignant, such hellish persecution. An observation or two of this sort might have supplied the place of an eulogium on Lawyer Perceval, or of that ridiculous rhodamontade, which you concluded your inappropriate and spiritless harangue.

Before I conclude let me again assure you, that all your efforts at smothering will be vain. I thought it possible for you eventually to do injury to the cause of the Queen, I should be cautious in addressing you, knowing well that a stung Lawver will if he can have revenge some way or other. But I defy - you to do injury to the cause of the Queen. Let the decision be what it may, no harm can happen to her Majesty. She is safe as the eagle in the cedar tops; and may look down with dis- ment. Truth has found its way,

dain on all the anger, all the malice, of her open foes, and even on all the intrigues of secret foes. I can see clearly what the despicable Whigs are at. That miserable Junto of cast off Councillors; of place-hunting, hungry, malignant politicians, who hope, that, by some means or other, they shall squeeze themselves in to get a share of the remnant of the plunder; to lick up some of the blood of the dead lion, if they have not been able to share in the devouring of his carcase. They deceive themselves. The storm is of too. trying a nature for them to live out in it. They had better keep to their dens, and, without meddling, wait the result.

I believe that her Majesty was sent by God Almighty for our good. It required her case to be before us to convince a certain portion of the people of the lengths to which this system could go. She has given rise, in the space of three months, to as much discussion as naturally belonged to ten: Her cause naturally years. and necessarily allied itself to that of the people. The dishas commenced and cussion gone on; and all that seems to be wanted at present, is, the presence of the Bald Bully, who ridiculed the "revered and ruptured Ogden," to witness, the effect.

You will hug yourself in the thought that the circulation of our sentiments is narrowed by the Six Acts; but, be not so sure. The Six Acts have in great part defeated themselves; no thanks to those who obtained us the favour of banish-

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in spite of every obstacle; and, while her Majesty, with that grateful and endearing condescension, which has characterised all the actions of her at once perilous and glorious career; while her Majesty so feelingly makes her acknowledgments to the Press, from the Press is due the most profound gratitude towards her Majesty. By a thousand ties are we bound to this gallant and glorious Queen; but by none more than by her open. bold and undaunted declarations in favour of the rights and liberties of the people.

There is one gracious act of Majesty, which, though the " ornament of the nation" may smile at it, is well worthy of their serious attention. I allude to her Majesty's honouring the eldest friend of Reform, with a seat at her own table; notwithstanding all the slanders which the Selfish Faction have heaped upon him; and notwithstanding he stands convicted of what they term sedition. Nothing could be better judged than this; for, it is a pledge to the country that her Majesty is a decided and ardent friend of that measure, without the adoption of which this country never can know another hour of prosperity or of peace.

I shall not, like you, Sir, conclude with prostrating " my-" self before my Maker at the "Throne of Mercy," but with assuring you that I should have been much better pleased find it consistent with my duty to praise than to censure upon this occasion. I have, and I can have, no personal animosity towards you.

are a person, of, great talent: and I should hate myself if I grudged you the possession of But the Queen must not again be sacrificed. Her Majesty is under the guardianship. of the people in general, and of. the Press in particular. was sentenced; she was doomed to banishment for life from this land, where alone there was a. heart to beat for her. She was entangled amongst lawvers. creeping deputations, dark negociators and intriguers of all descriptions. The Press darted. forward baa extricated her from the trammels. The Press. called aloud to the people, and the people saved her. fore, the press has its peculiar rights in this instance; of those rights I possess a share; and that share I have now employed. in the manner that I think best. calculated to serve the cause of her Majesty.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient Sert.
WM. COBBETT.

Postscript.—I have read Mr. WILLIAMS'S Speech. The acuteness of it I admire very much. His clear, neat, close manner of stating and arguing, is worthy of the highest praise. He has pointed out several most important things; and, though in some instances, I had gone over the ground, before him, in many? others I had not. I am sure. I. do not know how, after this . Speech of Mr. Williams, the Attorney and Solicitor-General ' are to look honest men in the face: you may say, perhaps, that they are likely to experience little difficulty of this kind, considering the circles in which they You move. I admire the ability and

the industry and care of Mr. Williams. His clear and neat exposition will do great good; not as to the bill, for about that we need not care a straw; but in making many parts of the villaine plain to all eyes. However, there is one part of Mr. Williams's Speech that I do not It was inapplicable to his case, and unjust towards the people. He is speaking of the motives to the giving of false witness against the Queen. He here describes her as an instance of "fallen greatness." was bad taste, and untrue. The Queen has fallen in no respect whatever. But, to my point: having assumed, that the Queen is an instance of fallen greatness, he, amongst the motives to the giving of false witness against her, states, the "dispo-" sition of low-bred persons to "trample on their superiors. " who have fallen into obloquy " with those in power; the dis-" position of the base and igno-". ble to triumph over the pros-" trate fortunes of illustrious indi-" viduals, to increase the misery " of the distremed, and to " heighten, by calumny, the " anguish of the fallen." Now, though Mr. Williams enforced this by a Latin quotation, what could be more inapplicable to his case, or what more false, as applied to that case? The witnesses, whom he accused of perjury, had been got up, brought to the apot, prepared and paid. not by the low-bred and ignoble.

but the high-bred; and, go, Mr. Williams, and ask your Roval Mistress, if she has been "trampled on" by the low-bred and ignoble! The real truth is this: the Queen has been persecuted by the ministry; abandoned by the nobility and gentry and clergy; frequently betrayed by lawyers; but saved, at last, rescued from the fangs of them all, by the low-bred. More on this subject another time; for. neither Mr. Williams nor any body else, shall, without being exposed, say, that the "low-" bred," as he calls the people, have ever participated in the persecution, baseness, and treachery, experienced by the Queen. As to the Italian swearers, they could have no natural disposition to trample on the "fallen" Queen. They came for pay. And how did the "low-bred" receive them ! In short. Mr. Williams had a fine opportunity of lashing those who insolently called the people "the basest but, like the " populace;" school-master in Gil Blas. befound it more convenient to lay it on the "low-bred; and, therefore, he talked of " taunts and ignominies of the vulgar," while he ought to have talked of those of the arrogant, insolent, and brutally ignorant pretenders to high-Before Mr. Williams talks of the low-bred again, he ... may as well take a look at the " Peep at the Peers."

A LETTER

TO

LORD PALMERSTON.

His Doctrine relative to the Shutting of Soldiers up in Barracks, for the purpose of heeping them distinct from the People.

London, Oct. 3, 1990.

LORD PALMERSTON.

You are their " Secretary at War," as they call you. There is now-a-days a Commander-in-Chief's Office; an Army Payoffice; an Army Commissory's Office; an Army Quarter-master's Office; an office of Secretary of State for the War Department; all completely mounted with Heads, Toils, and Middles: Therefore, what is your business; what part of the play gou have to act, it is very difficult to guess. Pormerly there was only one office, even during the American War. Queen Anne carried on her glorious war with only one office. Until the Pruesian system came up, there was but one office, which "world." As such let it go on as was called the WAR OFFICE; long as it can. What I propose and the person at the head of to address you on, at present,

that office was called, the Sg-CRETARY AT WAR. **But** what you are the Secretary of, no man can tell, or guess. All that we know about the matter is, that you and your office cost the nation a great deal of money. We have, it seems, an army of 92,000 men, including officers: and, if all the persons, which the nation pays for keeping the accounts and managing the affairs of this army, including retired and pensioned lookers-after and account-keepers; if all these, down to porters, door-keepers. house-keepers, and " necessary women," cadets, professors, teachers, and all; if all these were mustered, army agents, barrack-masters, and their clerks and all; if all were mustered, my real opinion is, that they greatly surpass in number the 92,000 soldiers and soldier-officers, and that these browncoated, civil gentry receive a great deal more of our money than the 92,000 fighters.

. However, this is only a part of that eyetem, which is, as the Judges tell the Grand Juries, " the enery of surrounding na-" tions and admiration of the

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relates to what may be called soldiers to school, and to nitor.

of Depots, all over the country, the sound of the dram? Why smelt strongly of the Prussian shut them up in barracks and and Austrian system. sohishering of the soldiers, in this way, and keep them like foreigners; the introduc- and wholly ignorant of all the tion of Austrian names, and manners, and insensible toulithe edressés, and manners into the ties and feelings of civil die and . atmy ; calling Englishmen Hose | civil acciety "This, I suppose, sars, and putting strange caps is a breach of what Castlereagh, . and other things upon them; when he came back from the these and many other orcum- Austrian Congress, called the stances all tended to prove the # SOCIAL SYSTEMS: This. steady purpose of the soul of the I suppose, is a purpof inhat the -government. ment, and particularly the up- OKDER." However, that 4! e holding; in time of peace, of object of this establishment is to the Military Colleges, the afficer up, at the expense of the fairs of which were so fally despeople, ra stace of soldiers, valeped in my Register of the wholly divested of whi feeling .and of September, could beare, in common with the people; noas to the grand design, no body can possibly doubt. doubt in the mind of any ra- The views, therefore, of Pitt tional man. Nor ought the Mr- and of all his successors, Whige titary Abylamito becoverlacked. and any have been clear enough .To put 'she orphan some of to med of any political ediscris-

the policy of the army, of which bring them up, have a very policy you have thought proper pretty sound; but why dress to become the official expo- the little creatures in soldiers' clothes? Why parade them in It has, for a long while past, rank and file? Why teach them been easy enough to see, that to march, and wheel, and hall? the real object was to have a Why have scrieants, and cornosoldiery with feelings wholly rale, and officers over them? distinct from these of the people. Why make them get up, go to The establishment of Barracks, meals, to bed and to church, at The barrack-yards? Why rear them and thereby making them look wholly distinct from other boys, The establish- Holy Alliance Falls " SOCIAL

tion. But, until you made your speech, in the House of Commons, on the Regent's-Park-Barrack-Bill, the grand design had not been openly averged. In that speech which was nttered on the 10th of July last, you made use of the following words, which, I trust, will not be forgotten as long as you have life in you. "The object of the work" [an enclosure of eight acres of ground with a high wall round it] " was merely to " provide better accommodation " for the soldiers, who were now " in a most inconvenient state. "The officers and men were di-" vided, whilst the latter had MUCH OPPORTU-" TOO " NITY OF MIXING WITH " THE NEIGHBOURING IN-" HABITANTS, though EVE, " RY ONE MUST SEE, THAT " NOTHING COULD " MORE DESIRABLE THAN "TO KEEP THE ARMY " ALTOGETHER DISTINCT " FROM THE, PEOPLE."

Now, let us contrast this with what Blackstone is the great expositor of the laws and constitution of this kingdom, last me then, hear him; "In a land of "libenty it is extremely dangers" one to make a distinct order

", of the profession of arms. In " absolute monarchies, this is " necessary for the safety of the " Prince, and arises from the " main principle of their consti-" tution, which is that of goppen. " ing by fear : but in free states "the profession of a soldier. " taken singly and merely as " a profession, is justly an ab-" ject of jealousy. In these no "man abould take up ames, S but with a view to desend his " country and italass: he suit " not off the citizen, when he "enters the camp; but it is " because he is a citizen, and " would wish 10 continue , sol ", that he makes himself. I for a "while, a soldier. The laws. "therefore, and constitution of these kingdoms know no such state an that of in perpetual standing soldier, head up to no other profession than that figgipper: anditiwas sociiil the reign of Homes the Scyenth, that the kings of Mag-" land had so much as a guard " about their persons," a gir

This is pretty well, atthin a fige companiety, not only on the laws on and constitution of Englandy as ferous magnification and the self-mains communitary on your Rayalubilitianty Colleges and Anthines, him solubilities, of

other profession than that of arms. These establishments are a direct; open, avowed violation of the Constitution, as it is described by Blackstone; and, if we had had a Member of Parliament, during any part of the bust twenty years, if we had had only one member. this violation never would have existed at this day. However, Blackstone comes closer to you yet. seems to have forescen, that such men as Pitt. Addington, Perceval Jenkinson, and Stewart would arise. At any rate, he hits your case precisely.

. * To prevent the executive " power from being able to op-" press, it is requisite that the " armies with which it is en-" trusted should consist of the M people, and have the same spi-" rit with the people; as was " the case at Rome, till Marins "new-included the legions by " calibrar the rabble of Italy, M and laid the foundation of all " the military tyranny that en-" seed. Nothing, then, ought "to be more guarded against, foin a free state, than making " the military power, when such " a case is necessary to be kept but arms. This old constitution "on foot, a body too distinct says: the soldiers should live " from the people. Like outs, intermixed with the people; you

which is, to breed boys up to no, " therefore, it should be wholly " composed of natural subjects; " it ought only to be enlisted for " a short and limited time; the " SOLDIERS ALSO SHOULD " LIVE INTERMIXED WITH "THE PEOPLE: NO SEPA-"RATE CAMP. NO " RACKS, NO INLAND FOR-"TRESSES SHOULD BE AL-"LOWED. And, perhaps, it "might be still better, if, by "dismissing a stated number " and enlisting others at every f renewal of their term, a circu-" lation could be kept up be-" tween the army and the peo-" ple, and the citizen and the " soldier be more intimately " connected together."

Thus speak the laws and constitution of England. This was, doubtless, the constitution. which was "the envy of sur-" rounding nations and the ad-" miration of the world." But. this we know, that it is precisely the opposite which you and your colleagues call the constitution. This old constitution said, nobedy is to be bred up solely to arms: you say, colleges and distiums to breed boys up to know nothing

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say, the soldiers, though in barracks, have too much opportunity of mixing with the neighbouring inhabituate. This old constitution says: no barrucks: you say, barracks; all over the country!

Tell us, therefore, when you again mate about danger to the Constitution, whether you mean the old Comstitution, or your Constitution; whether you mean the na-barrack or the barrack Constitution. Oh! if we had but a Member of Parliament! But, both parties, though they dispute about the barrack-contract, about, the sum of money, and who is to have it; agree as to the vital point: they cordially agree as to the having of barracks!

At first sight, one is naturally aurprised at the impudence of an-avowal such, as that made by you upon this occasion. One is surprised that a man should voluntarily, have done, a thing so barefaced and so insulting both to the soldiers and the people. But, when we feel such surprise it is for want of due reflection; it is for want of reflecting on the company, you keep and on the sort of persons that surround you. The necessity of keeping " the soldiers meant the fortress to contain.

altegether distinct from the people" has so long been a topis familiar to your ears; and it is: so long'since you heard any one daring to dissent from the doctrine, that you, at last, havenot the most distant idea of the thing not being universally admitted to be just and necessary; This precious speech, therefore is to be abcribed, not so much to impudence and insolence inyou as to the tameness, or i tather, want of sincerity, in your pretended opponents, and in the Showeys, that those corrupt wretches, who are called free-men and inhabitant householders, send to the parliament, if we had had a Member in which, you never would have uttered that on which I have here been commenting, and which is only one of the many instances of official ignorance, arising from the person who puts it forth being cut off from all communication with the people, and listening to nobody but evesdroppers and parasites.

This Regent's-park-barrack is no more than Perceval's plan revived. The spot only is changed. He meant it to be in Hyde-park; and he openly, impudently and most insolently avowed; that he men with a park of artillery; and he declared, too, that the object of it was to keep the metropolic in order! This branch of the "Social System," or systeth of " Social Order and our Hely Religion," as John Bowles, the Dutch Commissioner, used to call it; this branch of the grand design was, it is now said, by " the gentleman oppesite." abandoned "by Mr. Perceval." So it was, but not till the breath was out of his bedy! For, on the very evening that Bellingham shot him, he was to bring the measure forward in a regular shape .-Amidst the alarm and confusion, eccasioned by his death, the Order of the Day went off; and the matter dropped quietly But, if he had out of sight. lived only a month longer, that, which is now only in hand, would have been perfected in 1812; and, neither Prussia nor Austria, nor even the Autocrat of all the Russias. would have had to boast of a prettier branch of that "Social System," of which Castlereagh was so full, when he came into the Honourable House amidst the dapping of hands, on his return from the Austrian Congress!

upon emergency, ten thousand! However, you may scheme as long as you like; your success will be but of short duration. The "Social System" has received its sentence: its fate is certain: and that man very badly employs his time, who speculates as to the precise hour of its exit. To prevent a Radical Reform by means of a round or square wall in the Regent's Park, is perfectly worthy of heads from which came the brilliant idea of relieving the distresses' of the nation by setting labourers to dig holes one day and fill them up the next; and from which came that other bright conceit, the lightening of the burdens of the people by doubling their taxes, under the name of returning to cashpayments!

The doctrine of Soldiers not deliberating has recently received an admirable illustration in the nine cheers said to have been given to the King by the troops in the ships off Cowes: by the addresses presented to his Majesty by Officers of the Army and Navy from Ryde and from Gosport; by the deputation of privates of the gallant 90th Regiment, sent to negociate with their officers at Plymouth, on the subject of their say, that you must be ruined talked-of embarkation; and by and the country revolutionized. the Revolution in Portugal, and unless some great change of nounced to the people, in a system of sway take place. You Proclamation, sent forth under say, that you have applied, in eight privates!

the necessity of keeping Eng- say, that there is a great all-perlish " soldiers altogether dis- vading cause of misery. Why did Look to the Horse Guards. the mending of the shoes and the washing of the shirts of the "Gentlemen Cadets" at the College of Sandhurst. If you want an inspector of the linen. Barbara Krantz may do admirably for the office; and, if she want an interpreter of difficult and delicate terms, you know what Rench to find him on.

WM. COBBETT.

TO THE RICH RUPPIANS OF BIRMINGHAM.

London, 5th Oct. 1920.

RUFFIANS,

yourselves. You now meet and shall have still more report and proclaim. You now grounds of rejoicing.

the auspices of a serjeant and vain, both to Ministers and Parliament. I wish I had been Ponder upon these things, either, that I might have given before you prattle again about you a kick in the mouth. You tinct from the people." Ponder. you not name it? You, some-Open you eyes and ears. Do time ago, combined to oppress not imagine, that all the wis- a poor Inn-keeper because he dom in the world is confined to gave entertainment to me, of whose principles you declared your abhorrence. Ruffians, you now proclaim those same principles as yours; only you have not honesty enough to acknowledge your past misdeeds. Cowards as well as Ruffians, you dare not face your associates in wickedness, who now thrive while you are on the decay. While you confess, that misgovernment is the cause of the ruin and misery, you revile and assist in persecuting and punishing those. who have laboured most ably. and most disinterestedly to remove the cause. Others may forgive you; but I never shall. With great satisfaction I see I now rejoice at your confusion that you begin to tremble for and dismay, and hope that I Joogle your false paper and fresk har-You will rests of plunder. never have them : and your past plumber you will be compelled to diagroupe. Peel's Bill cannot go into execution; but, it will hold long enough to bary you in ruin. The poor you cannot injure more than you have almady. Your own turn is now Go to the Bull at coming. Meridan; there set up a loud Inmentation: and hang ordrown youndless, and thus, in your death, de me act of justice. seeing that you have never done one in your whole lives.

WM. COBBETT.

KIMPTON APOTHECARY.

Anderer, Sept. 30, 1820.

MR. COBBETT.

I beg to inform you, that the name of the independent Clergyman, who presented the Kimpton Address to the Queen, is the Rev. ALLAN BOWMAN HUTCHING, and not Foult, as mentioned in your Paper. was the united address of Kimpton and Greatly, Hants. He has met with opposition from the Willage - Apothecary.

what you want. Fresh bales of who has spitefully inserted in the Counter . peragraph .gainst the Address in tole. Proper is one of the Corporation of Andover; rents a farm of Sir John Pollon, one of the Members for Andover : physics the servants of Mr. Ashton Smith, the other Member : has two sons Lieutenaute in the Navy; and consequently is a most independent gentleman.

I am. Sir.

A WELLWISHER TO THE QUEEN.

* Very good! Here the mystery is explained! This Andover is a rotten Borongh. The pickt of election is in the Corporation, and this Poore is, it seems, one of the Curporation, which consists of 24 persons. Possess and SMITH are two old greatures of Old George Rose. I have seen themfollow at his heels, along Winchesterstreet. Hhe spaniels. Poore helps to put them into Purliament, and Proses s Village-Apothecasy, rets two sons Lieutenants in the Nang! Well done, Peone! Phore takes this fine occasion of making mork with these who can, at their pleasure, turn Lieutenatto into Captains, or turn Lioutenants into stroct-emeepers, like an affectionate for, or wolf, takes eare of his own brood. Well done, Poore ! What is the Queen to Poore? She cannot cashier nor premote Poore's sons. Poore acts the part of s beast of prey that is eareful of its young. Well done, Poore!

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LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

London, Sept. 20, 1820.

SIR.

called a " Peep at the Com- "and Tories, 2 Members, T. S. mone," and the advertisements "Gooca and Sir William having stated it to be " A Com- " Rowley." punion-Piece to the Peep at the Poers," we begieve to trouble you with the fellowing statement on the subject.

We promised " a Companion-Piece;" but the work, which we have just noticed, is not by ms; it is not published by our publisher: and, indeed, it bears 'no resemblance to that of which it professes to be, " a Companion." But, why we think it necessary to notice it is, that it are two independent County mot only does not do justice to Members. This is clearly the the subject; but actually does impression left on our minds by nit injustice; and is calculated this Petp. to deceive and impose upon the Now, then, what are the -public by professing to make facts !-- T. S. Gooca has been a full exposure of the matter, brothers, who are Lieutenantwhile it really makes no new Colonele in the Army, 1,500L expeaues at all; and; which is a your. A sinter married a Cops,

still sworse, really is a sereen instead of an exposure.

Let us take an instance. "SUFFOLK --- 32,253 houses. " 210,481 inhabitants, compro-A week having appeared "mised between the Whigs

> Now, what exposure is here? The fact about the population is of no use. The statement about Whigs and Torics is nessense: for, where are there now any Torice? Then come the tree Members. This is the only point of real interest; and. about them we learn just nothing at all; but, what is a great deal worse than nothing at all. we are led to believe, that these

livings in the church, 1,000l. Letters! a year. His wife is sister of . Our work is to be called Lady Rous. See Rous in Peep at Peers.-5,100l. a year.

Gooch ! Now for the other member.-Rowley Sir W-A brother, with four church livings, 2,900l. a year.—Another brother, an Admiral, 1,000l. a pose upon nobody. year, and he married a sister of Sir Richard King; an Admiral, above is a mere specimen, taken Indies, not less than 5,000l. a year; and he is son-in-law of Sit John Thomas Duckworth. who is an Admiral, 1.000%, as syean ... A sister of this Rowley's your generous assistance, we wife married Col. Hammond, 860l. a year.-7,860l. a year:

. This, Sie, is our way of doing _ . THE AUTHORS OF the thing; and we think this : A PEEP AT THE PERES.

Manby in the Army, who is, a little better than stuffing out besides, Barrack-Master, 1,000l. a pamphlet with accounts of a vear. A cousin, wife of Lord houses and population, and with Walsingham, whom see in Peep | nonsense about Whigs and Toat Peers. An uncle, an Arch- ries. But, to do the thing in deacon, with two church livings, our way demands labour and 1,500l. a year. A cousin, mar- patience, and the writing and ried to a parson who has two receiving of a few hundreds of

" THE LINKS OF THE LOWER House," and it is to be pub-So much for independent lished by Mr. BENBOW, No. 269, Strand. We hope to have it ready in about a fortnight; but, at any rate, we will do the thing well. We will deceive and im-

That which we have given commanding in chief in the East without selection, but it happened to be the part just now under our hand, preparing for the press.

> With sincere thanks, Sir, for remain your obliged and baseble servants.

THE TRICKSTERS.

the Crown and Anchor, on Mon- want plunder, which they are day last, to celebrate the Revo- ready to get at by cutting the lutions in Spain, Naples, and throats of their betters! From Portugal. What passed is worthy such an unnatural association of notice only as it seems to show | what was to be expected! There how we ought to be on our were some half Whigs, great guard against the Tricksters .- feeders upon the taxes, and who Those who first proposed the love Reform as the Devil does dinner (an unnecessary thing Holy Water. ruet at this time) appear still, in ROBERT WILSON, "art than there, spite of all experience, to be possessed with the obsolete de- "Bless mine eyes! art then the lusion, that " great names" are of use to our cause. Accordingly, by one coaxary and another, for the office: No fixed princia list of names were got to- ple: a perfect political feather, gether as those of Stewards, puffed about, lifted up and let which exhibited, as to conge- down, wavering backward and niality, something very much forward, everlastingly. Steady like that of the inhabitants; of in nothing but in aiming at eleof Lord John Russell, who has, trusted by none!

but the other day, proclaimed. There was a grand dinner at in print, that the Radicale only

man I

Chairman P

The fittest man in the world Noah's Ark. Not to waste time wating thyself, and having not on such a subject, there was the even a sufficiency of judgment name of Major Cartwright, to secure thy own object with whose bill for Redical Reform any party, under any possible and whose idea of a Legislatorial combination of circumstances or Attorney have earned him even events; thinking that thou trickconviction; and there was that est all parties, while theu art if i. will only add, that it was proposed to drink a teast, consolutory to those Reformers who are now in the Dungeons of the System; and, that " the hero " of! La Valette' retired, and thus but an end to the meeting without putting this toget! He, and the tax-eaters, by whom he was surrounded, could talk big enough about the opening of the Dungtone of the Inquisition; but, not a word sgainst English Dungeons escaped their Hps ! Good God! Will Reformers, will Radicals again spend skeir money at dinners to put impostors at the head of a table to insult them! However, all these follies and all the effects of them will disappear, by-andher, as the miets to off on the rising of the sun. How we shall laugh, one of these days, when we look back to the little tricks of this time! The very first blaze of real Reform selids all these trickstors into everlanting obscurity. he good Carteer ofthe to an over the own object with

To Reduction of remetables of

According to Law

COBBETT'S PARLIAMENT-ARY DEBATES.

The First V. slushe of this work is new ready, for sale, bound in boards. It contains the First Part of the present Session; and, of course, all the interesting Devates relative to the Green Bags, Protocols, Bill of Pains and Penalties, and other things relating to the Queen .-The TRIAL is published separately. Both told by the Peinlisher of the Register, et. 269. Strand. This Volume of Debates is complete, divested of rubbish, arranged in convenient order, and is, in short, what I doem and find to be, a realty useful book. There are no great number of copies that remain unsold; and, therefore, gentlemen in the country, who wish to be supplied, should spply will as little delay as posmble. See rays billion to the

we had for Lodford Reporting any possible

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

ANSWER TO THE SHIPWRIGHTS'

I should be indifferent to the real welfare of this country if I did not take a warm interest in all that is connected with its commercial greatness or its maritime prosperity. I feel unseigned satisfaction in receiving this Address from the Shipwrights and Artisans concerned in ship-building in the river Thames. I derive more delight from the hearty congratulations of this truly respectable class of the community, to whom England is indebted for the construction of its venowned wooden walls, than I should from the hypecritical compliment of a whole. host of idlers and voluptuaries.

Justice is a simple thing, and requires no depth of learning to be understood. Its common rules and its sacred principles may be as clearly comprehended by Ship wrights and Artisans as by the mitted Bishop or the ermined Judge. does not know it to he a principie of justice, that an accused nercon should have a fair trial, and that it is hardly consistent sort of England, am delighted with the idality of a fair trial to think that the genius of Etruthat the same persons should via has been rivalled in the potuinte the incongruous offices of teries of Staffordshire. A new -Accesser Judge, and Jury; should Etruria has arisen in the immelay the charge, make the law, diate vicinity of Newcastle-undeclars: the offense, said possish Her-Lyme. The inspired taste. the offender?) The plainest un- the designing power, the exqui-derstanding may readily some site discrimination of all that is prehend that this is not pastice, beautiful in form, chaste in orbot infonity. - '4

ries, upon her naval victories, and her Continental triumphs. upon the front of defiance which she has occasionally exhibited to the nations of the worldwho that reflects apon these things, will not grieve that such a country should sanction a proceeding which is so much at variance with the most simple maxims of justice as to be universally perceptible?

The great rule of right is. to do as you would be done by.' . This rule was never more inversely exemplified than in the conduct of my adversaries.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF NEWCASTLE-UN-DER-LYME, IN THE COUNTY OF

I have much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

It gives me singular pleasure to find that my numerous persecutions have so powerfully interested the sympathies of the people in this ancient town and its industrious neighbourhood.

I have long admired the vases and other works of ancient Etruria; but, as the Queen Connament, or instructive in emble-... Who that loves his country, matic representation that distinsello that redects upon her gld- guished the most ingenious pebple in ancient Italy, appears to which the spirit of Hampden of have been revived in the productions of that intelligent district in which Newcastle-under-·Lyme is situated. In the works of ancient Etruria, beauty seems to revel in every variety of captivating figure; and if there ever was any one people who, more than another, had an instinctive feeling of the beautiful in design, and who knew how to breathe that beauty into the most common articles of domestic use, it was the artists of Etru-Their works remain to attest the skill of those sensitive hands that have so long mouldered into dust; but, if the conscious spirit of genius survive the dissolution of the mortal frame, and that spirit could be brought into the locality of modern Etruria, the most distinguished of those departed artists would instantly exclaim, that the works of his cotemporaries have been equalled in beauty of form, and surpassed in variety of usefulness, by the genius of the British manufacturer.

As the genius that was once so active in Etruria, in Athens, and in Rome, perished in proportion as the people became slaves, so I feel it a sacred duty to admonish not only the people of Staffordshire, but the people of every province in the United Kingdom, that nothing which is great in talent, exquisite in skill, rich in invention, elevated in sentiment, or profound in reflection, can long survive the loss It is Liberty that of Liberty. gives us these, and more than these. It gives us all that makes life worth having, and without their lives have been reviling

Russell, and of Sydney, thought death preferable to life.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INMARITANTS OF GALNE, IN WILTS.

" I am much obliged by this frank and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Borough of Calne, in the county of Wilts. The language of slaves is nauseating adulation; that of freemen ought to partake of the simple and ingenious character of that liberty which is always favourable to sincerity.

l am well aware that the present attempt to effect my degradation has produced discussions and dissemmated opinions that must ultimately degrade the character, and to far endanger the existence of the monar-No friend to monarchical institutions would ever wish to make the personal infirmities of the Sovereign the topic of common discussion in every circle of society, and among all classes of the community.

Kings and Queens are but like other men and women.-They rise into life, and they moulder into dust, like the rest of their species. But, because long experience has found great usefulness in the effice, the opinion, not merely of the vain and the thoughtless, but even of the reflecting and the wise, has invosted it with a dignity that has contributed to render it sacred in the estimate of mankind.--Hence it has always been thought right to throw a veil over the infirmities of sovereigns. My advotsaries, who all

first Ministers who have attempted to draw that veil aside, and to expose the interior deformities of Royalty to the public gaze. In their vain but furious assault upon my honour and upon my rights, they have compelled the people to look on the other side, and to contrast my conduct with that of my illustrious adversary. The blame cannot be imputed to me, if the throne is shaken and the Monarch is reviled.

AMSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INMABITANTS OF BRISTOL.

I am deeply indebted to the Householders and Inhabitants of the city of Bristol, for this loyal and affectionate Address.

I could not suppose that the citizens of this great seat of commerce would contemplate with indifference the insults that have been offered to the Queen, or could regard with apathy her accumulated sufferings and repeated persecutions.

I presume not to blame the ways of Providence, to doubt the wisdom or to question the goodness of any of his decrees. The great attribute of the Deity is love; and that love is more than parental to the whole race of man.

The severest trial to which the human heart can be exposed. is the premature death of those we love. At the moment, the shock confounds the understanding: it paralyzes all the powers. The scene around us is desplate, and Hope for a moment vanishes | vindicated the honour of my own from our view. But in a short [sex. The general character of time, light, though at first faint, our sex is essentially injured by

Jacobins and levellers, are the taprings up in the darkness of the The tears of affliction besoul. come mingled with a feeling of resignation. The anticipation of some future recognition elevates the thoughts while it cheers the heart.

I have suffered one act of injustice, and one attack of persecution, after another, in acontinued series, for a great number of years; but they have at length reached their maximum of iniquity and oppression. cherish no rancour, and I supplicate no vengeance. The people of England are both generous and just. I can safely trust them with the vindication of my rights and the reparation of my injuries.

ANSWER TO THE PENALS ADDRESS PROM BRISTOL.

The married females of Bristol will accept my cordial thanks for this kind tribute of their regard.

The afflictions of persons in high stations commonly excite more intensity of the sympathetic feeling than the calamities of other individuals in ordinary life. The adversities of sovereigns are the interesting theme of dramatic representation. If a deserted Queen be only a deserted woman, yet her desertion. is necessarily accompanied with associated circumstances powerfully act upon the strings of human tenderness.

In refusing to barter my honour for a bribe, I am happy to find that I am thought to have

diagrant instances of individual der me an outcast, seems likely deprecity; and the depravity of to give security to my rights, a linear, as far as vicious exam- while it adds to the stock of ple is apt to corrupt, will pro- public liberty. duce mischief in a wider circle than the deprevity of a woman imbecile, either in intellect or in in more sequestered life. But if malice, that their own evidence the preef of my depravity would has refuted their own charges. here had such a vitiating effect, and become the testimony of 1 hope the establishment of my my innocence. innucence will tend to aid the interests of female virtue, as it will show that rectitude may be preserved in the midst of the most difficult circumstances, the sacrilege is so detestable as that most alluring opportunities, and the most dangerous temptadions.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF ABERGAVENNY,

I have been much gratified by the loyal and affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the town and parish of Abergavenny, in the county of Monmouth, The ways of Providence are inscrutable: and the means which the Deity employs for the accomplishment of his gracious purposes often appear to have no relation to the effects which they are designed to produce, or to the ends in which they are to terminate. Hence the obscuration of Hope is often the precursor of Joy; and, to a calm observer, the bright expectancies of bliss often sparkle in the tears of affliction.

My persecutors have only served to multiply my friends. The injustice which I have experienced has excited the sympathies of the whole nation in my and Penalties, with which my

My adversaries base been so

The whole sation appears to have felt the officien of my name in the Liturgy as a species of sacrilege; and certainly no which invades the charity of the sanctuary. To carry the rancour of the heart into the temple of Jehovah, is a species of impiety, for which it would be difficult to find an epithet sufficiently expressive of the horrer it excites, or the disapprobation which it ought to experience; that act has, more than any thing else, characterized the temper of my adversaries. My soul grieves to think that such an unchristian proceeding should ever receive the sanction of the hieranchy.

ANSWEE TO THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JAMES'S, WESTMINSTER.

I am much impressed, and unfeignedly obliged, by this affectionate and energetic Address from the inhabitant householders of St. James's, in the city of Westminster.

The vicissitudes of my life will, perhaps, hereafter furnish a diversity of matter for poetical embellishment or for dramatic representation: at any rate. defence. Even the Bill of Pains it will be found to have been singularly troubled by plots and advertaries first thought to ren- conspiracies. One plot has suc-

An accusation without an ac-people of the continent. enser, or that accuser concealed in mystery—an adultery alfedged, and no husband produced as the injured party-an abstract term substituted for a corporeal personality, and that abstract term introduced to justify the degradation of the Queen -the incompatible offices of prosecutor, adge, and jury, all mited in the same persons, and of those persons the majority more or less dependent either by actual benofit or by future expectancy; all these are the extraordinary; the amenastitutional, the extraindicial features of the case; and they give it a character not merely of unfitness, but of unnighteousness, such as must blacken the annals of the country for ages, and make us the mockery of Europe.

The Bill itself can find no patallel, except in some of the proceedings in the terrific patoxysms of the French Revo There is no intellilution. gent individual, who, upon first hearing of such a proceeding, would not exclaim, "That whatever might be pretended to the contrary, it must be the work of Jacobins and levellers in disguise." This Bill for degrading the Queen would more properly have been termed," A Bill for degrading the Monarchy in the eyes of the country, and the country itself in the pal solace in my reflective hours

covied another, and the fast is eyes of Europe." My adversaworse than all the preceding ries have weted with as little The alarming features of the true British feeling as if they anomalous proceedings against had been hired by a foreign be me fir the House of Lords, are to lower the judicial character such as may strike every lover of the country, and to make it as of impartial justice with dismay by-word of reproach among the

> ARSWER TO THE AUGUST OF THE A MARITANTS OF ST. KATHARINE NEAR THE TOWER.

It is with peculiar satisfactions that: I receive this affectionates Address from the inhabitants of the precinct of St. Katharine, near the Tower.

I could never suppose that the inhabitants of this locality would be indifferent speciators where a glaring attempt was making! to deprive the Queen Conserv of her nights, some of which have for so many generations belonged to the precinct of St. Katharine. Of all the Queens who have successively been the patronesses of St. Katharine's, though some have drunk more deeply than others of the cup of adversity, not one has been exposed to a longer series of malicious and torturing perseeution. For the honour of human nature, history furnishes few instances where malevolence has retained all its rancour for w quarter of a century. Of the Royal Patronesses of St. Kathar rine's, though two wives of Henry VIII, suffered by the axe of the executioner, yet their's was a momentary pang, while my married life has been a long continuity of grief-a perpetual widowhood of care.

What constitutes my princi-

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is, that my sufferings are likely | press for the sad variety of my to prove beneficial to the domestic afflictions, is very acpeople, and that the liberties of the country will be angmented by the persecutions of the Queen.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF PADDINGTON.

I am particularly gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Parish of Paddington. I am not unmindful that I was myself once a resident in this paand this circumstance, rish : though combined with some painful as well as pleasurable recollections, tends to place me in a state of closer proximity to the interests of the Inhabitants, than if I had been a total stranger to the locality.

As the people of Paddington have once been my neighbours, I still consider myself as united with them by the charities of The ties of neighbourhood. friendship, when once formed, ought if possible to be indissoluble; and even those relations. which arise merely out of local contiguity, are apt to spread the fine net-work of a thousand nameless associations over the memory; and thus in a variety of ways to become intertwined Life has with the affections. naturally so many dark intervals, that it is our duty not to overlook any associated circumstances, or to reject any possible auxiliaries, that can assist in adding to the number of its sunny hours.

The sympathy which the In-

ceptable to my heart. There are circumstances in which a sense of obligation is humiliating to the individual; but gratitude to those whom we esteem is rather an elevating than a depressing sentiment. As mercy blesses both him who gives and him who takes, so gratitude, whilst it is a delicious feeling in the heart of him who. has received the benefit. reflects a pleasurable sensation upon him by whom it was conferred.

I owe more to the people of England than I can ever repay; but they are a people of so many amiable and so many noble characteristics, that I am convinced they will ever consider a grateful consciousness of the debt as a discharge from the obligation.

The good wishes which this Address conveys to me from the People of Paddington, and which I am daily receiving from all parts of the kingdom, are not empty sounds or airy professions, but the realities of affectionate regard. The oppressor and the tyrant may be greeted with the fulsome incense of extravagant praise, but its very extravagance will prove its insincerity. Very different is that tone of approbation which is perceived, and that cheering voice of sympathy which is heard, when the feelings of the people unfeignedly harmonize with the joys or the sorrows. the good or the bad fortunes. of their genuine friends and habitants of Paddington ex- their undissembled benefactors. ANSWER TO THE IMMARITANTS OF THE COUNTY AND CITY OF COVENTRY.

I am particularly obliged by this loval and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the city and county of the city of Coventry.

I cannot be insensible to the tenderness with which they lament the sad chasm that death has made in my kindred relations; nor can I readily forget the warmth with which they resent the numerous indignities that I have experienced.

My enemies have now made out the best case they could, in support of their Bill of Pains and Penalties; but who will venture to assert that the testimony they have produced, even if its validity were less suspicious than it appears, is sufficient to justify the menace in the Preamble of the Bill 1-But the very measure which my enemies designed, as fatal not only to the honour of the Queen but to the liberty of the nation, is likely to prove favourable to both. It has united all parties, and made those my friends who might otherwise have been my enemies.

Principles are indestructible: and therefore I feel a vivid assurance, that while I contend for such principles, rather than for any transient interest, I shall witimately triumph over my enemies. The principles which are most sacred to my conscience, and dearest to my heart, are those of truth, of justice, and of These principles are to promote the general happi- sure to write its epitaph.

ness of mankind: and while I maintain them with unshaken constancy, not more for my own good than for that of the nation. I am convinced that in the generous support of all classes of the community I shall be able to oppose an invulnerable shield to the violence, the ferocity, and the malice of my enemies.

In this age, when knowledge is generalized and inquiry unrestrained, the power of public opinion is become so great that every other must finally bend to its decrees. A temporary resistance may be made to the measures it suggests, or the conduct it prescribes; but as long as the press preserves only a moderate degree of liberty, public opinion must be ultimately omnipotent; and it is as vain to oppose its commands as it would be to order the earth not to revolve upon its axis.

When God gave the power of thought to man, he evidently designed it to be free. Tyranny may fetter the legs, or handcuff the arms, but it cannot impose chains on the interior operations of the mind. It may restrain the freedom of intellectual agency. through the medium of the press; but, in the present condition of man, no restraint of this kind can well be efficacious. my heart vibrates with joy when I reflect that tyranny itself is on the point of expiring, in almost every part of the European world. The holy alliance, though made for the purpose, can hardly keep it alive. Its extinction is decreed; and some member of better calculated than any other the selfish faction may have lesANSWER 'TO THE LEICENTHE ADDRESS.

This Address from the female Inhabitants of the Town of Lercester, speaks the language of animated loyalty and affectionate attachment. I accept it with much satisfaction, and I welcome the spirit which it breathes as favourable to the present and future interests of Britain. The more enlightened, virtuous, and patriotic, the females of this country become, the more we may cherish hopes of the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the rising and of future generations. Our sex are the first instructors of the young. By them the first impressions are made, and the first lessons taught. Their increased and increasing intellectual culture, therefore, gives us the fair prospect of more virtue and intelligence in the days that time is about to unfold. The omission, of my pame in the Liturgy received the sanotion of persons who have long been in the habit of making religion the, protext for their tyranny, or the veil for their seltishness; and who, on any other occasion, would have represented the proposition to exclude as many words or as many letters from the service of the, establishment as a most sacrilegious innevation, threatening the aborlition of tithes and the downfall of the hierarchy. But an alteration in direct opposition to that spirit of charity, without which all religion is but mere mummery, has been counter uppoed by the pious heads, both

There is only one riew is which I can regard this alteration with any completency, and that is as the first step in the rood work of evilestatical reformation to Pateus the first stell has been an nnhaltonical initial sion of the charity of the sanctuary, let us hope that the sext will make amends, by colarming that charity, and by making the terms of union in the establishment as comprehensive as the spirit which is breathed through the whole scheme of Christian nity. : ,

Churchmen are usually more remarkable even than States, men for being behind the light of the age. They adhere see pertinaciously to antient formal They are unwilling to pass he youd that boundary of darkness, within which their foreinthers lived; and if they good fact themselves within the illuminating ray of a purer light, they start back; as, appaining are said to vanish when the dawne.

Both Churchmen and Statem men would do well ere sit lie too late, to open their etes upoff the sun of another reformation that is rising upon the would. Is itmot their interest and out he it not to be their polity, taipresorre alk that signal unblation and pient systems or institutions and to add to that value by incorporating it with all that is one cellent in the improvements of modern times of This is the best way to referm what is bad at the same time that you preserve what is good, and keep made of the Church and of the State with the light of the part of a 3

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

ol. 37,---No. 13.] LONDON, SATURDAY, Oct. 14, 1830. [Price, 6d.

TO THE

ATTORNEY GENERAL,

On the Evidence, as compared with the assertions in his opening Speech.

London, Qet. 11, 1880.

ATTORNEY GENERAL,

It is now not a question of the Queen's guilt, or innocence : but a question of conspiracy; the great object and the public is, to ascertain the parties to that conspiracy, and especially those with whom this second conspiracy originated. The little under-affair, just exposed at Bow Street, of which I shall take notice by-and-by, serves to show, that nothing has been neglected on the part of the Queen's and the People's enemies; and, now we may daily expect new disclosures to be made. A rent has been made in this garment of imposture, and, it will now go to pieces like dewdon-a

But, at present, it is my business to make some remarks on the evidence that has been given. and to compare that evidence with the assertions in your opening Speech. To that Speech I' published an answer as soon as it came forth. That answer convinced every one who read it. that the charges were felse. Because it clearly showed, that to believe the charges, we must of necessity set reason and mature at defiance. It was, in that answer, clearly shown, that the great ground of presumed guilt. namely, the power of Bergami over the Queen, was false; that it never had an existence: that notorious facts proved it to be atrociously false; and, the conclusion was, that the charges. founded on such ground, were also false. It was shown, that, if such power had existed, Bergami would have kept the thirtyfive thousand a year; and, that it is out of nature to believe. that, if he had possessed such power, he would ever have permitted the Queen to come and 2 n

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ANSWER TO THE LEICESTER' ADDRESS

This Address from the female Inhabitants of the Town of Leicester, speaks the language of animated loyalty and affectionate attachment. . I accept with much satisfaction, and I welcome the spirit which it breathes as favourable to the present and future interests of Britain. The more enlightened, virtuous, and patriotic, the females of this country become, the more we may cherish hopes of the moral, intellectual, and political improvement of the riging and of future generations. Our sex are the first instructors of the young. By them the first impressions are made, and the first lessons, taught. Their increased and increasing intellectual culture, therefore, gives us the fair prospect of more virtue and intelligence in the days that time is about to unfold. The omission, of my name in the Liturgy received the sanction of persons who have long been in the light of making religion the, protext for their tyranny, or the veil for their sel-

been in the habit of making religion the pretext for their tyranny, or the veil for their seltishness; and who, on any other occasion, would have represented the proposition to exclude as many words or as many letters from the service of the establishment as a most sacrilegious innevation, threatening the abolition of tithes and the downfall of the hierarchy. But an alteration in direct opposition to that is risi Is it not the serve all the country without to add to add to add to to add to the hierarchy. But an alteration in direct opposition to that is risi Is it not the serve all the country without to add to add to to add to to add to add to to add to

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL BEGISTER

ol. 87,---No. 18.] LONDON, SATURDET Art. & Print

TO THE

ATTORNEY GENERAL.

On the Evidence, as compared with the assertions in his opening Speech.

London, Oct. 11, 1500

ATTORNEY GENERAL,

It is now not a question of the Queen's guilt, or innocesses but a question of conspiracy, and the great object the public is, to ascerting the parties to that conspiracy and especially those with whom second conspiracy original The little under-affair, in posed at Bow Street, of when shall take notice byserves to show, that has been neglected on a of the Queen's and the F. enemies; and, now daily expect

The endence that jackets pers, and at commercial of i≟ with the assertions is mile ha ong Sparen. To that the 8C4 published as asser # # přet the sturiaced erest and Il, and tist the deep r 1817 : ke this you must Bergami rought to St. s last leave in Mr. Alderman ... Anne Hamilton ners! Here was a /ty-two, doating uparatively young man. a life of indulgence , constant to him as the her mate, saying " all ve; or, the world well

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of people! To be covered with

or a husk or shell is absolutely ne
ured cessary to your believing of this

Bill, all present, it a my be

run the risk of losing all, and find, or, rather Cook, Powell. all he must have expected her to lose, if the alledged intercourse had existed, of which existence he must have been well assured; and assured, too, that there were witnesses to prove it.

The evidence, and your failure to prove, even by your own witnesses, many things that you promised to prove, calls on me for another general observation or two, before I enter on the particular falsehoods contained in your opening Speech.

The adulterous intercourse was, you said, continued from November 1814 to the time that Bergami quitted the service of Now, we know, the Queen. that he quitted it in June, 1820, forty-nine when it ended. at St. Omers. None of your evidence comes down later than 1817! Your own evidence will bring you down no lower. Then it was false to say that you would show the six years' continuation. Why you did not is clear enough. There were to be found no turned-off servants, who had lived with the Queen The Majocchis, after 1817! cre-men had been discharged you to believe than even this. before this period! You could I do not know what sort of a

Brown and the rest of the band could find nobody that the Queen had turned off, or that Bergami had quarrelled with, after that period!

To account for this, Street, of the Courier (and to name Street is quite enough), has told us, in a demi-official form, that we are not to believe. that the adulterous intercourse had had no existence because it ceased; for, that " it is a long " lane that has no turn." You said that you would prove the continuation throughout six years. But, no matter. The Queen was forty-six years old. when the intercourse ascribed to her commenced; and she was believe this, what sort of a man must you be? To believe that a woman, who had been so fond of a comparatively young man' for three whole years; who had been toying with him all day, and sleeping with him every night; should cease her fondness all at once, and become chaste as a nun at forty-nine; to believe this, what sort of a man Demonts and Sacchinis had must you be! But, there is, in been packed off; and the Pola- this case, something more for

man you may be: I have never but from hard and irresistible seen you, and I hope and trust I never shall. You may be made of common flesh and blood; you by choice, if your allegations be may have the outward appearance and inward feelings of other mortals; or, you may, like the old woman and maid. described by the Copper Captain, be " covered with a husk, " or shell, and rattle like a " dried chesnut;" but, if you be made of flesh and blood and bones and bowels, what a stout believer must you be, to believe, that the Queen, having, whether from satiety or from repentance, discontinued her enjoyments, would still have kept Bergami in her service and about her person? Can any man, not absolutely made up of dry stuff, or surrounded with a husk or shell, possibly believe this?

What the judges of the Queen may be made of I shall not presume even to guess. Their blood, which is generally called high, may bear some resemblance to that of the Angels, as described by Milton. But, this I know, that to common mortals the sight, even the bare sight, of adieu in the presence of a scord a once-enjoyed and now-indif- of people! To be covered with ferent and no-longer-loved or a husk of shell is absolutely neenjoyed object, is never endured cessary to your believing of this.

necessity; and, we well know: that, in this case, it was endured true. Any thing so completely against nature never was heard of before in the world.

On the other hand, suppose the intercourse to have continued till Bergami quitted the Queen, and that it was mere accident, lucky accident, that preserved her Majesty against the ferretings of Cock, Powell, and Brown, as to periods after 1817 ! supposing you to take this ground, what a man you must be to believe, that Bergami would have been brought to St. Omers, to take his last leave in the presence of Mr. Alderman Wood, Lady Anne Hamilton, and many others! Here was a woman of Afty-two, doating upon a comparatively young man, sunk into a life of indulgence with him, constant to him as the dove to her mate, saying " all for love; or, the world well lost," drawing towards the moment of tearing herself from him, and (oh, monstrous!) choosing to bid him an everlasting

Not only was the parting whol- evidence could possibly be ofly unnecessary to secure the future guilty enjoyments of the Queen; not only was she going from the certainty of enjoying fifty thousand a year and her paramour; not only was she, without the smallest necessity, going to encounter the risk of losing the income, the lover and her life, as she then thought, in a struggle against this tremendous government; not only was she doing all this, but she must choose to bring the adored object to St. Omers to take the last look at his beloved person, to hear the last sound of his dear voice, in the presence of a score of witnesses! It must, indeed, be more than a husk, or shell, that would make a man believe this. Against the voice of nature, speaking to all our hearts here, the swearings of ten thousand witnesses, be they who or what they may, are not worth a straw; and, when the witnesses are such as you have produced, what does their evidence amount to other than proof of a deep-laid conspiracy?

I now come to particular parts of your statement; and, let it world, two months before any beard this charge, "it is a lie!"

fered in contradiction to it. begin with your monstrous assertion about the Leone's exhibitions. I have twice mentioned this before; but, you never shall hear the last of this as long as you have a head upon your shoulders. Your assertion was this:

" On the return of the Prin-" cess from the East, she brought "in her train a man named " Leone, of the most brutal and " deprayed manners. This per-" son used to exhibit himself at " the Villa Branchi in the most " indecorous and shameful man-" ner, the Princess and Berga-" mi being present. The cir-"cumstances are so shocking, " so disgusting to the mind, " that I cannot without difficul-"ty bring myself to mention " them to your Lordships. But " it is necessary. The painful " situation in which I am placed, "requires that I should make " your Lordships understand the " nature of the disgusting exhi-" bition, which shall appear by " the testimony of various wit-" nesses. This man, in the si-" tuation I described, amongst " other things, used to imitate, "in the most indelicate man-" ner. the sexual intercourse " before the servants, and in the " presence of the Princess."

The whole nation, with the be observed, that this statement exception of the detested classes. was sent forth, all over the exclaimed, the moment they

A he it has proved to be, and footman, or valet de place; that, odious and detestable in and this with the evident intensuggested it, and that alone could have suggested it. Your own swearers call the exhibition only a buffoonery; and, Sir William Gell, who saw it, of the dances on our own stage. and that it is a thing publicly people, "in every town from Madrid to China." What a lie was this, then, to send over the world! How are you to justify this conduct? But, of that I have more to say by-andbý; for, you will ffrid, I fancy, that there must now be responsibility found somewhere.

I shall now go back to the outset of your string of accusations against the Queen; and. as you here take great pains to represent Bergami in as low a fight as possible, I shall here, once for all, notice this circumstance of his sudden elevation, a service for those purposes which any thing of the matter.

proportion to the malignity that tion of causing it to be believed that he had always been a mere footman, and looked upon by gentlemen in Italy as a footman is looked upon by gentlemen in England. This is a string that says it was very much like some you continually harp upon, from one end to the other of your canting and spiteful narrative. exhibited, before all sorts of And, when you come to speak of the promotion of Bergami, you recur incessantly to the lowstate, in which the Queen found him.

Now, in the first place, Bergami never was a footman; the place of courier is very different indeed from that of a footman; he had been in the army; his rank was on a level with that of our quarter-masters of horse : he was much respected by the Generals with whom he served; and, it is proved, that those Generals made him, on certain occasions. a companion, and always honoured him with their conficircumstance on which you build dence. Secondly, it is proved so much. You say, that he was by Sir William Gell, Mr. Crareceived into her service, clear- ven, and Sicard, that he was acly leaving it to be supposed, turily taken into the Queen's that she had got him into her service without her knowing you were about to describe. Marquis recommended him to You next call him a " courier, Mr. Craven; Mr. Craven saw this Marquis salute him as equals | to the " Corsican Adventurer," salute: he was recommended to Mr. Craven in the strongest terms; and, thereupon, Sicard hired him as a courier for the Queen; and, upon an understanding, too, that he was to be In time his own promoted. great merits caused his promotion. He, as it clearly appears from the evidence, was a person of great merit; that he was an able, active, vigilant, and brave man; that, in all probability, the Queen owed her personal safety, in a great degree, to him; and that to promote auch a man, to confide in him, to give him authority and to decorate him with honours, was a mark of wisdom as well as of justice in her Majesty.

But, why all this fuss about the low (as it is called) origin of Bergami? The old baughty Bourbons have made shift to swallow the pill of acknowledging as Counts, and Dukes, and who were private soldiers only a few years before they became Dukes, Counts, and Princes. The thrice treble-distilled haughtipess of the House of Austria its heirem, or eldest daughter, sides those arising out of his

Nav. the King of Sweden himself, our King's brother-king and his high ally, was, only a few years before he became King. a private soldier. Why such a fuss, then, about the Baron's low origin? Why such efforts to make out, that his office in the army was not higher than that of a serjeant? Those who have made such efforts do not seem to know much of what is passing in the world; if they did, they would perceive that the law (as it is called) origin of the Baron is, with the public, a strong circumstance in his fa-They would perceive vour. that the people, in spite of the Dungeon Bill and the Acts, have been peeping and prying a good deal into things; and that they now know perfectly well how to set a just value on what is Nobility, or high-blood. In short they would perceive that, as her Majesty Princes, as Peers of France, men has well observed, the age of darkness, delusion, and blind submission is gone, never to return.

However, I am disposed to allow that the Queen might, in (the prime protectress of Social her promotion of Bergami, be Order), could come down to give influenced by some motives beactual services to her. She I might contract a great liking towards him. I can see no sin in her liking his manners and his person, and in her being pleased with his conversation and his company. Nay (and now I shall make your husk, if you have one, rattle), I can see nosm in her lowing him! What! has it never occurred to a woman to become, by degrees very fond of a man, with whom she never even thought an adulterous intercourse? If this be sin. God have mercy on the sex! But, the Baron had a wife. Is it a sin, then, for a woman to be pleased with another woman's husband? Is it a sin for her to wish that he was not married? Is it a sin for her to like him more than any other man, and to bestow on him money or honours? this a proof of guilt? Is this a proof of her having a carnal intercourse with him? But, the Queen had a husband. That. consideration! Take, then, diastant and loving husband.

There might be something very pleasing in the manners of Bergami; and, indeed, Sir William Gell repeatedly save, that he was remarkably attentive and obliging. He has this remarkable expression: that his manners were like those of an English gentleman, only he was more attentive! It is not likely that he would be less attentive to the Queen than to other per-She who had been used. sons for so long a time, to harsh, coarse, and even brutal treatment, committed no sin in being. pleased with this attention. Her own amiable, kind, benevolent, and affable manners. which have endeared every one to her, who has had the happiness to serve under her; and who has not been a monster of ingratitude; these manners were well calculated to inspire such a man as Bergami with zeal in her service, and to draw from him, in the various perilous situations in which the Queen to be sure, was a thumping was placed, numerous proofs of sincere and ardent feeling for bolis regis, and make the most her, and of devotion to her. of it! Bawl away, as long as And, was she to be insensible to you like, on the duty and ex- all this? Was she to lock up her clusive affection that the Queen heart, and have no feeling, exowed to her kind, tender, con- cept for her dear spouse in Pall-Mall? Was she to bauish, for

her bosom? Was she to spurn at attempts to please her? Was she to repay sincere attachment with scorn, and reserve all her smiles and her money to be bestowed on those haughty and greedy creatures, who slandered and treated her with contempt. while they were ever ready to pocket her money?

Lord GUILDFORD says, indeed, that he saw nothing particularly indicative of goodbreeding about Bergami. But, different people see with diffe-Women are very rent eues. sharp-sighted in discovering merit, or demerit, in men. The Queen was a much better judge in choosing a Chamberlain than Lord Guildford could be, though that noble Peer has, even from a boy, been a Chamberlain bimself; and though, as a Chamberlain of the Eurohoguer, he has actually received about acventy thousand gounds of public money. If the Baron had acquainted with this fact, he might have called the noble Peer his brother Chamber-Majesty has belonged to us,

his sake, eyen gratitude from revenues, by Lord Guildford and his family. They, doubtless, have merited all this. though every one may not be able to say for what. surely, then, Bergami, who was so long in attendance upon the-Queen, who accompanied her in so many fatiguing travels and voyages, and who was, in fact, her guard and protector against highwaymen, assassins. deadly foes of all sorts, merited some compensation, some fayour at her hands!

But, the Queen took his brothere and sisters into her em-Nothing more natural, or more consistent with an absende from guilt. They were all in efficient effices; one attended to one thing, and another to snother. It was natural for Borgami to get his relations employed, and it was perfacily natural for the Queen: to wish to have faithful people about her. Much stress has been laid on the wife not being in the Queen's service; and, on a circumstance so perfectly natural, the basest insinuations lain. During the time that her have licen attempted to be founded. Now; I put it to any she has cost the country less a- impartial man, whether the year, than has been received reasons for this exclusion are not yearly, from tax and church manifest, without resorting to

the house, who does not see, as mistress ? Who does not see that there would, from this cause, naturally have arisen eternal feude, in an establishment like that of the Queen. forty to sixty persons in her household? In such an estabhishment there must be a species of order and command kept up, approaching somewhat towards military discipline, and, what pretty uprours must there have been with a wife continualby interfering in this discipline, her Chamberlains wives to buewhich she to a certainty would, in under her roof? Did she. or the husband and wife would in order that the door dover of have lived like cut and dog, spouses might never be apart. Besides, the wife of the Baron encumber herself with the racket was liable to the triffing acci- of accoucheurs, warses, and all dends of pregnancy and lying- the babble of the nursery? You in! Would not those have in- know, and all the world knows, terfered with the comfort of she never did, and that she the establishment? However, would have been a monstrom though here is more than suffi- fool if she had; but why, then, cient to account for the exclu- impute to Queen Caroline as sion, which was, for these read press of an adulterous intersons, shoolutely necessary, let course, a practice invariably

any particular circumstances, the wife was not agreeable to though such might also have the invariable practice in simiexisted. Bergami was the chief lar cuses? What great farmer. rater of the servants of all de- who has a married builiff, takes grees. If the wife had been in his wife too? What gentleman. or lady, who has a married that she would naturally have cook, or house-steward, or buttaken on her a sort of command, ler, has the wife too in the house? Is there one single instance of this in the nation? But, to come more closely to the point, did the late Queen, even after the confinement of who had, at some times, from the King, take the wives of her Chamberlains, Masters of Horse. Gentlemen Ushers, and the Wke. into ker house? Did she have these gentlemen's wines there to intermeddle in the duties of the busbands, and in some sort to participate in her ewn authority? Bid she have ms suk whether the excitation of followed by her prededenou,

whom the accusers of her present Majesty represent as a pa ragon of purity and chastity!

Here, then, is an answer, and more than an answer, to all the insinuations relative to the exclusion of the wife; and more than a refutation of all the base conclusions attempted drawn from that circumstance. Her Majesty had had, besides, some experience as to that domestic curse, a husband and wife for inmates. She had had Sir John Douglas and his wife! She had known what it was to have this joint authority in her house. She had, at last, found herself compelled to get them out of her house, or to run away from it herself. The result was. that they, who had made her lite miserable with their everlasting wranglings and sulkings with one another, joined most lovingly in a plot to destroy her. Surely this was enough, if plain reason and the practice of the world had not been enough, to deter her from having another man and wife in the management of her household.

You asserted, over and over again, that Bergami's sister, the Countess Oldi, was "a person

On this assumed fact you found the assertion, that the Queen having made this lady her companion, was a circumstance tending to prove the existence of an adulterous intercourse with the brother.

The assertion as to want of education and as to vulgarity of manners having been proved to be false by the concurrent testimony of Mr. CRAVEN, SIR W GELL, Mr. MILLS, and even by the Noble Chamberlain of OUR EXCHEQUER, it is not necessary to say a word as to the calumnious conclusion which you drew from the assertion; but, we have here an excellent opportunity of showing the sort of trifles that have been caught at. and the indescribable anxiety to establish even those trifles. The matter was pushed, at last, even to the accent of the Counters Oldi! Her accent was to be the test of her education! Some very high people would. I believe, not stand such a test. remember an impudent, old. broad-faced baggage, who was, for many years, the centre of corruption, and who had the audacity to crack her san in triumph every time any Peer said. without education, and of the "not guilty," on the trial of most low and vulgar manners." the late Melville: I remem-

ber this insolent old haridan, has the burr in his throat, and whose accent was no more English than it was French. But, indeed, what have we to do but to listen to any one debate, in either house of parliament, to be convinced of the impudence, the baseness, and the beastliness, of inferring want of education from provincial accent? According to this, nobody can, in this kipgdom, be well educated, unless bred up within I will fifty miles of London. not mention the cramp of the Scotch and the blub-blub of the Irish, for there is LORD GREN-VILLE, who could not say whole if his life depended upon it. He invariably says hull, the " hull of the subject," with his mouth open and his tongue decked up against the inside of his upper teeth, and not ".whole," with his lips pushed forward and his mouth nearly closed. But, what is this a proof of? Not of want of education; but of having been born and brought up in Buckinghamshire. There is the Lord Chancellor, who has been from his parental coal-merchant's fireside for fifty years; who has been a tutor at Oxford, and who has made, perhaps, a million of money by talking, but who still

whose accent is not even vet half so good as that of an apprentice-boy, born and brought up, in Kent, or Surrey.

What a foolish thing is it. what a catching at straws is it. to attempt to draw from any provincial accent of the Countess Oldi, an inference unfavourable to the innocence of the Queen! It was asked, whether the Countess spoke Italian grammaticalty. An illustration wanted here; and, if I had been. Counsel for the Queen, I would have read an extract from the King's last Speech, then an extract from the Answer to it given by the House of Commons: and then I would have asked the witness, whether the language of the Countess Oldi were more or less grammatical than those compositions! However, since grammar is to have something to do in the decision. I will insert these two extracts here:

LAST SENTENCE OF KING'S . Speech. - " I trust that an " awakened sense of the dan-" gers which they have incur-" red, and of the arts which " have been employed to se-"duce them, will bring back by " far the greater part of those " who have been unhappily led " astray, and will revive in them

" that spirit of loyalty, that due "aubmission to the laws, and " that attachment to the Consti-"tion, which SUBSISTS un-" shated in the hearts of the " great body of the people, and " which, under the blessings of " Divine Providence, HAVE se-" cured to the British nation the "enjoyment of a larger share " of practical freedom, as well "as of prosperity and happi-" ness, than have fallen to the "lot of any nation in the world."

ANSWER OF THE COMMONS. -" We concur most heartily in " the benevolent WISH, ex-" pressed by your Majesty, that "an awakened sense of the "dangers which they have in-" curred, and of the arts which " have been employed to seduce " them, WILL bring back the " far greater proportion of those " who have been unhappily led " astray, and WILL revive in "them that spirit of loyalty, "that due submission to the "laws, and that attachment to " the Constitution, which we are " confident SUBSISTS in the " hearts of the great body of " the people, which, under the " blessings of Divine Provi-"dence, HAS secured to the "British nation the enjoyment " of a larger share of practical "freedom, as well as of prospe-"rity and happiness, than HAS " failen to the lot of any nation " in the world."

Now, then, if grammar like this be to be found in things proceeding from the mouths;

language like this be, and on such an occasion too, used by the very elect of the "first "society in the world," by " the ornament of the country;" if this be the case, let not out good and gracious and benevolent and gallant Queen be carped at, even if the Countess of Oldi should be found tripping upon a point of grammar!

In dismissing this at once childish and spiteful tissue of insimuations buift on the assertions about low-birth and vulgarity, f. if I had been Counsel for the Queen, would have asked the witnesses, whether any of the males of the family of Bergami were "wine-tasters, butlers, " tide-waiters, craners, wharf-"ingers, gaugers, or pack-" ers:" and whether any of the ladies of the family were " clerks, ushers, custom-house-" keepers or sweepers of Mails." Any man with a husk, or shelf, about him, might have rustled at this, and I might have set highblood into a strong fermentstion; but, if I had been Counsel for the Queen, the Devil take me, if I would not have put the question; for, whether witnesses had answered in the nay, from the pene, of our Mi- affirmative or in the negative, I nisters and Legislators; if should, in my summing up, have

known well how to make precious use of this part of their evidence. The plan of the Queen's Lawyers seems to be purely defensive: her Majesty. happily for herself and the country, has pursped a plan wholly different.

Having now swept away all the contemptible rubbish about low-birth and vulgarity; having shown that the Queen's conduct with regard to Bergami and his family was perfectly consistent with innocence in her, Majesty's demeanour and intentions; having shown how hollow that cause must be that could seek for aid in such pitiful pretences I now come to your more direct grounds of charge, beginning, as you began, with the distribution of the sleeping rooms at Naples, in Nevember, 1817.

The passage of your speech relating to this matter is as follows:-

" Up to the time of Her Ma-" jesty's arrival at Naples, this "lad (Wm. Austin) was the " object of her peculiar atten-" tion, and, in fact, being a boy " of only 6 or 7 years of age, "was in the habit of sleeping in "a bed in the same room with " her Majesty. The arrangement " of her Majesty's own sleeping "apartment devolved upon one " aervant, whose peculiar duty it | " said that he had now arrived

" of her domestic comfort. On 'the arrival of her Majesty's "suite at Naples, it was so ar-"ranged that her Majesty's " sleeping-room was at an op-" posite side of the house to "that of her menial domestics, " among whom was her courier. "On the first night of her Ma-" jesty's arrival at Naples, (the "8th Nov.) to which he had " called their lordships' atten-"tion, this arrangement was "continued. Bergami elept in " that part of the house which " had been prepared for the do-" mestics, and young Austin " slent in her Majesty's apart-"ment. But on the following " morning, November the 9th, " the servents of the establish-"ment learned with some sur-" prise, because no reason ap-" peared to them for the change, that Bergami was no longer to eleep in that part of the house " where he had slept the night " preceding; but that it was "her Majesty's pleasure that be should sleep in a room "from which there was a free " communication with that of "her Majesty, by means of a " corridor or passage. He need " not state, that such a circum-" stance was calculated to excite the surprise of those who were about her Majesty's person; and that surprise was increased when they learnt " from her Majesty that she no " longer wished Wm. Austin to continue to sleep in her room. " For this she assigned a neggon, " which, if it was her only mo-"tiye, was vary proper: ,she " was to attend to that branch " at an age when it was

" should sleep in her apartment; | " Bergami was in his bed-room; " and a separate room was pre-" pared for his use. He had al-"ready stated that, from the " situation assigned to Bergami, "a free communication was " open between his chamber and "that of her Majesty; and (he " believed) he should be able to "satisfy their lordships that on " the evening of the 9th of No-" vember that intercourse. " which is charged between her "Majesty and Bergami by the "present bill, commenced, and "that it was continued from "that time till he quitted her " service. Upon the evening of " the 9th of November her Ma-" jesty went to the Opera at " Naples, but it was observed "that she returned home at a "very early hour. The person " who waited upon her, on her "return, was the maid servant "whose duty it was particularly " to attend to her bed-room. She " was struck with the manner " of the Princess, and with the "agitation which she manifest-" ed. She hastened to her "apartment, and gave strict " ordera that W_{m} . " should not be admitted to her "room that evening. She was " then observed to go from her " own room towards that as-" signed to Bergami. She very "soon dismissed her female at-" tendant, telling her that she "had no further occasion for " her services. The female ser-" vant retired; but not without "those suspicions which the "circumstances he had mention-" ed were calculated to excite

"longer becoming that he," She knew, at the time, that " for this was the first night of " his having taken advantage " of the arrangement which had "been previously made."

Now here is the outset; here is the foundation; here is the laying of the ground for all that follows. Every word of this passage is of importance. Here, as described by you, is a regular plan begun to be put into execution. All the circumstances, which are numerous, are made nicely to fit with each It is a contrivance as complete as ever proceeded from the mind of man. then, if, in every part of it, this statement of yours is proved to be false, who is to believe any thing that you asserted, and that your witnesses have sworn? Let us see, then, how the matter stands.

First, you state the age of Mr. Austin falsely, "a boy only " six or seven years old." was born in 1802, and was, therefore, about twelve years old. This, therefore, was a direct falsehood, and intended to answer a malignant purpose. If he were only six or seven, the removal of him from the Queen's room could not be for the sake Fin the mind of any individual. of delicacy, and might well be

for the sake of concealment. | being, as you asserted, "only But, if he were twelve years old, the motive of delicacy would naturally enough exist. Therefore, you represent him as six or seven years old instead of twelve. in order to produce a belief. that the removal must have been for the sole purpose of concealment! You said, that you received your instructions from the Home-Office. You have frequently said, during the trial. that you appear before the Lords by their command. Now, pray, who was it that instructed or commanded you to represent Mr. Austin as being "a boy " only six or seven years old?" If you do not answer me, I trust that you will answer this question before this matter is ended.

You say, that this boy was in the habit of sleeping in the same room with the Queen before this night: this guilty night. It is now proved, over and over "sleep in a room, from which again, that he had frequently "there was a free communicaslept in another room than the " tion with that of her Majesty Queen's before this time; and, "by means of a passage." Let it is also proved, that, before me stop here; for the vile misthis time, she had settled on his representations will accumulate quitting her room for good. But, so fast, that they will defy all. from your representation we are power of exposure. to infer, that she now, for the lt is proved by STCARD, and first time, thought of putting we shall by-and-by see, this is him into another room; and, a witness that nothing can

" six or seven years old," you left all the world to conclude. that she now put him out of her room for the sole purpose of concealing the adulterous intercourse on which she was about to enter.

Next comes the contrivance. the deep-laid contrivance, to get access to Bergami by night. And this is your statement: first, that, on the arrival at Naples, "the Queen's sleeping " room was at an opposite side " of the house to that of the "menial domestics, amongst " whom was Bergami; that he-" slept there the first night, but " that the next day, to the sur-" prize of the servants of the " establishment, they found, "that Bergami was no longer " to sleep in that part of the " house, but that it was her Ma-" jesty's pleasure, that he should

shake; that this is a double-dis- says, that, near the little place tilled lie. He says, that the where Bergami was put to sleep, house at Naples was found inconvenient; and that after the first night, several alterations as to bed-rooms were made. He says, that Bergami, who had slept the first night, in a room over Lady E. Forbes, was brought and lodged in a small room in that part of the house where the Queen slept; but, he does not, like you, say, that this change was in consequence of " Her Majesty's pleasure." No! so far from it, he says, that it was he made the change of his own head; and, that he made it, too, not only without any orders, but without consulting with the Queen, and without her knowledge! Alas! how your tissue, your neatly woven web of falsehoods, is torn to atoms by this single touch of the finger of truth! What now becomes of all that " aurprize," which you say was felt by the servants of the establishment, when they found that Bergami was to change his quarters? This SICARD was one of those very servants!

there was a door from the garden; and, that it was thought necessary by him, SICARD, and also by another servant, HIERO-NIMUS, that some one should be placed to sleep there, to prevent robbers from entering by that door! Now, what baseness was it, then, to assert, or to instruct you to assert, that Bergami was placed here expressly by desire of the Queen, and for the purpose alleged by you!

Then, as to the free communication between Bergami's closet and the chamber of the Queen. Who would not imagine, that she had got his room as near to her's as possible, and that there was nobody sleeping in any rooms between them? Yet this was wholly false. His room was at sixty feet from her's along the main passage; there were three sleeping rooms between them, all occupied, one by Mr. Austin, one by Hieronimus, and one by Doctor Holland! There was a communication between their rooms by a back passage; but, then, two doors opened into But, SICARD does not stop that passage from the other here. He goes further, and and there were two doors to shows why he made the change open to get to Bergami's room with regard to Bergami. He from the room of the Queen! Never were more flagrant or NOW TOLD THEM, before exposed by SICARD.

Next we come to William Austin again. And, now mind, England. at Naples. gave " strict orders," that Austin should " not be admitted to! Did this discover a desire to " to her room that evening!" SICARD says, that it might be about a week after the arrival at place!

Queen went to bed, she knew that Bergami was in his foom. " for this was the first night of " his having taken advantage of " that arrangement" Advantage, indeed! Would it not have been more honest for you to say, that, night being come, bed-time having arrived, he had gone to the room appointed for him to sleep in by SICARD!

How infamous is all this! But, your employers did not know of what SICARD has now told KNOW, WHAT SICARD HAS to hear him! He

baser falsehoods than those here they spent three hundred thousand pounds in a prosecution of the Queen? SICARD was in He has been here you say, that his removal took these three or four years. Dr. place on the 9th of November, Holland has been here these the second night of the residence five years. And yet, they have The Queen then never been spoken to by your employers! Never even spoken come at truth; or, did it discover a desire to have, at last, an excuse for having acted upon Naples that the removal took falsehood? This is the point of all points. Your employers were You say, that, when the not bound to believe SICARD or Dr. HOLLAND; but, they were bound to question them, before they budertook to accuse and asperse the Queen. Their not having done this proves clearly what their views, wishes, and intentions were. Can any body say; can even your employers say, that they would have brought the accusations forward, if they had, before they brought them forward, heard SICARD? Why, then, did they not hear him? They knew he was in you. WHY DID THEY NOT England; they knew, that he KNOW IT? This is a question was not very well pleased with that your employers will have the Queen; they knew, that he put home to them by-and-by. had been, in fact, kindly put on DID THEY NOT the shelf: but, yet they feared

maturalized in England; a man fand bewilder, and make out a of excellent character; he was something at last that may not a Cook and Powell and seem to form a plausible ground Brown man; he was not a Ma- for this proceeding, and to show jocchi, a Sacchini, or a Demont; that the instigators were not and, therefore, it was, that they animated by unmixed malice did not speak to him.

This point is now of much of Mr. Hownam, or your three quarter of a day's cross-examiround or square, flat or sloping, so availed themselves. of the ship, had a gang-way formation! going down through it, and was cone more a place of secrecy than you on through your other as-'a barrack-room is a place of sertions. secrecy; you may try to bother bestow some room on the Pla-

aforethought; but, after all this more than infernal persecumore importance than your tion, her Majesty is not to be whole day's cross-examination shuffled off without the prosecutors being able to prove, that they availed themselves of all nation of the half-suffocated Mr. the means within their power FLINN: yes, of a vast deal more of obtaining true information, consequence than whether the or without their being made binascle of the polacre was responsible for their not having covered with lead or covered know well that men are puwith copper, or whether it was nished, and justly punished, too, flat at the top, or formed an in- for preferring false and groundclined plane. You may bother less bills of indictment: and as long as you please about a your employers may be well asman and woman sleeping under sured, that her Majesty is not a tent, which in fact covered to be shuffled off with any mi-I nearly the whole quarter-deck schable pretences about means.

I shall, in my next, follow At present I must card Conspiracy. time you may depend upon it that it is impossible for this wind to blow over! It must bring down something or somebody; and, take this to your comfort, that you have raised it yourselves.

WM. COBBETT.

PLACARD CONSPIRACY.

This conspiracy is a very pretty companion piece to the Catostreet conspiracy. It makes naturally a part of the spy system, openly avowed by Canning, and as openly defended by Mr. Brougham, at the very time when he knew the Queen to be beset by spies, and also at the very time when he was preparing for his trip to St. Omers; or, rather, at the very moment when he was negociating with the ministers the terms upon which the Queen was to be kept out of England. There are some men soft enough to be taken in by a little bombast; and the Queen is so popular; so justly -beloved and admired, that there are men, found to say, that this defence of the spy system, on the part of Mr. Brougham, may be overlooked for the pre- spirators in London!

In the mean | sent. I am of a different opi-The man that could nion. openly defend that system was too far gone in political wickedness ever to retrace his steps. It was a thing that showed clearly that the man who did it was under the restraint of no principle whatever.

> However, sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. The reader will judge from the following account of the proceedings at Bow-street and at the Home Office, of the nature and extent of the placarding conspiracy. I have inserted at the bottom of it. a letter from Mr. DENIS O'BRYEN. I suspect, and I have always suspected, that the Radicals had no hand whatever in the proclamation, which finally led to the recent beheadings and transportings in Scotland! I watched narrowly to see, whether any printer, publisher, or bill-sticker was detected in that affair! one. How could this have happened, if the Radicals had been the authors and promulgators of the proclamation? Oh! let but the blood of those brave Scotsmen be brought fairly home, and laid upon the heads of con-

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be done, and we shall then see ling, is a very satisfactory comour way clear!

The intention of the conspirators upon the present occasion seems to have been, to produce what, in their bloody slang, is called a premature morement; and thereby to obtain a reaction, as they call it. They have been waiting for a re-action from the moment that the Queen arrived in London. They now see that there is no hope of a bloodless re-action; and. therefore, they are for creating some pretence, some excuse, something or other that shall - justify a suspension of the laws. midst of which, the people may be frightened from their support of the Queen.

days, a rumour on float, that the any given stage of the proceed-

mentary on this rumour. Conspirators are not always the wisest men in the world; and, therefore, we are not to conclude, that the checking of the conspiracy ought not to be hailed by themselves as a most lucky accident. Their premature movement might possibly have been a very unlucky movement for them; and, the taking of the Queen to the Tower is, I imagine, a thing much more easy to talk about than perform. It is very certain that those who have brought the Queen to trial, would never a creating of a hub bub, in the have attempted such a thing, if they had known what they now know. Not to have begun the thing at all would have There had been, for many been best. To have stopped at Queen was to be taken up for ings would have been better sedition or treason, and COM- than to go on, just as it would MITTED TO THE TOWER! have been in the proceedings of This rumour was on float for the Boroughmongers against many days before the conspira- the Reformers. But, men, with ey was discovered. The dis-power of dubious duration in covery of the conspiracy; or, their hands, are like a losing rather, the nature of the pla- gamester with money in his cards, and particularly of one, pocket: neither of them ever which, as I hear, was forthcom- stops till the last stake is gone.

I shall now insert the Bow- beset with such terrible danquaintance and friend. Manchester magistrates, and which some poet describes as which will long live in our to hell to the sinners that are anmean these conspiracies, do not horrible part of the infernal take me, and they ought not to abodes. take my readers, by surprise. I have always foretold that the one is apt to be tempted to thing (for by what name I know diverge from one's path. I now met to call it) would take des- return and lay before my readperate plunges towards the ers a transcript, or rather reclose! I always said that it print, of those proceedings of second lay about it; and that which I have been speaking, woe be unto him who came and from which I have detained wear it in its agony. It is now them too long.

proceedings and Mr. gers; it is immerged in such O'Bryen's letter, with this ob- unfathomable difficulties, that it servation only, that the reader must either yield up the ghost ought to look very attentively at once, or make some most at the conduct of Baker the outrageously desperate effort to Boyv-street magistrate, and at prolong its existence even for a that of Williams his old ac- quarter of a year. It is useless The to reason with the thing any neader should look also very longer. It is become perfectly attentively at that which took mad. It has neither rule for its place at the office of our friend, conduct nor light to guide it. Sidmouth, author of the me- Through the thickest darkness morable circular letter, anthor it now and then gets a glimpse: of the letter of thanks to the but it is a glimpse like that prime author of so many things being given by the flames of membrance. These things, I proaching towards the most

This is a subject upon which

DISCOVERY OF THE MANUFAC- I is the niece and daughter-in-law AND TURE OF SEDITIOUS TREASONABLE PLACARDS.

(From the Times,)

BOW STREET, MONDAY, OCT. 9.

It is already known to the public that a poor and ignorant boy. Adderfield, was on Saturday last brought to this office. charged with circulating handbills of the most treasonable character,. The spirit and design of this publication will best appear from its own terms:-

"EVIL BE TO HIM WHO EVIL THINKS.

"The Queen's friends, whenever, and however assembled. will not content themselves with empty professions, but give solid proofs of their zeal by effectually promoting the subscription for such a service of plate as may be worthy of this noble country; and show her Majesty's nefarious persecutors that it is not in the power of an infamous government, a corrupt judicature, or bribed majorities-of exectable periuters, suborners of evidence, or malignant conspirators—to shut the hands of the people of England after they have opened their hearts. would Eternal disgrace stamped upon the nation if this thoroughly measure did not Mighty events are succeed. probably in the womb of time. Except from the meritless accidents of sex and primogeniture, what claim has the King upon the nation which the Queen does not possess in comfrom one King of England; she for the plate.

of another King; and without preaching any doctrine tending to civil convulsion, the historical truth is undeniable, that England never was greater or happier than in the 'golden days of good Queen Bess,' and the glorious ones of Queen Anne. Some among the most remorseless of Queen Caroline's enemies might bear in mind that there is an express act of parliament which makes it penal to question the right of the nation to limit the succession to the throne. Whilst the wife. with the magnanimity of a Semiramis, is propounding a system that must shortly regenerate this enslaved land. and crush the tyrant while it rends the chain, the husband is playing the Dandy. "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning.'

"Never will the generous hearts of Englishmen, after the plan has been so promulged of supplying to her Majesty that plate, which, though denied to the niece of George the Third, has been made a boon to ber newspaper traducer—never will the public, whose annihilated liberties are sure of resuscitation in the providential strumentality of this noble-minded Princess (of which, by the way, a recent glorious acquittal even in one of those right arms of tyranny, called courts of law, is anspiciously portentous); never will the British public permit the dishonour to her mon with him? She, as well as which would be inseparable he is only third in generation from failure of the subscription Subscriptions

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following places, viz.:-

wire-worker; Parr, Russell-st. choly lot of some. Others ar-Covent-garden, tailor; Ireland, languishing in chains and duna Holborn-bridge, hosier; Cahuac, geons. A few weeks only, uner: Dennison, West-Smithfield, time, will see two more of our cutler; Watling, opposite the foremost champions 'laid in Adelphi. Whitaker, Surrey Coffee-house, judgment of ermined flends, Union-st. Borough; Benbow, A long pull, a strong pull, and a 269, Strand, printer; being the pull altogether, may save us by all the other subsequently jealousies, and keep in mind the

" Trustees.—The Duke of Leinster: the Earl of Oxford; Lord William Fitzgerald:

"And the following Members of Parliament and Gentlemen; Sir G. Noel, Sir F. Burdett, Sir R. Wilson, Sir J. Newport, Sir H. Parnell, Hon. D. Kinnaird, Alderman Wood, Peter Moore, Esq., Joseph Hume, Esq., J. C. Hobbouse, Esq., Charles Calvert, Esq., Edward Ellice, Esq., Major I. Williams, Alderman Thorpe, Mr. Sheriff Waithman.

"N. B. All friends to the glo-Revolutions of Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sicily, and to unburlesqued liberty in England, will not fail to attend the Crown and Anchor dinner on the 2d of October. Sir R Wilson, M. P., K. M. T., T. and S. St. G., St. A., and B. E. in !

the chair.

" A passing word on the genevities the resisters of the detestable government should not forget those who are happened to be but little night

continue to be received at the now suffering for their past llowing places, viz.:— well-proved virtues in the cause.
"Messrs. West, 329, Strand, Scaffolds have been the melane Blackman-st. Borough, publish-less the nation be roused in Strand, publisher; basest bonds' by the corrupt original receiving-houses: also all. Let the regenerators of by Mrs. Carlile, Fleet-st.; and their country discard all petty added members of the commit-motto of that brave people which, by a glorious tevolution, cast off a tyrant's sway, and established independence:---Concordia res parvæ crescunt, discordia maxumæ dilabuntur."

When Mr. Minshull, one of the Bow-street magistrates, was proceeding to fine this unfortunate tool in the hands of others. Mr. Pearson proposed to get the person who employed him apa prehended. Having sworn that he had traced the fabrication to an individual, and having obtained a warrant to apprehend him, he accompanied Vickery, the officer, to his house, and had him taken into custody on Sun-

day morning.

This morning (Monday) come siderable curiosity appeared to have been excited by the subject. Mr. Hume, M.P., Sir Gerard Nock M. P., Major Cartwright, and several other gentlemen, came into the office soon after test ral cause .-- Even in their festi- o'clock. Sir Robert Baker and Mr. Birnie were the magistrates which en- present; Mr. Minshull soon afe slaves this once free nation terwards took his place. There

business to require the attention | many of those treasonable paof the Court.

Mr. Poutson-Will your Worship proceed now, then, to, incaire into the charge upon which I obtained a warrant on Saturday ?

Mr. Birnie—I have no objection: let the person charged be

brought in.

It was observed, we believe by one of the officers, that the gentieman was not come.

Six Robert Baker-He will be

bere.

Mr. Postton—I ask you openly whether you have discharged him f

Sir Robert Baker-He has given securities for his appearance, and he will be here; so you may attend another day.

Mr. Pearson-This day was fixed for the purpose, and I wish to know how it is that he is not i here ?

Sir Robert Baker-He promised to be here at 11. It is new past 11, but he will be here im a few minutes.

Mr. Pearson---Then I shall trait for a few minutes.

After a sousiderable interval, Mt. Postuon dame forward again, and stid--- I beg leave to state my charges against a persee of the name of Franklin. who was apprehended on Sunday morning by Mr. Vickery and mysèil. Aghinst this person i have severat charges, for fabriesting and publishing placerds, not only resommending sedition and insurrection, but resistance - to the government by force, and for doing all this under the protection and authority of that goveriment. I hold in my hand intents for securing him as you

pers, issued by this person at various times. I charge him with being at this moment in treasonable conspiracy in the neighbourhood. I call upon you to grant a warrant for searching the house in which I believe him to be.

Mr. Minsbull---Is that the young man that was charged here with circulating seditious

placatds ?

Mr. Pearson --- No: he was but the instrument whom Mr. Birnie described as ignorantly giving effect to the purposes of others. I have been five days and five nights in search of the author of the placard and employer of the poor boy. I now ask for an officer to search for this person; and I state boldly that he is engaged in a treasonable compiracy against the people.

Sir Robert Baker-I understand what treason against the King means: but treason against the people I don't understand.

Mr. Pearson—The King and the Government are understood to represent the people, and to act as their agents.

Sir Robert Baker—Yes; but treason against the people I do

not understand.

Mr. Pearson-Well, I charge him with treason against the King.

Mr. Minshull-You charge with treason; the term is suffi-

ciently intelligible.

Mr. Pearson—I charge him With treason; and I say that from this charge he is attempting to run out of the country. I call upon you to use the same would against an ignorant, a poor, and a seditious person, in the usual sense attached to the word seditious.

Sir Robert Baker—We have now sent to the man who undertook for his appearance; a wery respectable man whom I have long known, and who lives in the neighbouring parish.

Some person reported that he

was not there.

Mr. Pearson—I stated other charges against him to you, Mr. Birnie.

Mr. Birnie—Yes, you did, in your letter; and I refused on that account to bail him. I am quite sure he will not appear.

Sir Robert Baker—I know only this; that I discharged him upon the responsibility of a most respectable gentleman who lives in St. Martin's lane. I have no doubt that he will appear; if he does not, I shall spare no means to apprehend him, not only for this charge, but because he deceived me.

Mr. Minshull—He called on me yesterday; and I have no doubt, if I had been present. I should have done what my bro-

ther magistrate did.

Mr. Pearson-Well, I am

ready to state my case.

Sir Robert Baker --- Would not that be better done in private?

Mr. Pearson.—If you please.
Mr. Vickery came forward to
justify his activity and fidelity
on the occasion.

Mr. Pearson agreed.

Mr. Birnio--Where is old Mr. Williams?

It was answored that he was in attendance.

Sir Robert Baker---Let Mr. Williams come forward.

An old man, of very respectable appearance, came forward to the end of the table.

Sir Robert Baker---Have you

seen your friend?

Mr. Williams --- I have not to-

Sir Robert Baker---Will he be

here to-day?

Mr. Williams---Yes, he told me so.

Mr. Birnie---I never expected that he would appear, and therefore I refused to take bail.

Mr. Williams --- I have not seen

him to-day.

Mr. Birnie---What arrange-

ments did you make?

Mr. Williams.—I went this morning to see him, being my next-door neighbour.

Mr. Minshall,-When did you

see him last?

Mr. Williams.—Yesterday morning we went to No. 6, Berkeley-street, and I called with him at Sir Robert Baker's. We saw Lady Baker, who told us that Sir Robert was probably at your office (Mr. Mushull's.) We came to your office, but, not finding him, we went back again to Sir Robert Baker's.

Mr. Birnie.—But what arrangements had you made for

meeting this day?

Mr. Williams.-None.

Mr. Birnie.—When did you part with him ?

Mr. Williams.—At 10 o'clock at night, at his honse. I came home with him, and dined with him.

Mr. Birnie.—Did he say he was coming here to-day!

Mr. Williams.—He said so in

going along.

Mr. Birnie.-In going along ! Were you to call on him, or was he to call on you, to come here together?

Mr. Williams.—I was to call on him; and I called at 8 o'clock this morning; but he was not at

home.

Mr. Birnie.—Were you surprised! or did you expect to find him ?

Mr. Williams.—I did expect

to find him.

Mr. Birnie,-I knew Mr. Wiltiams, and I reluctantly refused bail, knowing that Mr. Williams was a respectable man; but l never supposed that the accused meant to appear, and therefore I refused bail. I understood the arrangements to be, then, that he should be here at 12 o'clock, and you, Mr. Williams, with him, ready with bail.

Mr. Pearson, Mr. Williams, you must be anxious to get him apprehended as well as I. probably can tell us the names of some of his relations, with whom he may have taken re-Is his name Frankland

or Franklin!

Mr. Williams .- Vranklin. Mr. Pearson .--- What is his Christian name ?--- Wy lliam.

Mr. Pearson --- Wm. Vranklin? He lives in Clarendo n-place, Edgware-road. ...

Mr. Williams.---Yes.

Mr. Pearson.---Has he make son in the Guards?

Mr. Williams,---He has.

Mr. Pearson .--- An officer in the Guards !

COI,

Mr. Pearson.-What is his Ohristian name, and where does he live?

Mr. Williams.---In truth I do not know his name, or where he lives.

Mr. Birnie .-- Mr. Pearson, you are now stepping too far. this ought to be private.

Mr. Minshull, Mr. Pearson, and Mr. Williams, retired then to Mr. Stafford's room, where the inquiry was proceeded with. Mr. Stafford returned soon afterwards, and said that Mr. Williams denied having given bail.

Sir Robert Baker.--He certainly gave an undertaking; I don't know whether he considers.

it bail or not,

Sir Robert Baker soon after-. wards retired into Mr. Stafford's room, to assist in the inquiry.

In the private room Mr. Williams's examination was continued, for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a clue to the discovery of Mr. Franklin's place of concealment. Mr. Williams resolutely persisted in his declaration that he had not in any way bound himself for Mr. Franklin's appearence; but that he had merely assured Sir Robert Baker of the respectability of the accused, and that he would attend with him in the morning at the office. From the examination of Mr. Williams it appeared that Mr. Franklin was a gentleman of independent fortune, and that he had a son an officer in the Guards; he also said that he had been on the Sunday with the officer and the prisoner to Mr. Birnie, at his country house, Mr. Williams .-- Yes, he is an in order to obtain his liberation ; that Mr. Birnie refused to but

comply with his request, and in at the window: At length O'Bryan; is situated in Craven-house. street, Strand; and at was represented at the office (we know not with what degree of truth) Pearson returned to the office. that that gentleman has, for several years, held a sinecure contrived to thraw some very place under government, worth 800% per annum; and that he is a writer for a certain Morning Paper, which advocates the cause of Ministers.

information was given at the office that Mr. Franklin had been watched for some days, and had been observed to meet every day, at the house of Mr. Dennis O'Bryan, with some other distinguished characters connected with the ministerial press; and that all the treasonable and seditions hand-bills are carried to that house, and stance so important to the inthe conspirators admitted by a quiry; and that he should have signal given of drawing a stick thought an honourable man along the railing. When Mr. would not have rested until he Craven-street, they were re-Robert Baker, in order that fused admittance by the servant, warrants might have been is when Vickery threatened to get sued early in the morning for

had advised Mr. Williams, as a gentleman from within, who a friend, not to have any thing appeared not to like the aspect to do with the prisoner. In de- of affairs, came out; and the fiance, however, of this advice, officer took advantage of the he went to Sir R. Baker with door being opened to enter the the prisoner; and that gentle-house, followed by Mr. Pearson. man discharged him out of cus- Mr. Dennis J'Bryen soon made' tody, upon his promising to ap- his appearance, and declared pear on the next day. At this most vehemently that he did Mr. Pearson observed that he not even know Mr. Franklin, alhad received information that though Mr. Franklin had been Mr. Franklin was, probably, at traced into Mr. O'Bryen's house a house in the neighbourhood; constantly during the last three and requested that an officer years, and although Mr. Wilmight be sent with him to search liams, upon his examination, the house. Vickery was appointed admitted that he had met the to that service. The house in aforesaid Mr. Dennis O'Bryen question belongs to a Mr. Dennis at this unknown hir. Franklin's

> The search of Mr. O'Brven's house was unsuccessful, and Mr. During his absence Mr. Haydon important facts from Mr. Wiliams. He admitted that on the Sunday night, so late as: 10 o'clock, Mr. Franklin told him that he meant to go out of town, and that that morning. at 8 o'clock. Mr. Franklin's daughter had told him that before 12 o'clock her father would be above one hundred miles from London

Mr. Minshull remarked, that it was very singular that not until three o'clock could "this gentleman recollect a circum-Pearson and Vickery arrived at had disclosed those facts to Sir

stand that warrants for the ap- to take measures for the appeaprehension of the accused are hension of this daring offender. sent off to different parts of the

country.

Mr. Pearson, attended by Mr. Haydon, Mr. Wilson, and two other gentlemen, then went to treasonable placerds, and, with the Secretary of State's office, and had an interview with Mr. Clive, who, very much to the fuitonsly by bandreds of thouastonishment of the party, had received intelligence of all that had transpired, and was as well acquainted with the mysterious escape of the accused, and all the minutes of the case, as were the gentlemen themselves. He farther laboured to justify the conduct of Sir Robert Baker, by saving that the charge was only that of a misdemeanour, and that therefore he might printed, and had actually belet him out at his discretion .--Mr. Pearson, in very warm terms, replied to this assertion, that a magistrate possessed no such right; but that, whatever might be the rank, family, connexions, or political feelings of a person accused, a magistrato had no power to order his discharge without taking good and sufficient bail for his appear-With great energy to Mr. Clive, he told him, that he begged he would expressly unoffering rewards, and issuing to be specified. proclamations, for the arrest of Mr. Clive said, that Lord Gidnor importance, he earnestly but that, if Mr. Posmon would

his apprehension. We under-| entreated of him, that wery day,

Mr. Pearson further remarked. that, considering the individual . in question stood charged with having published seditions and considerable - expense trouble, distributed them grasands for a period of three years, extending over times is which public distress had driven the lower orders to a state of irritation, amounting almost to madness: considering the fet verish state of public feelings at this moment, when these circcious placards more being insued forth; considering that he had ordered 50,000 copies to be spoke a hand-bill, calling upon the people to arm themselves, and to resist the constitutional authorities; considering also. that the accused had been suffered to escape through the extraordinary, mysterious, and unprecedented conduct of their own magistrate, Sir Robett Baker; that, if the Home Dopartment did not use extraordinary exertions to netrieve the error of their own silices, and to deliver up this men to anderstand him, that, in the pre- swer to the offended laws of his sence of the gentlemen then in country, there would not be the room, he invited the aid of wanting people to suppose that the Home Department to se- the rank and occupation of the cure the apprehension of the man had secured his safety; and accused; that, as the Secretary indeed, the world world days of State was in the habit of conclusions too ebvious to pased

offenders of comparatively mi- mouth was not then of the office;

tion.

Mr. Pearson replied, that, asbe believed the accused would quit the country, it was that night, and that night only, that the services of his landship would be of any use; and that, therefore, he would call again if such were Mr. Clive's pleasure; but he could not leave the neighbourhood without receiving a decisive answer.

Mr. Peamon left with Mr. Clive two of the seditions hand-bills. and was appointed to call again at balf-mass four o'clock, at which time that centleman and his friends returned, and Mr. Clive. addressing them, said, that Lord Bidmouth did not see any thing in the hand-bills to justify his interference. It should be remembered that the two bills left were the one which we have before copied, and another, containing, among other seditious and inflammatory expressions, the fellowing, elleding to the execution at Derby: -- "Strike not at all, or strike home; think of our personal insupportable servitude; and always rememher that the alternative is liberty, or a glorious grave,"

such were Lord Sidmouth's anower, and for such reasons, he had drawn his conclusions from insufficient premises, Say that he rested his claim to Lord Sidmouth's interference, not relying upon these blacktes, infamous and treasonable as they were, but also upon the 18 others, all of which had been writer for a certain Marning circulated during the last three Paper. Were I such, I should

sall another day, he would no I years. Mr. Chive and distinctly ceive en answer to his applies that he had stated this to Lord Sidmouth, who had replied that he saw no occasion for the interference of the department over which he psesided; and therefore. Mr. Pearson and his friends made their bow, and retired.

Late last evening Mr. Minshull announced to Mr. Petrsen, at Bownstreet, that, finding the tale of Adderfield to be true. and that we had been made the dung of the designs of others. he (Mr. Minshull) had shown companion to him, and had only fined him \$1. and sentenced him to hard labour in the house of correction for three months.

- It will be recollected that Adderfield could not read, and was, therefore, ignorant of the contents of the hand-bill which he was the more instrument of cicculating: meanwhile the author of the bill has been suffered. to escape without remark.

. To the Editor of the Times.

Sir .- I shall proceed, with all possible brevity, and without any preface, to correct the felachoads contained in your Bow-street account of Monday last, regarding myself.

let. It is false that I held, or Mr. Pearson replied, that if hold, a sinecure place under the present government. The only office which I possess is a colonial appointment, conferred upon me more than 14 years since by Lord Grey (when his lordship was First Lord of the Admiralty), at the instance of Mr. Fox.

2d. It is false that I am a

for such a disposition of myself. The fact, however, is, that although in the course of my life. and still an occasional correspondent of several papers (The Times and Chronicle included) like thousands of others, I never had either property, management, engagement, emplo ment, or concern in any newspaper, since the hour of my birth.

3d. It is false that distinguished characters connected with the ministerial press are in habits of meeting at my house. Upon the most accurate retrospect of which may memory is capable, I do not recollect any gentleman new connected with any possible paper to have been inside my threshold for the last twelve months. Such an incident may have occurred, as there are gentlemen in that line of vocation whom I know and hurbly esteem; but I have not the slightest remembrance of visitor for a full year past.

4th. That Pearson and Vickery were refused admittance by the servant happens to be a fact; though found in the said statement: but the complexion given to that refusal is as false as the three first heads. The truth is, that I am, very much annoyed by applicants, in real or pretended want: and that I have, during my 42 years' residence in this street, been obliged, perhaps 42 acores of times, to threaten my servants, with dismissal, on the score of receiving begging letters, and admitting strangers. It is to the discipline thence arising, coupled with seeking for a name unknown to those ser-

not offer apology or explanation | vants as a male visitint; that they refused to open the door. The instant that 'I, who was getting out of bed, learned the name and object of Vickery. every part of the house was immediately submitted to his research. I shall not add another word.

DENIS O'BRYEN.

21, Craven-street, Oct. 11, 1820.

WARWICKSHIRE MILITIA.

I have not room in the present Register to notice some information about Cherry, the Local Militia Adjutant at Coventry. I find, but with no great surprise that the Warwickshire Militia, before their dispersion, were signing an address to the Queen: and that great part of them had actually signed it; but that it was wheedled out of their hands and kept from them till after the day of dispersion. This shows what ondeavours are making to stifle the voices of the people; and it also shows the fears of the persons, making, use sof: those endeavours. Exactly how this struggle is to terminate nobody can say; but the thing has zeceived a blow which it' will never recover; and the beauty of it is, the blow has been given by itself.

HER MAJESTY's ANSWERS | from penury and wretchedness. TO ADDRESSES.

ANOWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE BOROUGH OF BOSTON : .

I gratefully accept the congratulations and the condolence of the Householders and Inhabitants of the Borough of Bos-

My life furnishes a singular instance of the manner in which injustice and cruelty have been formed into a systematic conspiracy, and prosecuted for nearly a quarter of a century against an individual of my exalted rank. This conspiracy has shown itself at different periods, in a diversity of machinations; in plots, upon a grand scale and upon a small; in the bold asseverations of unblushing perjury, and in the minute ramifications of clandestine fraud; in open enmities, and insidious friendships:—and all this secretly directed by individual influence, and instigated by individual malignity. Thus nearly one half of my existence has been passed amidst the wiles of treachery. Μv confidence has been sought ouly to be betrayed: the mask of regard has been wern only the more easily to deceive. The very men, who are now my accasers, were formerly my declared advocates, and my professedly zealous friends. The majority of the present witnesses, who have been marshalled against me, like an armed host, and regularly trained to be expert in circumstantial falsehood and methodized perjury, were rescued by my bounty ing that my conduct is approved.

But they seem to have been warmed into life, only like vipers, to bite the hand by which they were cherished in adversitv.

My regard for those rights of the people, and those liberties of the nation, which my ancestors were invited to defend. makes me more deeply grieve to see both so vitally impugned in my person; and so essentially violated in the Bill of Pains and Penalties. I would rather have perished in defence of those rights and liberties, than that they should receive a fatal stab by a measure which cannot degrade the Queen without enslaving the people.

As the first subject in the realm. I feel the rights of all other subjects identified with my own; and as I am placed in immediate contact with the Throne, I cannot but be alarmed for its security, when I see it likely to be deprived of its only solid support; the respect and the affections of the people,

After having encountered so many storms in the former period of my life, I am anxious that the remainder of my days should be a period of repose, in which the wicked may cease to trouble, and the treacherous to ensnare; when I may enjoy that tranquillity to which I have long been a stranger, and pract tise that beneficence which has always been my delight

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS PROM LIVERPOOL.

I am much gratified by find-

and my sufferings lamented by the inhabitants of the enlightened town of Liverpool and its vici-

nity.

My accession to the bigh dignity of Queen Consort of these realms, was hailed by the nation with vivid expressions of joy: though that joy has been mingled with grief, by the indignities which I have since experienced, and the persecution of which I have so long been

the object.

When it pleased the will of my Royal Consort to dismiss me from his Royal abode, he was not able to fix the slightest imputation of moral blame on my conduct; and could only excuse his own by alleging that his inclinations were not under his -controul. In this state of total and unprovoked desertion by him who had recently sworn eternal fidelity only to myself, I had no solace left but in the company of my only child; and it is well known that that solace was gradually diminished, till it was entirely taken away.

Those who are now my accusers, were once professedly my friends; though they were never, even in profession, the friends of the people. They are now the declared enemies of both; and, indeed, they are the enemies of all who are not the friends of corruption in every branch of the public Adminis-To incur their hatred tration. nothing more is requisite than not to acquiesce in injustice and not to countenance iniquity. If

while my rights are vindicated, lebrated my baseness in possess of panegyric. But the reality of incorruptible independence is such an alien from their habits, and such a stranger to their minds, that they turned aghast at the sight, like the guilty King at the apparition of his murdered guest!

> To be the hatred of such men is to be entitled to the love of To be the shaft of mankind. their malice is to be conspicuous for worth and eminent for integrity. To be assailed by their slanders and persecuted by their rancour, it is only necessary to be the steady friend of all that is true, all that is just, all that is honourable, all that is praiseworthy among men; of all that promotes the real good, and exalts the true glory of the People.

The former ordeals through which I passed, without the amaliast imputation of crimiaslity, though they were not conducted with condour, were less characterised by malignity than the present. The present is marked by an intensity of malevolence, of which, happily for the honour of our species, only one example is furnished in the bistory of mankind.

AMSWER TO THE WARD OF CRIPPLE-GATE WITHOUT.

The Citizens of London have never deserted their post when tyranny attacked the rights of individuals, or threatened the constitutional liberties of the nation. In this critical period, when both individual right and I would have truckled to their general liberty are vitally asselfishness, they would have ce-sailed in the person of the Queen, I have found in the Citi-lit is a demination that minima zens of London my most intes- all controls: it begins with setbid supporters and my most zer- ting saids every existing law lons friends; and among the foremest of those **Supporters** and friends, the grateful feelings of my heart tell me that I onght ever to mumber 'the householders and inhabitants of the Ward of Oripplegate-withont.

Unlimited power ought to be given to no man, unless it could at the same time be united with unlimited wisdom; but as Providence does not usually be-Now a much ladger portion of Wisdom or of virtue upon kings, than upon other individuals, it is necessary that their power should be circumscribed within strict limitations, in order to tonder it beneficial to manhind.

The power of the laws is good, because it is power withon bloom odwied: noiseed the prove diverstionary power, in an individual who is the slave of his appetites, or remarkable only for his fatuity? Where power is limited by fixed laws for the common good, those laws which may be called fundamental, cannot be changed without the consent of the people, for whose good they where established. A limited monarchy, with fundomental laws which may be capriciously changed, is, in fact, an arbitrary Government. It is not the Gevernment of unimpassioned law, but of fickle inclination.

The Bill of Pains and Penalties, which is pending against me, is an anomaly in a free Government. It is an assumption Lords, and Commons, de as

which has any reference to the protection of the individual against those Pains and Penalties which the Bill proposes to indict.

If, therefore, such a Bill of Pains and Penalties should ps s. it may, perhaps, hereafter be proposed to the people of England to consider how far it ought to be obeyed. It can have no claim to ohedience, as an act emanating from legitimate authority; for no authority is any further legitimate, than as it is exercised within those fixed constitutional limitations, by which it was originally circumscribed, and for the good of the people, for whose good alone it was bestowed In a limited Monarchy all power must be a trust; but the very nature of a trust supposes an accountableness to some higher authority, for otherwise a trust might be changed at the pleasure of the trustee.

If it be said that the enactment of a Bill of Pains and Penalties is only the exercise of a constitutional pewer, I amswer, that no unconstitutional power can be constitutionally exercised. How can a broach of the law be comormity to law!

Though, therefore, this Bill of Pains and Penalties should be selemnly enacted, it may not be the less an unconstitutional act. Perhaps it will be said, "What then, cannot Kings, of power without limitations; they please?" I answer, No.

Their power is only a trust, endeavour to represe the falling agency.

If the power of Kings, Lords, and Commons, is limited by the fundamental laws of the realm, their acts are not binding when they exceed those limitations. If it be asked, " What then, are Kings, Lords, and Commous amenable to any higher authority?"----I distinctly answer, Yes. To what higher authothe People.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM NORTHAMPTON.

I set a high value on the many testimonies of regard which I have received from the Mercantile and Manufacturing part of the community. Among those estimable claims upon my gratitude, I shall always rank this Address from the Tradesmen and Mechanics of the Town of Northampton.

Good and evil happiness and misery, life and death, are the appointments of God. What his goodness freely gives, I feel that the same goodness may as freely take away. As a being made highly susceptible affection, and with nerves alive to the slightest impressions of pleasure or of pain, I cannot but lament over the departure of those who so long had a hold upon my heart—whose joys and sorrows were always in unison with my own; but as far as human infirmity will permit, I

limited by law; and what is tear, and to stop the involuntary a trust, never can suppose un-sigh. I bind my will to that restrained volition or arbitrary truly PARENTAL POWER, whose decrees have always a reference to the good of the heart which they oppress, and to the improvement of the mind which they agonize. I saw my only child cut off by the rude gust of adversity, like a flower in the early spring. Here my affection received a wound, which has never been entirely closed, and which the fond intrusions of merity !--- To that of God and of mory will not suffer to disappear. Here I felt a disposition to be querulous, and a tendency to be sceptical; but I remembered that life is only a transient discipline for a more lasting existence, and that though man is short-sighted, the UNIVERSAL FATHER must be good. Who is there that can look back upon his past life, and say, that he has not been better for the experience of adversity?

I cannot have the smallest doubt but that the tardesmen and mechanics of Northampton feel the most zealous regard for the House of Brunswick, and for the principles of that limited Monarchy which it is their duty to defend. If those principles have been outraged by any late measures, I hope to live to see the ancient oak of British Liberty send forth new and more healthy shoots, and spread its branches far and wide, till it alike covers the high and the low, the rich and the poor, under the ample camopy of its protecting shade.

ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WHITECHAPEL.

I am happy to find that my many sufferings and my accumulated wrongs have so powerfully interested the sympathies of the Inhabitants of St. Mary, Whitechapel.

The conspiracy which I am combating, though nominally directed against myself, is, in fact, a conspiracy against British Liberty. No measure since the Revolution has portended such disastrous consequences as the present Bill of Pains and Penal-While it threatens freedom under all its diversified aspects, and with all its general rights, and all its particular securities, it at the same time darkens the perspective of the future with a lowering appearance of civil war. It exhibits a cloud at the edge of the political horizon that may burst in misery on every family in the country. This Bill of Pains and Penalties may thus be the harbinger of woe to every man's hearth. It may imbitter the days of thousands and tens of thousands, both of rich and poor; and produce in all irremediable regrets. After the noble stand which so many of the most estimable among the Peers have made against this pestiferous Bill, and the total want of any evidence to justify its enactment, it cannot be expected that it will pass; but, if it should pass, we must never lose sight of the probability that his Majesty may marry again. The issue of that marriage would, in all likelihood, cause a contested succession. That part of the

nation which will not allow the Bill of Pains and Penalties to be a constitutional act, may not readily submit to the offspring of a marriage which will never, generally, be deemed legitimate.

If my marriage be annulled, it must be annulled in defiance of all law. The Queen, therefore, who succeeded me would only be nominally Queen; for no lawful right can be conveved by an illegal act; and, in the opinion of the great majority of the nation, nothing can invest this Bill of Pains and Penalties with any legal characteristics. It will never be regarded as any thing more than an act of pure tyranny; and, as such, it will excite the hatred of the present age, and experience the execrations of posterity.

ANSWER TO AN ADDRESS FROM THE INITABITANTS OF THE WARD OF ALDERSGATE.

I have recently received the most unequivocal proofs of affectionate attachment, on the part of the citizens of London. The present Address, from the Inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, is an addition to the many claims which the first metropolis in the world has upon my gratitude. Great as have been my afflictions, and many as have been my wrongs, they have both experienced no small degree of alleviation from the general expression of public. sympathy that has been vividly manifested since my return.

The sentiment of indignation, which the proceedings of my

been limited in its extent, or restricted in its eparations. It has been diffused over the whole country: every heart has vibrated with the feeling; and it has showed the potency of its influence in every eircle of acciety.

It is not a prere party feeling, and, therefore, is not likely to be fugitive and evanescent. It is a feeling which attaches itself to a question of universal interest, for it involves the interest of national liberty. If it were parely my own rights that were affected by the pending Bill of Pains and Penalties, I should feel more indifferent than I new do about the present pro-.codure in the House of Larde; but as the rights of every Englishman must be impaired by such violation of constitutional liberty, I am more impressed by **the Memeridous consequences** with which it threatens the public welfare than by any loss or privation which it may bring upon myself.

If my rights as Given Contert should be transferred to, another, that transfer would be against the fundamental laws of the realm, and, wanting the highest of all sanctions, the general consent of the nation, would receive no other obedience than that which force might impose.

In these enlightened times whatever the panders to the arbitrary will of Sovereigns may pretend, no throne can be secure that is not established in the affections of the people. No other power can possess anything like permanence or solidity. All besides this is mere gaudy pageantry or unsubstantial show; it may remain for a time; but it will suddenly disappear, like a vision of the night.

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...A LETTER

TC

LORD LAUDERDALE,

On the Tent-Scene; on the Conspiracy against the Crucen;
on the Conspiracy against the
People; and on the present
ridiculous figure presented
by the Boroughmongers, their
leads and dependents.

London, Oct. 19, 1990.

LORD LAUDERDALE,

. Lelect you as the person to address on the above subjects. not because Lthink you mere or ion wise, more or less upright. then other individuals of the man shody to which you belearn a for, with weeky few axceptions: I think you, equally wise and caselly incorruptible. But, having written so many sessue An this subject. I find it necessary to give the coopys distingtive appellations; and, for the same reason that I called one of me Letters on the Paper-Rubble, " the Letter to Thomas." Leal this with a Latter to Lauderdale." : ofther Penti-Scene is the first

subject. After the destruction of the evidence of Malocchi, Demont, Sacchini, Rastalli, and all the Italian swearers; after three days' cross-examination of Flynn and Howpom; after all the meparalleled efforts of those whom I will not name, to cetablech something criminal, the only thing that even the corrupt and bribed press has left to hang to is, the fact, proved by Howners. and never attempted to be denied by the Queen; so far from it, that her counsel, Mr. Williams, stated the fact in his opening speech; this fact is all that even enen and notorious corruption has to hang ausoipion on; and I shall new show. that this is not the whole stains of accusations, the most hannabable, but yet; the most craftly wicked.

The representation in that Hen Majorty elept or passed the night under a tent with Rangami for five successive seads? In words this is true; but the base, expol; and covardly shotters of pasjury and substitution; these most degraded of all man-

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Detested Cluss, though fools well known ignorance of the enough in all conscience, know well! that, though this is true In words, it is, in meaning and intent, a most alrocious falsebood.

In the first place, what was this tent, as it is falsely called by the Attorney-General? It was twenty three feet long and eighteen feel wide! A pretty sort of tent! It was, in fact, a great part of the deck of the vessel with an awning over it, to keep -off the scoroning sun by day and the heavy dews by night. And why was it resorted to? Because the weather was so hot, and the steach from the animals in the hold so great, that the Queen could not live below. Is it poswho has ever ween at sea, m'a vessel resembling a Polacre, not to see collident reason for this arrangement, without resorting to the implention of workers such as would haunt hone but the most desire bate or the most malignant heart. s. It appears, however, that, the matter, and I will endes-

ander this cowning . Bergami staid by night as well be the

hind; this Selfish Faction; this an advantage in the general people relative to the state of things on board of ship, and particularly such a miserable vessel as that in which her Majesty was sailing. Here Lord Exmouth or the King's brother. the Duke of Clarence, the Lord High Admiral, might have given a description of that state of things, and have shown, that, not to have a strong, active. and trusty man under the awning by night, would have been a very probable casting away of life in the Queen. But, I suppose, that neither of those noble personages, who have always sailed by night in ward-rooms and cabins as commodious and safe and as well attended or better attended, than pariturs or bedrooms in their manifous on shore : I suppose, that they could form no idea of the state of things in a Polacre, with twenty-two half-Tarks and half-Ralians Ver a crew, saiting on a sea infested by Algeriae Firates! it can form some idea of vear to describe it.

The awaing, which covered -Quethin OAnd herb touse mist the Odden, was, at any maddlent, representation, cruel and cow- even in weather apparently the ardly calumny and malice, have most calm, liable to be taken by

quickly as a bit of paper is light must burn every night; it blown from a table; and, in has been proved, that there was rough weather, every thing on a gang-way, or staircase, going the deck was liable, at any moment, to be swept into the sea. Who can describe the tossing, the buffettings, and the incessant dangers and alarms in such a situation in the night-time: sailing, too, for great part of the time, amidst islands, rocks and shoals, and in the wellknown track of barbarian pirates? If you say, " why did the " Queen, from her own choice, " place herself in such a situa-"tion: my answer is, certainly "not for indulging a propensity, to which such a situation "must have been an effectual "damper, and in which she might ." have indulgence in safety and . " secrecy on shore."

There was no hour of any night, in which the aid and protection of a man, and of a stout, active and trusty man too, might terous intercourse with that anot have been necessary to save same alledged paramour! even the life of the Queen. It thes been proved, that a light for Mr. Hownam to be asked, was burnt under the awning by whether he had seen her Manight, until it was necessary to jestee's lags, but, what mement burn it no longer for fear of al- of any night was there; when it luring pirates; it has been might not have been necessary proved, that the light of the for some man to catch her in his .binnacle showed in under the arms, and, whether with here

the wind, and snatched awayas | awning, and we know, that that down from under the awning into the parts below, and that several persons had to go up and down without restraint or ceremony at all hours; it has been proved, that the Lieutenant on deck (by night as well as by day) had frequently to go into the awning part to see and speak to the Queen; all this has been proved; it is a notgrieus fact, that the Queen might if she had chosen, have remained on shore, in the safe and secret enjoyment of her alledged paramour! and yet, the placing of this same man as a guard or shalp. or protection, near her petana; in such a perilous situation, is, by the Detested Class, the plandering abettors of perjury and subornation, affected to bis regarded as a proof of an adul-

It might be peculiarly, proper

legs or not, lug her, head or the cabin. But, did the base heels foremost, down below! I thought of illicit intercourse ask this of any man who knows what it is to sail in a vessel of two hundred tons, and who limitws what gales, storms, and equalis are: and, if such man be mot a corcupt and partial and forsworn abettor of periury and ambornation, he will say; that, . for the Queen to have passed a might in such a situation withsut an able man always at hand to save her. would have argued, not only fodl-hurdiness, but dewnright instantiv. on her part.

... But: besides these incessant no dimerer to be apprehended flown a brew, such as the Queen had on board? How long is it sings a wew of these half-Italinks, exactor-Turks, and quar-Bhelisk passengers? I have known what it is to sail with a

ever come into my head! the midst of the dangers of the sea and of mattiny. I wished: when I thought it my duty to take my turn on deck. to know some man was near my wife to keep her company, to give her confidence, to quiet her alarma-And what man, worthy of the name of man, would not have entertained the same with? What, but a base, effeminate, impotent, would-be cornute. would have thought or acted otherwise?

And, it being absolutely nedangets of the seas, was there commany, that some man should be constantly near the Queen by night, who so fit as her principal officer? As to the Lieutenants, one must always be on deck constantly on the watch. ter-wirates, actually violated as looking after the men and the well as plundered their female winds, and the other taking has turn to eleen. Sometimes, and that, too, all of w audden, both mongret crew parity of the St. must be on deck at once; both Amtonio wort, and I could keep langaged so anxiously as not to on deak with the captain and be able to turn aside for one shates, many hours at a time by moment, though they saw awarnight, white my wife, then only ing, Queen and all, going overeighteen, instead of fifty, was board! And, in the mides of tring in her birth below, not all the whistling, bawling, many sect distant from a French-thumping, running and rattling man, with no other person in of reefing and tacking, while

a cork: in the midst of all this. is there a man, except he belong to the plundering and Detested Class, to say that a woman ought to have been left alone under that awaing ? The wonder is not, that her Majestee's lags were swalled: the wonder is how men could sit and listen to a detail of her sufferings, her perils and her hereism, and contemplate her cruel persecutions, and still restrain the tears from gushing from their water, the sweat of the people eves; a weakness which certainly would have been betrayed in any other body of men amon the face of the earth.

In taking leave of the "tentscene," however, and of the sepalled lags, so many pairs of which I have seen on shipboard, belonging to wemen, infinitely more virtuous and modest than the wives and daughters of the plundering and De- Mediterranean, all the trips toseated Classes; in taking beave of this last poor attempt on the part of the abettors of periury voyage of the Queen. This was and subornation to stick a stain for more entertginment, in addiupon the Queen, and to form a tion to all the expense of a ship pretence for justifying an ex- of war. This was for extra compected stigmatizing decision; in forts and conveniences! Both

the vessel was tossed about like | been proved, there are two things to be pointed out to the public, who, generally speaking, are not at all acquainted with a maritime life: the first is, that, to bear one's emistence at sea, is, of itself, no little difficulty; that, to make it hear; able to the King only for a few days, jackte, costing hundreds of thousands of pounds, with accompanying squadrons of frigates, are necessary; and that; when a Maitland moves by of England has to answer for his comforts and conveniences. Last year, only in one year, this laborious and heavily taxed nation had to pay no less a sum than 784l. 16s. to the Honours able Anthony Maitland, Captain of the Glasgow, for giving, on board that ship, entertainment, to Sir Thomas Maitland, during his eight trips about the gether amounting to about 15 days more than the 40 days' taking leave of this miserable these Maillands are, I believe, protonce for saying, that inde- near relations of yours. Sir cenev, though not guilt, has Thomas aid not, I'll be sworn

for him, pass his nights under Queen, to suffer her to indulate ing blown overboard; and, I dare say, that his lags were not evalled.

lost sight of, the preposterous idea of the Queen going to sea at all for the purpose of indulging in amorous delights; when every one that has been at sea knows, that the very situation, besides its necessary exposures. destroys, for the time, every propensity of the kind; that it unsettles the stomach; produces a general loathing of all that was pleasant on shore; causes a disrelish for all the ordinary indulgences: creates a temporary debility; and, in short, suspends the functions as well as the desires. Sea-sick and amorous! oh! the filthy; oh! the beastly idea! But, to continue in this fit for forty days and forty mights! To continue in this fit for as long a time as Noah was in the ark! seek the gratification, and to be constantly seeking it, surrounded by witnesses and in the midst of perils; and actually to

an awning, with the risk of be- in this unnatural preference at the expence of a large part of her income! There is something so monstrous in this, that Then, a thing never to be he who can affect to believe it possible, must be one of the Detestables, an abettor of subornation and perjury, and would cheer even the Devil himself. and shake his hand, if he came forth in his proper person to assist in the destruction of the victim!

> Farewell, then, to the "Tent Scene;" and now let us come to something much more worth of public attention.

The Conspiracy against the Queen.-I am not going to waste my time here upon Powell's speeches, any more than upon the colour of his skin, the African tossing of his head, or the woolliness of its covering, though they are full as important as the swalling of the Queen's lags, or as the accent and grammar of the Countess of Oldi, the badness of which latter, as being no test of her want of high-blood, might be proved by my producing (if I had room for such trash) seven prefer this to a bed-room, a hundred and twenty-one errors grotto, or secluded alcove; and of grammar in one single book. for Bergami, who is alleged to written by an hereditary standhave been all-powerful over the ard-bearer of Scotland! I am

the means of blinding fools who the facts in as plain a light as wish to be blinded and led blind-fold to their rum, I shall proceed to strip the affair of Rastelli of the mystification, by which it is attempted to envelope and to smother it. It is a matter that defies all painting, and that laughs at all illustra-In plain narrative it is complete and entire. Every step explains its motive. The story being plainly told, the judgment of the world follows.

There will be a time, hereafter, for dwelling particularly on the deeds of those base conspirators by whom papers belonging to the Queen, were obtained from her Attorney's of fice, by means of a bribe, coming out of English taxes, given to the clerk of that attorney. There will, hereafter, be a time, if even a show of justice is to take place, of hearing, to its full extent, all the evidence against those conspirators, who, as clearly as day-light, have been guilty letter written by herself, signed of conspiracy to compass the destruction of the Queen; that is dressed to his Majesty, that the to say, to depose her, at the very present proceedings had their

not going to waste my time have been guilty of High Treaupon Powell's speeches, uttered son; but, for the present, I shall under the name of evidence; confine myself to the affair of but, leaving those to serve as Rastelli, and, in order to place, possible, and to do away with that mystification, which now appears to be the order of the day, and the last miserable hope of the conspirators; I shall divide the principal facts under distinct heads, so that they will be the more likely to meet with. a clear conception, and to make a lasting impression on the mind.

- 1. It is notorious that a foul conspiracy was instigated against her Majesty in 1806, that it was carried on by perjury, procured by subornation; and that the perjurors, after having been detected, were suffered to escape without punishment, and without trial; and, moreover, that one of the principal perjurors enjoyed a pension during pleasure to the end of his life.
- 2. It is notorious, that ber Majesty, the prosecuted party. in this case, did, before the trial began, solemnly declare, in a with her own name, and adleast; and, that, therefore, they origin in a foul conspiracy.

carried on by the means of sub-| were carried in to them; that ornation and perjury.

that, these facts being well known, it was asked of the prosecutors, before the trial commenced, what security there would be for the punishment of any witnesses, who might perjure themselves upon this trial; and that the Ministers, who had filled the green bags, and who had assisted in making the R3port of the Secret Committee. who had brought in the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and who, to all these functions, were now seen amongst the judges of the Queen, to find evidence against whom, they had established. and sent out, an Inquisitorial Commission; it was now declared by those Ministers, that, whatever witnesses might give evidence against the Queen. they should all be forth-coming to answer any charge that might be brought against them.

4. It is a fact, equally notorious with the former, that almost the whole of the witnesses against the Queen were shut up in a small place, called Coftongarden? that they were locked they and night; that provisions themselves;

they were commodiously lodged. 3. It is, further, notorious, fed, and entertained, with exceeding care and liberality; and that it was physically impossible for any one of them to be subtracted from the enclosure, or fortress except by the will of the person, or persons, under whose guardianship they were, or without the disobedience or treachery of the keeper of the fortress.

5. But lest, by any accident, any one of them should escape. through such a series of precautions, an Alien Act was in existence; kept in existence in opposition to a petition presented to the two Houses, wherein the petitioners stated, that vile we might be made of it with regard to witnesses for or against the Queen, and which petition was rejected upon the ground, that, not to pass the Bill, would be to throw on the Ministers a suspicion that they were capable of using it for so foul and infamous a purpose: that this Bill, therefore, continued to be, and still is, in existence; that this Bill absolutely enables the Ministers to prevent my fointo that place; that they were reigner from quitting the counguarded, besides, by soldiers, try without a passport from that this

therefore, fully enabled the Mi-1 in giving some of them monisters to make good the so- ney; in offering others molemn pledge which they had ney and other rewards which given, of keeping in the country every witness who should depose against the Queen, in order to that witness being made answerable for any perjury of which he might be guilty; and that, thus, the solemn pledge was not only given, but the full power to fulfil that pledge was possessed by the Ministers.

- 6. The next fact is, that there was a witness against the Queen, named Rastelli; that this witness swore to several things of an important nature.
- 7. That, after many days had been spent, in the examination of witnesses on the side of her Majesty, there came two most respectable witnesses from Italy, one of them had been the master tradesman in the building line, and the employer of Ras-

they refused to take; and, in short, in acting in the capacity of an authorised collector and suborner of witnesses.

- 8. That it now became essential to justice towards the Queen, to recall Rastelli, in order that he might, at once, be interrogated as to these alleged acts of subornation; and that, to the utter astonishment and indignation of the public, it was now found, that Rastelli was not only not forthcoming, but that he had been taken out of the locked up fortress; that money had been furnished him to carry him to Milan; that a passport had been given him, signed by the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Castlereagh); and that thus he was gone off completely out of the country!
- 9. The Ministers, who had telli, who was a journeyman, made the pledge for forthcomor labourer, under him; that ing, had the witnesses in their the evidence of these two most charge and in their power; the credible persons proved that Ministers were the accusers and Rustelli had sworn falsely, and prosecutors; the Attorney-Geneit further proved, that he had ral was their Advocate; the Sobeen engaged at Milan in col- licitor to the Treasury was their lecting witnesses against the Attorney, and to his charge Queen; in asking them to and responsibility to the First come and swear against her; Lord of the Treasury, were

these witnesses all committed of Lords, without being sent try to the nation, for the safe keeping of these witnesses.

10. When it is discovered that Rastelli is gone. Maule is not neral is not called upon; Liverpool is not called upon; the Ministry are not called upon: but there comes up to the bar a man of the name of Powell, obscure somewhere in London, whom, indeed, the public have heard, as the frequent visitor of passport was signed by, he said the chambermaid, named De Mont, who went under the name of a Countess; of whom. indeed, the public have heard, as having been in a big house in Pall-Mall, just about the time had signed before, and that he. of the King's death, along with | Planta, it was, who filled up Majocchi, at the time when Majocchi came out of that house with great parcels of gold in his juror and suborner to get himhands; but of whom in any public capacity, in any office laws. under government, in any public employ whatsoever, neither what were his reasons for sendthe nation, the House of Lords, ing Rastelli away, he answered nor the Ministers, knew any that he sent him away to conthing at all; there comes this vince the relations of the good

This man's name is Maule; this for, without pretending any man was responsible to Liver- right to be there, and he tells nool. Liverpool to his col- the House of Lords, that he it leagues, and the whole Minis- was who took Rastelli out of the fortress: that he it was. who, out of his own head, and without instructions or authority from any body, had taken called upon; the Attorney-Ge- Rastelli forth from the depot, had got him a passport signed by Castlereagh, had sent him off out of the country, and had received intelligence, that, since his arrival at Milan, he had attorney, living been blooded and lay ill of a of fever.

11. Being asked whom the Castlereagh; and afterwards Castlereagh's secretary was called, and this man. Planta. swore that the passport was a blank passport that Castlereagh the passport with Rastelli's name, and thus enabled the perself out of the reach of the

12. When Powell was asked Powell to the bar of the House people in the fortress, that those

ver, though those good people reported to have said. ver, had once again been in safety upon the Continent: though they might have written from there to satisfy their relations of their safety; and though they might all again have written of Liverpool several times from the depot. or fortress, having this kind and tender-hearted Government him; and that the Counsel for to send off their letters for them. and having the no-less-kind Colonel Brown to distribute into their bags, make a low bow the letters amongst those affectionate relatives; notwithstanding all these circumstances, Rastelli must be sent away to inform the affectionate people of the safety of their friends, of word need be said. The whole their being so comfortably lodged, and so amply fed, at the expence of the people of thing in the way of illustration. England.

13. When the House of Lords heard this story from the mouths of Powell and Planta; when Powell had come before this House, and told this story, ple.—This matter is very nearly Lord Liverpool said Rastelli had as plain as the last, and not been sent away without his much inferior to it in point of knowledge; but pledged him-importance. A boy is taken up

good people were safe and self for the good motives and sound, those good people's re- good character of Powell; the lations having been alarmed for Lord Chancellor joined in this. their safety, in consequence of and eulogized the character of what he called the riots at Do- Cooke; and Lord Blessington is themselves, after the riots at Do- Powell was a most worthy person, and that he had the HONOUR of his acquaintance!

> There is only to be added, that the CANDOUR and HIGH **CHARACTER** were extolled to the skies by those who are said to be in opposition to the Queen did not scrape their papers up together, ram them to the assembly, and leave those who had begun the proceedings to end them in any manner they pleased.

> Upon this subject, not another matter explains itself: to comment upon it; to attempt any or of enforcing, would be to diminish the effect which the plain narrative must make upon every mind.

> Conspiracy against the Peo-

name, and under the signatures of certain gentlemen composing the Oncen's Plate Committee. These placards, or handbills, are such as are usually denominated, in the cant of the day, seditious and treasonable. I have read several of them, and I declare that I think them not only very well written, but that I greatly approve of their contents; and Mr. Franklin, or Mr. Fletcher, or Mr. O'Bryen, or whoever else may have been the author or distributor of them, has, for this act, my most unqualified thanks.

But, the merit of the productions has nothing to do with this question, which relates. first, to the object of issuing them; and, secondly, to the conduct of the Ministry, and of Sidmouth, in particular, with regard to the Police Magistrate, Baker, and with regard to the not making of efforts to secure Franklin, who had been proved to be a publisher of the handbills, or, at least, had been charged on oath, before the magistrate, of the offence.

As to the first of these, considering the source whence the Bills came, there cannot be the

for distributing handbills, in the | tion was, on the part of Franklin, at least, and those under whom Franklin acted, to cause it to be believed, that the Radicals were actually preparing for a general violent assault upon that upholder of Social Order, called the Government. There can be no doubt that the Placards, that recently led to the shedding of blood in Scotland, proceeded from the same source. Upon any other sunposition, it was perfectly miracalous how the country, for twelve miles round Glasgow and Paisley, could be supplied with these without the detection of any printer or any publisher. There cannot be the smallest doubt in the mind of any man, that the object was to produce a sudden burst here, in London; to cause the rich and timid to be alarmed; to get some blood to be shed; to identify the Queen with the apparent rebellion; to frighten pecple from the support of her by this means; or, at the very least, to teriffy the mass of quiet people of property; and to prepare the way for a total extinction of the press under a law of censorship.

These were so manifestly the smallest doubt that the inten- objects of these publications: considering the source from the matter, upon that, I have which it was sworn that they had proceeded, that none but a says, in the first place, that the gross fool could fail to perceive placards were of a seditious tenthem, and none but a hypocrite denoy, as he calls it; and what could pretend not to perceive were the movements of Oliver them.

this matter forward in the House pudent enough to pretend, that of Commons, Castlereagh urged, what he called the seditious to do with those movements. tendency of the bills as a proof that the Government could not have authorised them. He asserted, as a fact, that the Goverament did not authorize He answered, not only for himself, but for the rest of wards: therefore, the employhis colleganes, and particularly for the gentle Sidmouth! Mr. Bennett, chose to give the Noble Lord credit for strict veraci-. It, upon this occasion; for the doing of which I must suppose Mr. Bennett to have had very sufficient reasons, though he proof of its not having been did not state them. Not have done, would, in the opinion of ing been made acquainted with those who have been attentive those reasons, I shall not pre- observers of the acts of this Gosume to join Mr. Bennett in this vernment, be a strong prosumprespect; and shall leave Castle- tive proof of the contrary; for, reagh's assertion to pass for as while it is notorious, that great much as it is worth with the wickedness is perfectly compapublic.

SON why the Government could Government (always excepting not have any thing to do with his Majesty and his two Houses

something to say. Castlereagh and Edwards? Yet I believe Upon Mr. Hume's bringing that there are few people imthe Government had nothing An insurrection might, under the present circumstances, not have happened to terminate in quite so favourable a manner to the Government, as did the enterprizes of Oliver and Edment of conspirators to circulate these hand-bills, might, in fact. have been labouring for the Government's own destruction: and this would have been very foolish; but, the thing being very foolish, so far from being a tible with great foolishness, it But, as to Castlereagh's REA- is equally notorious, that this

of Parliament) is carried on by also, unacquainted with his reathe most foolish set of men that ever breathed the breath of life: of which there needs no other proof than Peel's Bill and the Bill of Pains and Penalties. The former was quite sure to produce the destruction of the system: but, lest its authors entertained a doubt of that, they seem to have been resolved, by introducing the latter, to make assurance double sure.

Therefore, Castlereagh's reason is not worth a straw; and, as I do not, like Mr. Bennett. take his assertions for granted, I leave my readers to draw their own conclusions as to whether discovered conspirators were or were not employed by the Government, always begging them to bear in mind the open avowal of the employment of spies.

As to the second point, the screaning of Baker, who let Franklin go without taking bail. Mr. Calvert. Sir Robert Wilson's brother Skoy Hoy, declared that he knew Baker to be a most honourable man. He had doubtquite as good as Bennett had for bail; the man finds the means to placing such implicit reliance get clean off out of the country; upon the declaration of Castle- and the House of Commons, bereagh; but, as I am, in this case, sides containing a member to be

sons. I have to observe that a man, taken up at Woolwich by a Rev. Dr. Watson, for sticking up a placard, merely explaining the nature of the Bill of Pains and Penalties, was slapt off, at once, to Maidstone, the Magistrate having insisted, not only upon bail, but upon bail after forty-eight hours' notice; and the man was packed off before the eight and forty hours were expired. When brought to the Quarter Sessions, there was a friend ready with the means of defence for the man; and when that was found to be the case the man was turned out of the gaol to go about his business, no bill of indictment having been presented against him! Now, I should not be at all surprized if there were plenty of Shov-Hovs to say that this Dr. Watson was a most extraordinarily honourable man!

However, there was Franklin before Baker; there was what is called the seditions hand-bill; there was the oath of his being the publisher; and less very good reasons for this; Baker lets the man go without

Baker, refuses to meddle with things. I like them. I am sorry the matter, and the gentle Sid- his career was stopped. mouth refuses also to take any made use of such language as steps for the apprehending of we all ought to be permitted the man, though the Secretary to make use of in print, and as of State for the Home Depart- ninety-nine-hundredths of the ment had so often taken such people do make use of in consteps on similar occasions be- versation. Franklin was doing fore. Mr. Clive and Mr. Beck- a great deal of good; and I am ett rise up to justify the gentle sorry he was stopped. The ex-Sidmouth: to have House forseem gotten the Richmond Park Ministér's Circular Letter, wherein he told the Magistrates that have been worth a great deal it was their duty to be vigilant. and to take up, send to prison, Peel's bill and the arrival of the or hold to bail, any one whom they found guilty of publishing what he calls sedition or blasphemy! Had he forgotten his Circular Letter, when the conduct of Baker was complained of to him? And will he now keep this Baker in his office : for. observe, Baker holds his office of Police Magistrate during the conspirators. gentle Sidmouth's pleasure! 'If, therefore, Baker still retain deal more seditious, as Sidsions which we ought to draw! they contain useful truths, just I say, that the publications sentiments, and good advice. imputed to Franklin; the pub- more plainly and strongly exlications, for the publishing of pressed, than any of those publiwhich he was apprehended, or, cations, against which at least, such of them as I have mouth's circular was levelled.

responsible for the honour of read, were extremely good but the whole posure of the conspiracy is worth something, to be sure; but a good supply of the hand-bills, for another month or two, would more. The times are altered. Queen, co-operating so delightfully as they do, actually pull up people's eye-lids, and make them see whether they will or not. The conspirators are actually labouring for the people; and I do not approve of the abuse of the hand-bills, though I reprobate the object of the But this is no matter. Those bills are a vast his office, what are the conclu- mouth calls it; that is to say, and for the publishing of which, | Hunn, introduced by way of one man in Cheshire has been sent to gaol, even by the Magistrates themselves, from the Quarter Sessions, for four years and a half! Yet Franklin, after being apprehended, is suffered to go at large without bail; the Home Office refuse, by the particular instruction of gentle Sidmouth, to assist in catching him, and off he goes clean out of the country!

Thestate of the Boroughmongers.—Leaving Sidmouth, for the present, at least, to his practice of piety, and leaving Castlereagh to be implicitly relied on who, I thank God, have now to by Mr. Bennett, the honour of Sir Robert Baker to be vouched for by Mr. Calvert, while the Lord Chancellor reposes so safely under the praises and the poetry of Mr. Hobbouse the farmers, even the Yeomanry Cayounger; leaving these to amuse those from whom the Boroughmongers have not actually taken ing to the root, and a Radical the faculty of laughing, let me now take, by way of conclusion, just a glance at the state of those Boroughmongers' affairs. which I, at any rate, may be allowed to laugh.

of Commons, Gascougne, the tion never was applied, worthy colleague of the ab-

episode, the proof of the ruin of the town of Liverpool; that hitherto scene of vaunted prosperity, and that sink of servility and mercantile corruption. Not a word was said on the subject. The bands of breaking and howling merchants, of whose petition this Gascoygne was the bearer, obtained no more attention than the Radicals, whom they used to despise, were formerly able to obtain. Their petition was laid on the table; and there it will lie, cheek by jowl with the petitions of the farmers, sell their wheat for ex and sixpence a bushel, and who will, before next May, very probably sell it for five shillings a bushel. We shall then have even the valry, amongst the Radicals, the word radical meaning belongmeaning a person who wants to tear up corruption by the root, to destroy its very fibers, and to prevent it from ever growing again. This is the meaning of the word Radical, and a more The other night, in the House apt or more honourable appella-

The Courier, the trumpet of aconded son of the pensioned the Boroughmongers remarks,

with undisquisable spleen, that day in Scotland, brought about the Radicals " make no attempt | manifestly cause has brought to ranks. He might have said, at bloody faction ever disguise it's that cause has brought us. Dis- sions? And, if not, why are we guise our joy! Why should to disguise our joy at the arriwe? Did the Boroughmongers val of an event which has left disguise their joy? Did the the fuction as naked as a bird selfish faction disguise their joy, when the funds rose upon the passing of the Dungeon-Bill in 1817? Did they disguise which has exposed it to the their joy when OLIVER had eyes of the blindest of the peobrought Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam to the block? Did they disgnise their joy when the Yeomanry had killed and half-killed so many men, women, and Why are we to disguise our jou children, at Manchester? Did they disguise their joy when Sidmouth, in the name of the King, sent a Letter, applauding the conduct of the Magistrates and Yeomanry of Manchester? Did they disguise their joy, when Parson Hay, one of those Magistrales, got a living worth 2.5001. a-year? Did they disguise their joy when the conspiracy of Edwards had been brought to its intended bloody conclusion? Did they disguise their foy at the transportings teeth, with their pockets turned and beheadings only the other inside out! Who can help

by a " to disguise their joy" at the against the people, of the same accession, which the Queen's description as that now under their inquiry! Did this selfish and the ranks themselves, which joy upon any of those occatwo hours old, and almost as helpless? Which has stripped it of every rag of its covering; ple; which has caused it to be held in disgust more complete than ever was before felt towards any body of mortals? at this? For my part, though my acquaintance have always said, that I was born laughing, I now do laugh in good earnest: I go to sleep laughing, and laughing open my eyes. I really must turn out to dig again, or I shall grow as fat ag a Hampshire hog.

Who can help laughing to see what is going on in Naples, Spain, and Portugal, while our pretty gentlemen stand stamping, cutsing, and grinding their 2Daitized by GOOGIC

laughing at seeing the Field- to receive them in person too, Marshal, Lord Beresford, coming back to Portugal with the high-commands of King John in his pocket, written in kingly style? And must I not laugh, then; shall I see this high and mighty Beresford come, one of these days, into Portsmouth, as quietly as a mouse creeps into his hole, after having taken a peep at a cat; shall I see this. and shall I not laugh? Am I to restrain my laughter when I contemplate the tremulous anxiety, with which an Englishnewspaper is now opened by the bald-headed and brazen bully, who spoke of " the re-" vered and ruptured Ogden?" Must I not laugh, when I see lying perdue, that swaggering, hectoring man, who, when the people complained of seat-selling, called them " a low de-" graded crew," and who had the saucy impudence to say, i If I disfranchise Grampound, "it is because I will preserve to a prosecution, which, if suc-" Old Sarum?" Must I not laugh, when I behold the present state of this saucy and when I behold the people's enemisolent man? Well! but must mies stricken with insanity like the King advised to receive of topics for everlasting fun, addresses from the inhabitants, must I, when I see Peel's Bill,

and to return answers in person, though this has for half a century been refused to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Livery of London; the honour of this mode of communication being confined to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, and the two Universities? Must I, having so often seen the City of London refused this honour, not laugh to see the King advised to receive an addressing deputation from the Watermen of Cowes, and to deliver them his Royal and most gracious answer? Must I not laugh to see the corrupt press exhorting, beseeching, invoking, "in-" ploring the loyal to come for-" ward, in every city, town, " village, and hamlet with ad-" dresses to the King," though of inevitable necessity, the real git of those addresses must be to take part against his wife, and, of course, to give countenance cessful, must establish his own dishonour? Must I not laugh. I not laugh, then, when I see this? Nay, to cut short this list from the watermen, of Cowes; intended to preserve the paperstruction that system, which, which is prefixed the approprieven if left alone, must destroy itself; when I see this great, allpervading and irresistible cause at work in the depreciation of prices, the enhancing of salaries. the violating of contracts, and the producing of general ruin and misery in all the productive ranks of life; must I not, when I behold this, laugh to see a old dunderheaded Scotsman gravely proposing to set a' to rights by regulating the mant presce of salver! Yes, laugh I must, and laugh I will; for who has a better right to laugh than WM. COBBETT.

CONTRIBUTIONS

TO THE

LIBRARY OF THE " SELFISH FACTION."

1. Bergami's Breeches and the Blue Mantle, a poem, addressed to " James Maitland. " Citizen and Needlemaker," by his admiring countryman, the

system, hastening to its de-author of the Forged Eclair : to ate motto of " Wa wants me !"

- 2. An essay on conjugat fidelity (long since promised). by Mr. STREET, one of the editors of the Courser.
- 3. ROSA MATILDA'S longexpected and most instructive essay on female delicacy and on platonic love, illustrated by appropriate examples in her own life and manners. It is not yet settled, whether this shall come forth through her usual channel. the Morning Post, or in a separate pamphlet.
- 4. Doctor SLOP is coming out, immediately, with an eulogium on inquisitions, spies, and poisoners; to which is to be added, proofs of the wisdom of a man's wishing to be proved a cuckold.
- 5. The JEW SPYE is about to treat us with an essay, proving. that, to live in luxury with another woman in London, while one's own wife is actually began ging in the streets of Paris, is a

proof of unshaken attachment his house. to "merality, religion, and " Social Order."

6. Mr. James Perry's is a graphic contribution, exhibiting an old ass balancing between two thistles.

THE BLOODY JUDGE JEFFERIES.

Mr. Benbow, No. 269, Strand, will publish next Wednesday, an engraving, price 1s. representing the seizing of this ruffian, by the people, at Wapping, at the time of the Glorious Revolution, in 1688. He was disguised in a Sailor's Dress; but had not had time to change his wig! This is a striking exhibition of a corrupt and cruel judge, at the close of his career. It is an exhibition that every Englishman ought to have in enquired into and exposed.

Tyrants have means enough of insulting the people by exhibiting themselves decked out in their robes of prosperity. Here is the exhibition of a fallen tyrant; and, it is such as every man ought to look at as often as he can.

TO THE METHODISTS.

I mean, next week, to address a sermon to you on the subject of the conduct of your Conferences. I have refrained a long while, from a reluctance to do any thing that might, even by possibility, offend good men; but, I can, and will, refrain no longer. I commend your piety, your general moral conduct. and, above all things, your sobriety; but, the conduct of the heads of your Chusch must be

PLACARD CONSPIRACY.

(From the Times.)

Bow-street.—On Tuesday morning, as soon as Mr. Birnie had taken his seat. Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon appeared in the office, attended by a bill-sticker, of the name of John Jones, for the purpose of laying an information against Mr. Denis O'Bryen, of Craven-street, in the Strand, for publishing an inflammatory and seditious pla-The magistrate directed the information to be laid, and the bill-sticker was examined in a private room. The deposition was taken upon oath, and was to the following effect:---

John Jones, of No. 1, Gardener's-row. Westminster, being sworn, on his oath, says---that on the night of the 19th of July, 1820, about 11 o'clock, a gentleman, whom deponent has been informed, and verily believes, to be Mr. Denis O'Brven, came to his house, in Gardener's-row, and pulled out a bundle of printed bills, and requested the deponent to post them on the walls from Westminster to Smith-Deponent observed that there was no printer's name attached to the bills, and objected on that account to post them, but the gentleman told him not to be afraid, for he would meet him at Charing-cross, and go through with him. Deponent consented, and the following night, about 11 o'clock, he proceeded to post the bills. They were in number about 200. De- ness I should think it my duty ponent posted them as far as to commit him also. Charing-cross, where he waited for his employer, but he did not lisher, or principal, is the most

come there, and he went on posting the bills till he came to Smithfield. The gentleman came to him some time afterwards. and gave him 21. for the job. -Deponent's regular charge would have been about 12s. The same person had employed him several times before to post bills at night. Some little time ago the same gentleman came to him, and requested him to post some smaller bills, but deponent objected, upon which the gentleman laughed, said, he would lend him a great coat to hide his paste-pot. Deponent, however, refused, and the gentleman laughed and said. he need not be afraid, for " if he was taken up, it would be all the better for him." The bill now produced, headed "To the Non-represented," was one of those he had so posted. It was dated July 12, 1819. This examination having been concluded, Mr. Harmer and Mr. Haydon again entered the office. and laid the information before Mr. Birnie.

Mr. Birnie, after having read it over, said, " Is this all?"

Mr. Harmer said it was.

Mr. Birnie.---I cannot issue a warrant upon the unsupported evidence of an accomplice.

Mr. Harmer.---But we cannot. Sir, at this moment, procure any other evidence.

Mr. Birnie.---I cannot help This man is equally culpable with his employer, and if we should proceed in this busi-

Mr. Harmer.---I think the pub-

culpable. We could have had and the placard. he would have been liable to the same objection.

Mr. Birnie.—Most assuredly.

Mr. Harmer.—Then I do not see how there could be any other evidence at present.

Mr. Birnie.—I do not know that.

Mr. Harmer .-- But while we are seeking for that evidence Mr. Denis O'Bryen may escape.

Mr. Birnie.---Aye, it is very irregular to proceed in this way.

Mr. Harmer .--- Sir, if you will suffer the apprehension to take place, I pledge myself to procure other evidence when the matter is brought before you.

Mr. Birnie.---Let me see the

placard.

Mr. Harmer here produced a very large placard, dated 12th July, 1819, (at the period of the Smithfield meeting.)

Mr. Birnie, having read it. said, "Why, this is the one

produced last week?"

Mr. Harmer.---Yes, but no information was given upon it.

Mr. Birnie read the placard very attentively, and Mr. Harmer pointed out some treasonable passages in it. Mr. Birnie said. it certainly was seditious.

Mr. Birnie then took the deposition of the bill-sticker and the placard, and proceeded into a private room, accompanied by Mr. Harmer, Mr. Haydon, and Mr. Stafford. They remained there for a considerable time. On their return to the office Mr. Birnie wrote a letter to Mr. the Home Department, enclosing

It was given the evidence of the printer, but to Mr. Harmer for his inspection. and it was afterwards sealed and dispatched to the Home Department.

> In the space of about an hour the messenger returned with an answer from Sir B. Hobbonse. the purport of which we understood was to desire the magistrate to use his own discretion respecting the issue of the warrant.

> Mr. Birnie immediately signed the warrant, but Mr. Harmer was not then present, and it remained on the table ready to be served when the parties applying should call for its execution.

> Mr. Birnie subsequently explained, that the only motive for hesitation on his part in signing the warrant was, that the evidence on which it was applied for was that of an accomplice.

The warrant was to the foi-

lowing effect:-

PUBLIC OFFICE, BOW STREET.

" To all constables and others whom it may concern:-

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to command you and every of you, upon sight hereof, to take into your safe custody and bring before me the body of Denis O'Bryen, he being charged, on the oath of John Jones, with unlawfully publishing, and causing to be published, a certain seditious and inflammatory posting-bill, withintent to excite disaffection in the minds of the people towards his Hobhouse, Under-Secretary for late and present Majesty's Government, and with intent to the deposition of the bill-sticker subvert the laws of this country.

"Given under my hand and | been brought here; you have seal, this 17th day of October 1890.

"R. BIRNIE." · (Signed) We understand that a note was immediately written to Mr. Harmer, acquainting him that the warrant had been issued, and appointing a time for him to appear at the office. hour we understood to be 8 A letter was also transmitted to Mr. Denis O'Bryen requiring his attendance at the same hour. Birnie received an answer from Mr. O'Bryen soon afterwards. dated from his own house, at 21, Craven-street, informing the worthy Magistrate that he was then extremely indisposed, and that Dr. Maton, who attended him, had declared that his life was in danger if he stirred out. Notwithstanding, at the hazard of his life, he would appear at the office at the time appointed.

At about eight o'clock Mr. O'Bryen appeared in the office, and was apparently considerably indisposed. He took his seat within the partition of the office appropriated to the Magistrates. In a few minutes Mr. Birnie and Mr. O'Bryen retired into a private room, but remained there only a few seconds. On his return Mr. O'Bryen resumed his seat.

Mr. Birnie, looking at the clock, said, "You have been very punctual, Sir. There is no occasion for your waiting any longer here."

Mr. O'Bryen said that he had

come here, as he had been requested, he hoped, in time.

come here of your own accord.

Mr. O'Bryen.—I am aware of that, but here I am. After some pause he added. I know all this will appear to-morrow in the papers.

Mr. Birnie repeated, that he need not keep Mr. O'Brven there, and asked him if he had come in a coach; Mr. O'Bryen answered in the negative, and Mr. Birnie immediately ordered a coach to be fetched.

Mr. O'Bryen then rose, and, in an agitated manner, said, "Before I go may I be allowed to say one word."

Mr. Birnie.—Certainly.

many as you choose.

Mr. O'Bryen, then putting his hands together in an energetic manner, addressed Mr. Birnie thus:-" If, you, Sir, had been accused of murder, or of parricide, upon my honour, and you have known me upwards of 30 years, you would have been as guilty as I am of being implicated with these placardmakers, or bill-stickers."

The messenger who had been sent for the coach then returned, and stated that the coach As Mr. was at the door. O'Bryen was going out Mr. Birnie took him by the hand and said, "Good night, my good night." Mt. friend. good O'Bryen then left the office.

In about a quarter of an hour afterwards Mr. Harmer came into the office much heated, as if he had walked fast. Mr. Birnie then explained to him the circumstances which had occurred, and told him that Mr. O'Bryen Mr. Birnie.—You have not was apparently very ill. 2 T 2

Harmer said he certainly should to pierce the very vitals of my not at this late hour disturb Mr. Corporation; though not one of those malicious shafts has been the him on a certain day. Mr. Harmer soon after left the office, and nothing further transpired.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE INHABITANTS OF ST. IVES.

The female inhabitants of St. Ives, in the county of Huntingdon, will accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address. I am happy in this instance, and it is my hope, as it will be my solace in every occurrence of my life, to have my actions applauded, and my principles approved. The favour of Providence has been clearly manifested in the striking vicissitudes of my eventful vicissitudes. history. Those when viewed in conjunction with all their associated circumstances, with their preparatory incidents, and their subsequent results, will be found, in a very impressive manner, to exemplify the moral government of the Deity.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALE INHABITANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF TRURO.

I return my cordial thanks to the female inhabitants of the Borough of Truro and the adjacent streets, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Siander has long filled her national liberty. quiver with envenomed arrows To behold al

reputation; though not one of those malicious shafts has been able to penetrate the shield of my integrity. It is not only my destruction that has been the object of my enemies—it is the destruction of every thing that ought to be most dear to Britons; my fall was designed to prepare the way for their humiliation. I was to be deprived of a crown: this was a loss, in which I might have acquiesced with less repugnance, if I had not been certain that my loss of rank would have been their loss of liberty. But the courage of the people, aided by the noble exertions of the press, will both maintain the security of the Queen and the liberties of the nation.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE MALE AND PENALE INSTABLITANTS OF THE PA-RISH OF ST. ANNE, LIMEHOUSE.

I feel much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the parish of St. Anne, Limehouse.

Whatever may be the final issue of the present proceedings against me in the House of Lords, the measure itself will not form one of the bright pages in the Judicial History of our country. Though the conclusion of the most honourable judicature should be in favour of my innocence, it will never be forgotten that the principle of the Bill was highly unconstitutional—an infraction of individual right, and an invasion of national liberty.

To behold all existing laws,

hoth civil and ecclesiastical, de- | TO THE ADDRESS OF THE DEACONS OF liberately set aside in order to crush one individual for the purpose of gratifying another, is a proceeding which, however it may have found support in the obscured judgments, or in the corrupt interests of particular individuals in the present generation, will experience the unqualified reprobation of posterity.

· When the tumultuous agitation of the present conflict shall have subsided, and men's minds shall have recovered their former serenity, it will hardly be thought credible that any Ministers, not absolutely insane, would have suffered such a question to endanger the peace of the community.

The great excellence of a free constitution is, that the law is one and the same for all. how can we reconcile to our ideas of a free constitution the violation of every existing law for the benefit of an individual? Yet is not this, in a few words. the substantial intent of the Bill of Pains and Penalties?

Conformity to the laws is, for the sake of example, more requisite in a King than in any of his subjects. Ought, therefore, a divorce to be granted to his Majesty in circumstances in which it would be denied to any of his subjects? Ought it to be granted to him on terms which are compatible with the neither precepts of the Gospel as interpreted by the Church; nor with the temporal laws, as fixed by the state?

THE EIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF PERTIL.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Deacons of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's Court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy, against my honour and my rights, which has taken such a deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent

The nation has been insulted in the person of the Queen; nor ought it to be forgotten that a minister of the Pope dared, in an official instrument, to deprive the Queen of England of that appellation to which she is lawfully entitled. There have been times when such an insult would not have been suffered by any Ministry, and when, if they had been endured by the Ministry, that Ministry would not have been endured by the people.

The malice of my enemies has done its worst; and the day of moral retribution is at hand. Injustice and falsehood may flourish for a season, but it can be only for a season. That season will soon pass away; and he who seeks them, where they were once seen, soon finds that they are to be seen no more. The ways of Providence are not as our ways, but they are always in favour of moral rectitude in their ultimate results.

TANTS OF CROYDON, SURREY.

I have been much gratified by the loval and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of Croydon, in the

County of Surrey.

It is not possible for the dim sight of man to penetrate far into the dark immensity of the moral world; but still there is light enough upon the confines of that awful vast, to teach us a few simple but salutary truths. Our limited experience and confined observation are sufficient to prove that avil is often one of the means of good, and that the seeds of misfortune often throw up a harvest of happiness. life will furnish numerous instances of a moral retribution; and will, at the same time, prove that there is more strength in unprotected innocence than in the most systematic falsehood or the best fabricated perjury.

In the conspiracy against me in 1806 there was no want of well contrived circumstantial particulars, which were formed into a very plausible story; nor did the tale want the support of witnesses who had no scrupulosity about an oath; but the whole fabric was no sooner touched by the wand of truth than it dissolved into empty air. The present conspiracy, in like manner, is demonstrated have been the deliberate contrivance of falsehood and male-

volence.

Where a country has been long governed for the benefit of the people have risen up like a few, it is not surprising that one man, in vindication of my

TO THE ADDRESS PROM THE INHABI- | Que for such an extension of political rights, as may enable thent to check that corrupt influence which, while it lasts, will more or less paralyze the moral energies of those within the sphere of its agency, and finally sap the very vitals of the Constitution. All political institutions. like the material fabrics of man, are composed of perishable elements. They contain in themselves the principle of decay, of which the agency, unless scrupulously watched and carefully retarded, is never still. But how few Governments ever see the necessity of early reformation! Hence they delay reform till it is too late; or too late to They either nebe beneficial. ver intend a remedy, or they procrastinate the application till . native it is applied in vain.

> TO THE ADDRESS OF THE LETTER-PRESS PRINTERS OF LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

> l am highly gratified by this loval and affectionate Address from the Letter-press Printers of London and its environs.

It is public opinion which has supported me in the otherwise unequal conflict with numerous adversaries, who not only possess ' unbounded resources, but who have never scrupled to use any means by which their vengeance could be gratified. This public opinion is the concentrated force of many enlightened minds. operating through the medium of the Press. Hence the public sentiment has been directed, and the public feeling excited, till the people should be clamour- rights. The conviction, with

few exceptions, has become universal, that I am the victim of a foul conspiracy, and that I have for years been persecuted by the most flagrant injustice and inhumanity.

There is a part of the Press which has been busily employed in fabricating the most atrocious slanders against myself, and all who have manifested any zeal or ability in my desence. natures cannot endure natures of a higher order. They loathe the moral and intellectual superiority that they never can reach. Hence calumny is the tax that wothlessness is perpetually levying upon worth. It is the Bill of Pains and Penalties that envy and malevolence are ever busily labouring to pass, in order to degrade virtue and talents to their contemptible inferiority. But when I consider that my adversaries are invested with all the patronage of the country, possess such extensive means of intimidation and corruption, I am not surprised that I should have been vilified by a few of their unprincipled merce-My surprise is, that the naries. greater part of the persons engaged in the conduct of the Press should have remained incorrupt and incorruptible. a great honour to be honest in any times; but, to be honest in bad times, is a species of panegyric which no man need blush to have inscribed upon his tomb.

The Press is at this moment the only strong hold that liberty has left. If we lose this, we lose all. We have no other rampart against an implacable foe.

The Press is not only the hest security against the inroads of despotism, but it is itself a power that is perpetually checking the progress of tyranny, and diminishing the number of its adherents. That sun never rises which does not, before it sets. behold some addition to the friends of Liberty. To what is, this owing? To what can it heowing, but to the agency of the Press? The force of truth is ultimately irresistible; but truth, without some adventitious aid, moves with a slow pace, and sometimes its motion is so slow as to be imperceptible. The Press is its accelerating power. Press gives it wings. The Press does more for truth in one day. than mere oral teaching could in a century.

What is it that has made the members of the Holy Alliance turn pale with dread? It is that the Press has inspired the love of liberty even in the sword.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHA-BITANTS OF STOCKPORT.

I accept with many thanks this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of Stockport and its environs.

Those circumstances which are most adverse to our wishes often prove, in the end, most favourable to our happiness.—
The afflictions with which I have been visited by the chastening hand of Providence, and the numerous wrongs which I have experienced from the injustice and inhumanity of my enemies, have tended to increase my epportunities of intellectual im-

has, from early life, been amongst have undergone, whatever may the objects nearest and dearest be the sorrows which they have to my heart. eminence of man is to be a ra- ultimately beneficial to the Engtional being. The cultivation lish nation. It is this assurance of the mind is one of the first which throws a cheering ray duties when we are placed in over the dreary horizon of my circumstances which furnish lei-present circumstances. I have sure for the acquisition of know- long felt it a duty to live as much ledge and the improvement of for others as for myself: and, the mind.

the time. I thought most disa more comprehensive view of life; and to obtain a more thorough insight into the human character than usually happens to persons in my elevated station. My long and extensive travels, in which I have viewed a large portion of mankind under such a diversity of social and political aspects, have increased the conviction with which I set out in early life, that liberty is essential to the happiness of individuals and to the prosperity of nations.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHA-BITANTS OF SHEFFIELD.

I am convinced that the Females of the United Kingdom are my warmest friends; and amongst those females who so zealously espouse my cause, this affectionate Address convinces me that I may number the Female inhabitants of the town of Sheffield and its vicinity. Their kind expressions of condolence and congratulation tell me that they teel a deep interest in my wein re.

evils which I have suffered, and principally owing to the ge-

provement. That improvement all the persecutions which I The highest pre-loccasioned to myself, will prove indeed, the more my life is pro-Those very events which, at longed, the more I am conscious that the best way of adding to astrous, have enabled me to take my own happiness is to promote that of my fellow-creatures.

> TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE INHA-BITANTS OF THE BOROUGH MALMSBURY.

I am much obliged by this affectionate Address from the inhabitants of the ancient Borough of Malmsbury.

In the conspiracy that was directed against my honour and my life, in 1806, I felt that integrity was strength, and innocence security. I am not at all dismayed by the present conspiracy, though it is supported by the arm of overwhelming power. Vast as are its resources, and formidable as is its character, I am convinced that it will experience the fate of preceding similar attempts, and disgrace only the actors in this drama of malignity and injustice.

When my enemies find their exertions as abortive in the present, as in the former conspiracies. I trust that I shall experience an evening of repose after such a long day of storms. If I am to enjoy this blessing, f am convinced that all the my heart tells me that it will be

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES OF HALIFAX.

I shall always be ambitious of preserving the esteem of my own sex; and, among those of my own sex, whose good opinion I value, I am far from being indifferent to the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of Halifax.

I am not the narrow-minded advocate of any sect or party, but the common friend of all parties and sects. Every Sovereign suffers a diminution of his sovereignty in proportion as he becomes a partizan. There is nothing factious or sectarian in goodness; and those who aim at benefiting mankind must not suffer themselves to be fettered by exclusive partialities.

TO THE SPITALFIELDS ADDRESS.

I have been much gratified by an Address so loyal and so affectionate from the Churchwardens. Overseers, and other Inhabitants of the Parish of Christchurch, Middlesex, commonly called Spitalfields.

There is no period in the history of this country, in which the feelings of the people have been so universally or so powerfully excited as in the present. A case of individual oppression has 'interested every heart.---Every member of the community who is not enlisted in the service of the selfish faction, has

nerous sympathies of English-| flictions have excited has produced a degree of close and cordial union in the sentiments.of the nation, which augurs the most glorious results. Union is always strength, even in a few: but union in a nation is might An united nation irresistible. has only to express its will to bave it obeyed.

> The great fault in the Statesmen of modern times, and particularly of our own country. has been, that they have not kept pace with the increased knowledge and improved sentiments of the age. While the nation has been progressive. they have been stationary, or even retrograde. While the nation has been making mighty strides in political science, and acquiring a fitness for more liberal institutions, they have been fixed, as if by the spell of enchantment, in the narrow circle of ancient prejudices, or have been labouring to keep others within the confines of ignorance and superstition. In short, they are still children, while the nation has grown up to manhood. They are still in the leadingstrings of puerile maxims, while the people have learned to walk erect in the light of new truths and of better principles.

My heart is tenderly touched with a sense of those miseries which the inhabitants of Spitalfields mention as characterizing the general state of the country at the present period. Had I the power of mitigating those miseries, my grief would be made my wrongs and sufferings less; but, at present, I lament his own sufferings and wrongs, evils and deplore calamities for The sympathy which my af-I which I cannot furnish a remedy; and I grieve the more, happiness be promoted by the because I grieve in vain. same goodness, in the time to

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABI-TANTS OF THE TOWN OF STROUD, IN GLOCESTERSHIRE.

I receive with cordial satisfaction this loyal and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the town of Stroud and its vicinity, in the county of Glocester.

The sympathies of the people with my wrongs and my sufferings have been so universally manifested, as to make my adversaries pause in their career of oppression, and politically to hesitate when they do not morally relent.

I have experienced adversity in many of its most distressing calamities, and in some of its darkest hours; but I have always found that it never has passed away without leaving some moral benefit behind. Adversity usually compensates its immediate evils by its subsequent good, and its uses are, in numerous instances, so precious, that it may often be regarded as prosperity under another name.

I have been at times sunk in the depth of affliction; but from those depths I have been raised by the invisible hand of the Allmerciful, to rejoice in the dawn of happier days, and to contemplate a futurity of hope for myself and for mankind.

Whatever may have been the will of Omnipotence with respect to my destiny in time past, I acknowledge it to have been both wise and good; and I trust that my safety will be protected by the same wisdom, and my

happiness be promoted by the same goodness, in the time to come. These sentiments are my cheering associates during the day, and at night they smooth the pillow of my repose.

I have derived no ordinary satisfaction from the consciousness that my conduct has excited the approbation of the Female Inhabitants of the Borough of Leeds and its vicinity.

In the conflict with my enemies I have steadily adhered to my original purpose of vindicating my innocence at every risk; and have suffered no lure. however tempting, to make me forget that my rights are not exclusively my.own, but belong to the common stock of public liberty. If I had tamely surrendered those rights I should have betrayed the people, for whose good they were bestowed; and to whose generous attachment I am indebted for all that I possess.

I never could consent to make reputation an affair of mercenary traffic. If I could have been guilty of such baseness, it would have rendered me totally unworthy of the title or the rank of Queen. But yet if I would have stooped so low, and unresistingly have become an accessary to my own infamy, I might have avoided the Bill of Pains and Penalties, and have had my enemies bearing testimony to the purity of my conduct and the patriotism of my principles.

that my safety will be protected The SELFISH FACTION, who by the same wisdom, and my have become my accusers, have

to superior power, and of complying with all its fickle inclinations, till they have acquired a fondness for turpitude, as persons may live in a polluted atmosphere till they lose all relish for the breath of the zephyrs or the fragrance of the fields. -

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE BOROUGH

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the borough of Leeds for this affectionate address. The religious sentiments which it breathes are such as meet with corresponding sentiments in my own mind. I feel it my duty not to dispute the wisdom, or to question the goodness of the Eternal, in any even of his most afflicting dispensations.

Our views are bounded on all sides; and we are apt to regard things only in their immediate relations to our present interest; but the Supreme Wisdom adjusts his discipline to our good, not only in the time which now is, but in that which is to come. If I have been despitefully used, and wrongfully persecuted, I still hope to derive benefit from the evil I have experienced.

All injuries are apt to rebound upon the author; and though vengeance is slow, yet how few are there who can ultimately avoid its shaft or clude its pursuit! I should not be a human being, if injury excited no feeling of resentment in my breast; but I am conscious that not only my innocence. out of a regard for a higher au-

been in the habit of truckling thority, but from a desire not to disturb my own internal tranquillity, I ought not to suffer that feeling to rankle in my heart.

The sentiment of integrity, which has its fixed residence in my soul, makes me despise the accusations of my enemies. know that the malice of my oppressor has never yet been restrained by any moral consideration; but that malice has hitherto been rendered imbecile by the public indignation which it has excited on one side, and by all the better sympathies which it has roused in my defence on the other.

it cannot be supposed that the Bill of Pains and Penalties, which has not hitherto been supported by a particle honest testimony, will receive the sanction of the Legislature but if it should, it will be sound not merely to inflict the penalty of degradation upon the Queen: but of servitude upon the nation. Its professed object is to deprive the Queen of her honour and her rights, but its real effect will be to destroy the liberties of Englishmen. 🕟

TO THE INHABITANTS OF TAUNTOR.

The Inhabitants, Male and Female, of the town of Taunton and its vicinity, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loval and affectionate Address. much gratified by their approbation of my conduct; and their honest declaration in favour of

I trust that no part of my

of the conscious apprehensions of guilt. If I had been guilty I should not have rejected the offer to sin with impunity; but it is the elevating sentiments of innocence that made me at once disdain the splendid bribe that would have secured my character from all judicial investigation, and which next impelled me to challenge my enemies to produce proofs, if proof could be produced, of their criminal ac-Though my advercusations. saries have had the means of evidence, wherepurchasing ever it could be procured, they have not been able to adduce any thing like credible testimony in support of any one of their testimony The allegations. which they have produced, instead of making good any charge, has been most efficacious in demonstrating its own iniquity and that of my adversaries. My acquittal must be their condemnation.

TO THE ADDRESS PROM THE INHABIT-ANTS OF ST. PANCRAS AND ITS VICI-NITY.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction this loval and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the parish of St. Pancras and its vicinity.

I feel that my interest is completely identified with that of the people; and that there is a reciprocity both in our friendships and our enmities. Those | who are labouring to pollute my honour are, in the same act. its judicial character. who are so solicitous to deprive

conduct has ever exhibited any me of my dignities have ever shown themselves ready to embrace any opportunity of stripping the nation of its rights. Those who are eager to degrade the Queen have never manifested any repugnance in abridging the liberties of the people.

> Where any country is governed by a faction, it must be governed more for the benefit of a few, than for the interests of all. Under the government of a faction, the common good is a prey to the rapacity of individuals. The vulture and the cormorant penetrate into the treasury, where patriotic disintérestedness ought to preside; and into the sanctuary, where gentle piety ought to dwell.

Under a just and beneficent government, neither good nor evil is partially dispensed: there is an equal distribution of benefits, and a similarly equal participation of burdens or calamities; there is nothing exclusive. The blessings of a wise administration are impartially scattered. as the dew of Heaven is equally diffused.

A Bill of Pains and Penalties is so unconstitutional in its principle, so tyrannical in its nature, and so unjust in its operations, that I trust the present is the last attempt of the kind that will be made on the liberties of Englishmen. If I should be the means of putting an end for ever to such an arbitrary exertion of legislative power. and such an illegal invasion of tarnishing the national glory in individual right, I shall not have Those lived in vain.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE PRES WATER- | Zens. I thank them, from my MEN AND LIGHTERMEN OF THE PORT OF LONDON.

It is commerce to which Britain is principally indebted for its wealth and its power; and commerce, if it does not owe its origin to liberty, is, at least, never known to flourish in any country where the people are not free. Commerce, like the bird that wantons in the air, loves the unrestrained expansion of its wings; and will not flourish when it is impeded by restrictions, loaded with prohibitions. or subjected to arbitrary im-Liberty is the life of commerce, but slavery its death; as it is the death of every thing that is most intimately connected with the happiness of man.

I have ever felt a strong interest in every thing connected with the welfare of commerce. and the prosperity of navigation. I was, therefore, much gratified by this loyal and affectionate address from the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London. It speaks the sentiments of free men. The Lightermen and Watermen of this crowded Port are actively engaged in conducting the trade, and aiding the navigation, of the first commercial river in the Usefulness is never a world. very erroneous criterion of value in the great scheme of society; and, if we apply this criterion to the Lightermen and Watermen of the Port of London, we shall find that the best interests of the metropolis are though I may lament his chasn no small degree assisted by tisements, I cannot question his his honest body of useful citi-benevolence.

soul, for this artless expression of their condolence, and this zealous tribute of their regard: as long as they continue to navigate this river, I trust they will never cease to remember that the Queen, who is now living on its banks, was a warm and stedfast friend to their particular interests, and to the general prosperity of this great maritime community.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE PARISH OF CLERKENWELL.

I accept with unfeigned satisfaction the affectionate Address from the Parish of Clerkenwell.

No intimidation shall prevent me from doing right; no bribe induce me to do wrong. I have a monitor within, whose injunctions I deem superior to any temptations of interest, or any incitements of ambition. long as I do not behold myself contaminated in the mirror of my own conscience, I cannot only calmly look my enemies in the face, but I can solemply invoke the Almighty to testify my innocence.

When I reflect upon the pain and misery that seem, in a greater or less degree, inseparable from the condition of man. I do not consider myself to possess any claim to an exemption from the common afflictions of humanity; I look up to the author of my being only as the author of my happiness; and,

chy who have silently given they bound with transport, and their consent, or openly lent seem drunk with joy. their sanction to the exclusion of my name from the Lifurgy, must inconsiderately have forgotten it to be their duty, not to prostrate themselves at the feet of any temporal master, in questions in which conscience is concerned.

Every day tends to furnish more and more clues for penetrating into the dark labyrinth of that conspiracy, which has, for so many years, been preparing its train of artifices against my character, and my happi-The present plot has ness. been carefully got up; and no pains have been spared to make it complete in every part.-Palsehood has been purchased wherever it could be found: and the witnesses, who have been brought to appear against the Queen Consort, will cost the Exchequer more than the pay of many a gallant regiment. The actors in this grand representation of connubial infelicity are to be seen in every kind of costume; and Europe, Asia, and Africa, are to play their respective parts at the bar of the House of Lords.

My adversaries have no regard for the venerable principles of the British Constitution --- for the rights it confers, or the liberties it guarantees .---Their love for the Constitution is only a cover for their own selfish views. They love no part of the Constitution except that which is in decay. It is that decayed part alone, in middle and the inferior ranks which "they live, and move, have received me with gene-

The members of the hierar-land have their being," in which

The good and the wise, among all classes, contemplate with horror the tremendous probabilities of a disputed succession, with which the present Bill of Pains and Penalties menaces the country. But my adversaries are so ravished with the present delights of place, and so busy in rifing the immediate sweets of corruption, that they think nothing real but what is in close contact with sense. They live only for the . day; and they leave it to their successors to provide for the morrow.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE LADIES . QP CAMBERWELL.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the Female Inhabitants of the parish of Camberwell, for this loval and affectionate address.

Elevation of rank ought to be associated with elevation of sentiment. In proportion as we ascend in the gradations of political life, we ought to find more disinterestedness and magnanimity, more expansion of the heart, more inflexibility of principle, more steadiness in friendship, and more generosity even in enmities. But my experience would not justify this hope, or verify this expectation.

With one ever-memorable exception, I have been deserted by the very persons by whom I ought to have been most assiduously attended, and most affectionately cherished; but the

rous transport and enthusiastic at airy illusions and let solid delight. Most of the addresses realities pass unheeded by. with which I have been so affectionately greeted have been from the middle classes of society, who are placed above the line of dependence, and below the confines of corruption. The middle and the subordinate ranks appear to have been educated till they have been raised above the higher in energy of mind and generosity of heart. Great virtues and bright talents are. at this moment, to be found in the lowest conditions of life: and hence it requires no great sagacity to discover that the age of delusion is almost past; that craft of all kinds must give way to the force of common sense; and that governments will no longer be respected than while they are good and wise.

TO THE ADDRESS FROM THE FEMALES OF CLIFTON, KINGSDOWN, BRISTOL.

I am much gratified by this loval and affectionate Address from the Females residing at Clifton, Kingsdown, in the vicinity of Bristol.

Life is largely furnished with occasions for the practice of resignation. No one can have been much versed in the drama of human existence without being strongly impressed by the multiplicity of its vicissitudes. Hope, here and there, dazzles our view with gay phantoms; for experience usually proves that they are but phantoms. The deceptive forms vanish; and the vision that interested the imagination disappears. As virtue kindles the blush of

If any monitor is wanting against the folly of indulging extravagant expectation on the one hand, or of yielding to fruitless despondency on the other. my life will furnish numerous instructions of this kind, and will impress the necessity of never hoping too much, but of never sorrowing without hope.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE INHABI-TANTS OF THE BOROUGH OF HOR-SHAM, IN THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX.

I have been much gratified by this loval and affectionate Address from the Inhabitants of the Borough, Town, and vicinity of Horsham, in the County of Sussex.

The strong excitement which at present pervades the whole kingdom is most honourable to the character of the nation. is an excitement which has nothing factious in its origin. Faction, more or less, implies the opposition of a part of the state to the whole, or of a few opinions or interests to those of the majority. But, in the present instance the excitement is universalized; the opinion is one and the same in all, with the exception of the few who are the menials of corruption, or who are the dependants upon those menials. And even of these many are secretly favourable to my interest; or, at least unwilling to espouse that of my enemies.

The generous enthusiasm of if life were a dream, we grasp shame, even in its adversaries.

HABITANTS OF THE ALL SAINTS, POPLAR.

I am unfeignedly obliged to the inhabitants of the parish of All Saints, Poplar, for this agreeable testimony of their loyalty and attachment.

When my persecutors commence their atrocious attacks upon my honour and my happiness, they little thought that they were investing me with an unbounded power over the sympathies of the people. Their conspiracy against my peace will ultimately prove an involuntary attack upon their own. They have fixed the worm of remorse in their breasts, nor will it speedily be removed.

Happily for mankind malice is short-sighted, and its shortsightedness usually renders it impotent to hurt. In the majority of instances it recoils upon itself, and is a torment to the mind in which it originates, and whose tranquillity it destroys.

The agency of the benevolent principle is the only certain source of internal satisfaction. This causes peace within and allays suspicions from without. Malice is haunted by its own fiends: it swarms with inquietudes of every degree of intensity, and with apprehensions of every variety of hue.

The interior state of my adversaries is not an object of envy. The victim of injustice is usually more happy than the perpetrator of the deed.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF KIDDER-

tants of Kidderminster for this tegrity and truth.

loval and affectionate address. I shall be more than recompensed for all the sufferings I have experienced, if they ultimately promote the happiness of That can never these realms. be true happiness which begins and terminates in self. That alone is true and unsophisticated happiness which is reflected upon the consciousness of the misery we have alleviated and the good The most we have produced. religious man is he who bears the nearest resemblance to what the most enlightened minds can form of the Deity; but reason, in its most reflective hours, can imagine no higher perfection in God himself, than that of the most unbounded beneficence. What most enobles man is the zealous imitation of the Almighty in this resplendent attribute.

TO THE ADDRESS OF THE CORPORATED TRADES OF THE BURGH OF CRAIL.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate Address from the Convener, Deacon, and Members of the ancient Royal Scotch Burgh of Crail.

The afflictions which I have endured have not weakened my trust in an overruling Provi-They have rather indence. creased that trust; while they have habituated my mind to the soothing sentiment of humble resignation. My enemies will, at length, allow that the aggressions of injustice, and the artifices of falsehood, cannol I sincerely thank the inhabi- permanently prevail over in-

COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

Var. 37 .-- No. 14] LONDON, SATURDAY, Oct. 28, 1820. [Price, 6d.

I am compelled to postpone my Sermon to the Methodists for another week. I cannot let the Queen's affair receive a decision without one more attempt to support her righteous cause.

TO

THE RADICALS,

On the probable close of the Queen's Incident.—And on the conduct of her Lawyers.

Lawon, Oct. 26, 1820.

. MY FRIENDS,

You will bear in mind, that I always regarded the affair of the Queen as an incident in the Grand Drama, of which the workings of the Funds; "or Debt," is the plot : a predincident indeed; but still and incident: that is to say, a think which might assist in producing the main event sooner than it would otherwise have come: just as a knock on the head may help out of the world a man perishing of a cancer; but. the absence of which knock in the head, or a failure in its effect, cannot save, or prolong, the his of the wretched being, whom the cancer has doomed to de. Therefore, we, who depend on the plot, have not placed any very great reliance, as to immediate effect, on this

incident; though it has been. a capital thing, and has produced us a large mass of unmixed good. It has been a perfect "God's send" to us. has been so much of clear gains. Let it terminate how it may, all that we justly detest is become more openly exposed, more odious, more contemptible and more loathsome than it was before. Divine Providence sent her Majesty here for our good; but she has been the instrument in that good; and she will always be an object of gratitude with me. When I kissed her Majesty's. pretty little hand, I did it with real devotion; I blessed her in my heart, for having opened the eyes of so many poor blind people, and for having torn the mask from such swarms of villains and hypocrites, who will never again be able to impose on the credulity of mankind. She has done us wondrous service; and the man must be a wretch, who does not feel grateful towards her.

Perhaps the Lords will have decided before this Register will

venture to guess at what they or the other of these will now, will do. That they will not pass the Bill, as it stands now, is, I think, evident. All the signs of sible that the Bill, as it now that are too clear to be mistaken. stands, should pass. And yet, But, yel, it is supposed, that they will do a something; and that that something will be of a kind to make it impossible for the Queen to be permitted to hold her courts, to live in a palace, and to be recognized as Queen in the usual way. In short, that a vote of degradation will be passed on her.

If the Bill were to be passed, with whatever modifications, it best interests of the nation! must go to the House of Commone, and it is evident, that the Bill thither, and thereby revive the inquiry. By not passing the Bill, this renewed and long-continued struggle will be But, not to pass a avoided. vote of degradation would be to leave the Ministers to encounter the whole weight of royal, party and popular vengeance, without any thing to shelter them. Whether it be better to do this, or to leave to the king the honour of having for the

come from the press; but, I may termine; but, at any rate, one according to all appearance, take place; for, it seems imposwhat a situation will the affair and the parties be placed in by this expected vote of degradation? In the first place, there is the House of Peers. who have entered into and gone through an inquiry, which, terminate how it may, the House of Commons have declared to be derogatory from the dignity of the throne and injurious to the Then, there is a Queen, degraded by the House of Peers. there is a great dislike to send and this Queen is not only the. king's wife; but is his cousin also; is in the line of succession to the throne; and may possibly, and even probably, yet come to the throne herself and reign over the kingdom, though standing degraded by a vote of the House of Peers! Next comes the King, who, while the Peers vote his wife to be a degraded woman, unfit to bold ... courts and to be at the head of, the females of England, is left. remainder of his days a wife, to enjoy the honour of having standing degraded by a vote of that degraded woman for his the Peers, I leave others to de- wife; and, observe this, that, if

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degrades her, refuses to relieve which him from her! And yet it does seem a little hard, that "our " most religious and gracious " king." as we devoutly call him every Sunday, in repeating the Liturgy, should be compelled to remain coupled to a wife, whom the Peers have degraded. and whose name has been thought unworthy of insertion in that same Liturgy! The Bishop Marsh. ceived great improvement from the evidence of these two prying and sharp-sighted lasses, his day, carried the matter as far as words could be of any " the actual performance of the ly enemies.

the divorce part of the Bill be "thing." Nay, in the examirejected and the Queen de- nation with regard to the exhigraded, the same assembly that bitions of Leone, or Mahamet. the Attorney-General called "an, imitation of the " sexual intercourse." the witness was actually asked, when ther she perceived any alteration in the shape of the operator's trowsers! Doubtless, the nation's marals will have been, and will be greatly benefited by the book of evidence, printed by order of the Peers, after having been sent all over the country "morals of the nation," to in sixpenny parcels; but, my preserve which has been the friends, I greatly doubt, whether professed object of this stir; the purse of the nation will be these morals will, doubtless, much benefited by this book have received great benefit from and the fillers of it. However, the detail of the evidence of this is a matter for future obser-Demont and Barbara Krantz, vation; and, I have no hesitathe latter elucidated by the tion in saying, that it is better High Dutch learning of the for us to have our money be-Right Reverend Father in God, stowed upon the inhabitants of Doubtless the Cotton Garden. than upon nation's marals will have re-placemen, pensioners, or Austrian soldiers. The thing will cost us a good deal; but, in this case, we shall have had somewho, as SWIFT said of the di-thing for our money: the three verting vagabonds (players) of hundred thousand pounds, which I imagine, will be about the mark, will have been well laid use, and, like Swift's vaga- out in obtaining so fine, so clear, bands, " stopped short only of so full an exposure of our dead-

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this Bill of Pains and Penalties. without having the Bill itself before us, that we almost forget what the thing really is. I shall, therefore, go back, to the origin of the proceeding, which will enable me the more clearly to explain the situation in which the parties are now placed. Let us bear in mind, then, that on the sixth of June last, the King sent a message to the Houses of Parliament, accompanying it with a green bag to each House, informing the Houses that the papers in the bag contained matter respecting the conduct of the Queen, and expressing his confidence that the Houses would adopt that course of proceeding, which "the justice of " the case and the honour and " dignity of his Majesty's Crown " may require."

Now, it is material to observe, that the King, in this message, said not a word about the morals of the nation. He had only in view the honour

We have talked so long about affording relief to the King. The Lord Chancellor, after having pointed out the difficulties of obtaining relief for the King. by impeachment, by civil action, or in the spiritual courts, observed that no one would say that the King should have no relief at all. Thus, then, at the outset of the business, relief to the King, and the support of the honour and dignity of the Crown, seem to have been the only things thought of. idea of preserving the morals of the nation, by the instrumentality of De Mont. Powell. Brown, and Barbara Krantz, seems, at this time, not to have been engendered; for certainly it did not make it's appearance.

The Secret Committee, when they had read the papers of the Green Bag, declared that the charges contained in it deeply affected the honour of the Queen, the dignity of the Crown, and the moral feeling and honour of the country! But this declaraand dignity of his Crown. On tion took place on the fourth of the next day, in the Lords, a July, that is to say, nearly a motion was made to refer the month after the date of the Green Bag to a Secret Commit- King's message; and after there Nothing was still said had been in Parliament and out about the morals of the nation; of Parliament, a great deal said but a great deal was said about upon the subject of his Majesty's

being entitled to relief, in a case | like the present. We next come to the Bill, which was brought into the House of Lords by Liverpool on the fifth of July. The Bill consists of a long preamble stating the offences of her Majesty, which preamble concludes with asserting that the Queen " has violated the duty " she owed to his Majesty, and " has rendered herself unworthy " of the exalted rank and sta-"tion of Queen Consort of this " realm."

This preamble is all talk; but there follow a couple of stings in the tail of it, in these words: " I. That the Queen be, and is "hereby, deprived of the title " of Queen, and of all the pre-" rogatives, privileges and ex-" emptions, appertaining to her, "as Queen Consort of this " Realm, and be, from and after "the passing of this act, for ever " disabled, and rendered incapa-" ble of using, exercising and en-"joying the same, or any of "them .- II. That the marriage "between his Majesty and the " said Caroline Amelia Eliza-" beth be, and the same is here-" hy, from henceforth for ever, wholly dissolved, annulled,

" constructions and purposes. "whatsoever."

We have now something like a clear view of the matter. see what was intended at the and also the grounds upon which the intention pro-In a short time after the Bill was brought in; or, at least, after the evidence in favour of it began to be produced, Liverpool declared that, as to the divorce clause, that was the least important part of the Bill. The morals of the nation were now put forward as demanding preservation through the means of this proceeding; through the means of the description of beds. sheets, and bolsters, given by the Countess Colombier, Barbara Krantz, and the rest of the Holy Catholic community of Cotton Garden.

But, now, at last, when all these strenuous efforts to preserve our morals are happily in our safe possession, there remain to be disposed of these two enacting clauses of this Bill. The divorce clause, that is to say, the second clause, is to be given up; or, at least, an intimation has been made to that effect. Well, then, observe that this will be a pretty sort of answer "and made void to all intents, to the King's Message, in which

Message, he called for a some-|dent for the degradation of a thing required by the honour Queen, at least. and dignity of his Crown. How rejection of this clause? For. ing been submitted to House.

The next thing to be consi-- dered is, will the first clause pass the House? It might pass; and, thus, the Bill would be a complete Bill without the divorce The Bill, in this shape, clause. would unqueen the Queen: would leave her wholly destitute, not only of prerogatives and privileges, but would deprive her of all claim to maintenance of any kind or in any degree. It would actually turn her out to beg in the streets, unless mainmore comfortably by tained charity of another sort. It would, in fact, be degradation as complete as that of the son of Louis the Sixteenth, when the despotism had been abolished and when that youth had been bound apprentice to citizen Simon, the Cordwainer. Degradation more Barbara Krantz. complete it is impossible to conceive; and if the Bill pass in this the Bill may pass, with the ex-

But, in this case, the Bill must will the honour and dignity of go to the House of Commons; his Crown be preserved by the for until it has passed that House. and until the King has given mind, the clause must be reject- his assent, also, the Bill does ed; which is a very different not become a law; and, of course. thing indeed from its never hav- it is only a parcel of useless the words, and the Queen is not degraded. The House of Commons will finally pass the Bill. in my opinion, if the Lords pass it; and, it is possible, too, that they may pass it without any examination of witnesses. And, indeed, there is no good reason why they should not, supposing it to be a Bill proper for them to pass. The House of Commons cannot examine witnesses upon oath. They cannot come at the truth in the same way that the Lords can; and, if the testimony given before the Lords be laid before the Commons: there can be no 'reason why they should go over the evidence again except we could suppose it possible that the members could take delight in seeing the lips and hearing the sound of the voices of the Countess Colombier and

It is possible, therefore, that shape, it will serve as a prece- ception of the divorce clause;

and if this take place, the Queen | those and other measures of huis degraded; but whether this miliation. degradation will answer the fail in the main object which surpose expressed in his Ma-I the Ministers most have in view: justy's message, samely, pre- namely, putting an end to the serving the henour and dignity struggle; for, instead of putting which I will leave you to deter-. mine. .

There is mother mode of proeccding, which would obviate any risk that there might be in making the Bill without the diverce clause. That is to say, the House of Lords may set aside the Bill altogether, and come to a resolution or vote: or may make an address to the King; which vote, or address. should express, in the first place, that which is expressed in the preamble of the Bill, and should then express the epinion of the House, that the charges against the Queen had been proved, and that it was improper that she should be suffered to enjey, or exercise, any of the rights, privileges or functions wantly enjoyed and exercised by a Queen Consort.

This would, in some measure, screen the Ministers; and it ing to them, only, indeed, we would also serve as a ground were pretty certain, and I myfor refusing a royal residence self was quite certain, that whatand establishment to the Queen. ever we 'prayed against 'they It might be made the ground of wefe sure to pursue with re-

But, still, it would of the Crown, is a question an end to that struggle, it would be sure to perpetuate it till there arose out of it something which the Ministers must desire to avoid. The rights, privileges and immunities, though checked in their exercise, would still exist: they would still be an object of contention: and, what would render the matter still more irritating would be, that the exercise would be prevented by the direct authority of the King. and that, too, without law. and even against law.

For my part, therefore, I can see no way out of the difficulties into which our pretty gentlemen have plunged themselves; have plunged themselves of their own good will and pleasure, without any assistance of curs, and even contrary to our subplications and prayets; and great fools we were for bur pains for supplicating and praydoubled vigour! Their case is deputation going to the Queen. now past praying for. They success appears to have been so never can bring themselves nicely balanced against defeat. back to where they were on the that a straw would have turned 5th of June last. Pass the Bill the thingrome way or the other. or not pass the Bill, makes not a straw of difference to us: and, if I were to have my choice at this moment, I should, all the circumstances considered. have very great difficulty in saving which I thought best for the nation.

From the very beginning, it has been manifest that the Ministers, their supporters and abettors, wished to keep the Queen out of the country, in the first place, and afterwards to get her out of the country. How arduously, and yet how foolishly, they laboured to effect this object, we all recollect. It must be confessed, however, that they had something to contend with in their pursuit of this great object. If they were busy, others were not idle. When once the Queen was got here, it was not so easy to get her away. They had the cordial assistance of her law advisors; they had the assistance of Mr. Wilberforce and his associate ease 'till the Green Bag was deputies; they had an abun- actually open, and the Report dance of craft and cunning to aid of the Secret Committee sent them; and, at the time of that forth to the world. Then I

I call heaven to witness the anxious hours that I passed, hetween the making of Wilherforce's motion and the rejection of the advice contained in! the resolution of the House of Commons. I remembel: a passage in Othellou I think it is: "O! what darined minates counts

"Who doats, vet doubts, &c."

I called this passage to mind at the time; and certainly Othello's ravings hardly came up to a full description of what I felt. No forlorn dog of a poscher, who, after groping about all night in vain, after fish, ever felt more anxiety when he, at last, felt! the tail of a solitary...eel slipping through his fingers, than I felt while Wilberforce, Auckland. Banks and Wortley, were going up in deputation to Portman Street. When the answer came to the House of Commons, I recovered my serenity a little; but I never felt perfectly at

more as I pleased, seeing that Sidmouth's Circular, and even the Six Acts, have not made it criminal to hope, especially if we keep our hopes within our teeth, as I have had the prudence to do.

When once the Green Bag was opened, actually opened, it could not be closed again. I feared no Lawyers from that moment; for one thing or the other must take place, either the Queen must go abroad with the vomitings of the Green Bag upon her, or she must stay here and combat her enemies, who, as it happened, were the enemies of as also. She could not do them: harm without make us hope for a result such as I have always prayed for, that is to say, a result greatly beneficial to the throne, as well as to the people.

Nothing will be accomplished,

knew that all would follow this is the point. This is the which has followed; and I had thing which, above all things a right to hope for as much in the world, they desire: in their anxiety as to this matter. they forget, for a while, Peel's Bill; the howkings of the Merchants and the farmers, and all the other difficulties that are tumbling about them like hail. To get her away: this is the thing that they have at heart': and yet, pretty gentlemen, how hard have they been working prevent the possibility of getting her away! Divorce her and degrade her; nay, even fix on her the stigma of a vote: and how is she to go; where is she to show her face: where has she a friend on the face of 'the' earth, but in England? England, even if the Bill pass to : its full:extent, she will still doing us good; and the feeling have millions of friends. If mo of the public was such as to Bill be passed, and merely a vote declaratory of the opinion of the House that his Majesty ought to restrain her from the exercise of her rights, she will still possess those rights, and, while here, will be able to at last, to suit the views and to carry on a contest for them; quiet the alarms of our pretty but, out of the Kingdom she gentlemen, unless, by some will go branded by the vote; means or other. THE QUEEN she cannot, in the face of that CAN BE GOT OUT OF THE vote, have a yacht or man of COUNTRY. Mind, my friends, war to take her away; she can-

England at any foreign court; final dissolution. For this reaand, in the face of such a vote, son, this whole mition ought to how can our faithful Repre- feel grateful towards her Masentatives vote away our money jesty; and ought to do every to enable her to live in splen- thing in its power to resist her dour in a foreign land.

. Thus the very means that the every vircumstance. pretty gentlemen have been Leaving, now, these wise tend to preserve her, for they hand, to pursue whatever meahere only can she possibly be possible Bill. I preceded to resure of receiving even the means of putting bread in her mouth. It is, therefore, very what is worst; or rather, what Brougham and Dommin. I have is the least bad of the thinks this I am very sure of, that, let what will be done, things the state of the 5th of June last; and that this incident of ment of its existence. which, though the ball be ex- reliance but upon them. tracted and the mouth healed ever, is always afterwards felt the world what would have in company with every anc- been the result, if the bress and coeding ailment, and goes gra- the people had not stepped for

not be introduced as Queen of dually on helping to accelerate and support her under any and

pursuing to destroy her, must men who have the business in must tend to keep her here, and sures they please, as to the dismark upon the conduct of her Majesty's lawyers, micanine perticularly to speak of those two difficult to say what is best, or dignitaries in the law. Meants. upon several occasions, had octhat now may be done; but casion to speak of this conduct. Their speeches in Parliament: their conduct with remind to never can be brought back to the Protocols; their answers to the addresses from Nottingham and Preston, all these clinity the Queen will have given the proved that they wished to keep system a blow, the effects of her alcof from all popular remwhich it will feel to the last me- munication, and support; other The they wished her out of the domi-. blow may yet be mertal; but, try; and that, at any ente, even if it be not it will be like when the green the was openone of those gun-shot wounds, ed, they wished her to have no

It must now be evident to all

defence. down, even without waiting to hear one word in reply from the Attorney-General. have, upon this occasion, displayed neither. The opening have been made to work up a known to be her friends. almost to madness; instead of against the enemies of her Majesty, and drawled itself along leaving the filthy slime of its praises upon the judges of the Queen, upon PITT, whose very name the people detested, and upon PERCEVAL, who, to his general demerits, added that of having deserted the Queen after he had made her the ladder

ward in her defence; and it must; nothing but the telling of the also be manifest that neither plain story; there required nowould have done it if the ad- thing but a simple narrative of vice of those law advisers had the persecutions of the Queen. been followed. But I am now in order to make it terrible to going to speak upon the man- continue those persecutions for ner of conducting her Majesty's one moment longer; and yet. The Ministerial pa- the speech of Mr. Brougham pers say that the defence has came to a driveling close with a broken down; and, as far as re- supplication to her indges to uplates to the mere legal proceed- hold nability, the ornament of ings, it certainly has broken the country; to save the Monarchy from the claws of the seditious, and to protect the ai-Never tar from the unhaly touch of was so fine an opportunity for blasphemers. The speech was. lawyers to display talent and in fact, a speech against the inzeal, and these two gentlemen terest of the Queen. It nimed at exalting those who are well known to be hastile to her, and speech of Mr. Brougham might at degrading those who are well feeling people like the English Bill of Pains and Penalties charged her with having degraded this, it passed over all the topics herself by associating with incalculated to excite indignation ferior persons; and this speech took occasion to admit that she had so associated herself; and. of course, that she had thus been guilty of self-degradation. Was this the tone for an advocate to assume, and for an advocate. too, who had so strongly described the duties of his office. which, he had said, imposed upof his ambition. There required on him to become almost a trai-

This speech was calculated to produce the worst possible impression. The faulterings of sentences of its commencement. At a time when nothing should have dropped from his lips that did not breathe defiance, and anticipate triumph, all was humble, all was submissive, all was reliance upon the wisdom and justice of the judges: nothing was heard, but of the enormous difficulties under which the speaker laboured; the dreadfal weight of responsibility upon his shoulders; the hardship of the unfortunate lady whom it was his duty to defend; and not a word about her cruel perecoutors; about their atrocious proceedings; about her unddunted resolution to repel their attacks; and about his resolution to be amongst these who should perish by her side rather than see another act of injustice inflieted upon her. In short, the description of his client was sufficiently doleful to excite pity; and, perhaps, he thought that enough, forgetting that pity is the most short-lived passion that his mate had sworn to these inhabits the human breast, and facts. This was the only part that, in the few cases where it of the evidence against the

tor to the King rather than lose is not allied to contempt, it sight of the defence of his client. never leads to the inspiring of confidence of success to the pitied object.

In the conducting of the defear became manifest within six fence with regard to evidence, though a hundred objections could be made, I need mention only one instance; namely, that of neglecting to establish clearly the falsehood of the charges with regard to the polacre. was very clear to every one who attended to the subject, that, if the facts could be established, that the Queen did actually sleep under a tent for the space of five weeks, and that her Chamberlain slept under the same tent for that five weeks. and that no other person slept there during that time; it was very clear that, if these facts were clearly established; and, that, if nothing was done to prove clearly the necessity of a man constantly sleeping under that tent; it was clear to every one that if these naked facts, without any explanation, were established, the fair and honest inference was, that an adulterous intercourse did take place.

Now, then, the master and

Queen, which presented any drawn from this latter witness. thing like difficulty; and the difficulty arose from the bare fact being true; and from the total disacquaintance of people in general with those circumstances, which, if properly explained, would destroy the inference naturally resulting from the fact. Tell any family of never been on board a ship, and who can have little more knowledge of the state of things there than they have of what is passing in the moon; tell such a family (and of such families the nation is composed); tell such a family that the master and mate of the vessel have positively sworn, that Bergami and the Queen slept both under the same tent, one upon a sofa, and the other upon a bed, every night, for five weeks, nobody else being under the tent, at the same time; tell such a family that such a fact has been positively sworn to in evidence against the Queen; then tell them, further, that this evidence has been confirmed by the Queen's own attendant, and one of her own witnesses, and a Lieutenant in the Navy. too; and further tell them that lock Baron. this acknowledgment has been

by cross-examination: tell any honest plain English family this, and, in spite of all their strong. feelings in favour of the Queen, they will say that the fair inference is, that there really was an adulterous intercourse carried on between the parties.

Here, there was someplain honest people, who have thing to defend the Queen against. All the stories about the disposition of chambers in dwelling-houses and at inns., All the signs and wonders and! pretty little circumstances relat. ed by De Mont; Majacchi, Sao. chini, Barbara Knants, and the Journeymen Bricklegers. All: these might have been left, with great safety, to be destroyed. by the characters of those witnesses. But, besides this, their/. atrocious falseboods were fully, met upon every point but this by the testimony of credible: witnesses. But this polacie. scene remained. The testimony; here, so far from being negative! ed, by other witnesses, was confirmed by the testimony of the Queen's own witness, and by that most zealous person, too; Lieutenant Hownam, who had sent a challenge to the picke-

Was it not, then, of vital im-:

tive; that it was made to appear thing wholly different from what it was: that, in short, the cross-examination! fact: that the parties did sleep under it, and yet that it was not two people sleeping under a test: that though the Baron was under the tent with the Queen every night, it was absolutely necessary for him to be there, or for some man to be there, in order to secure her against broken limbs, and probehr against being killed? . Was it not necessary to do this: was not this a part of that bounden duty of which Mr. Brougham talked so much? And yet, what did this lawyer do, what attempt did he make, towards the perfermance of this most important part of his duty?

He had heard the swearings of the Queen's adversaries, as to this fact. He knew well the

portance to prove, to the Court, opportunities for the space of and more especially to the peo- nearly two months to question ple, that the description given Hownam upon the subject; and ' of this affair was wholly decep- yet he suffers the acknowledgment of Hownam of the truth of before the public as being a this fact, to be drawn out of him. as it were reluctantly, by a And he whole story was a lie in the leaves it after his re-examinawords of truth; that it was a tion, almost in its pristine state tent by name, and not a tent, in of nudity, unexplained by any questions and answers showing the existence of that necessity for the Baron's being under the tent in the night-time, of which necessity Hownam must have been convinced, and to which he would have sworn clearly and positively.

Was this a matter to be left." to the common-place drudgery of Mr. Vizard; was the leaving of this matter to the scrabbling of an attorney; was this shewing that true "chivalrous" spirit of which Mr. Denman speaks in the close of his twodays' tissue of feebleness? Hownam's head seems to have been confused enough. The " blunt " tar," seems, indeed, in one sense, to have fully merited the epithet; but, if I had had such weight of the fact itself. He a fact to deal with, and had must have known that Hownam known that Hownam was to would be cross-examined with corroborate it, I would have regard to it: he had abundant planked him down to the same

I would have stripped it of its of her Chamberlain. fest : that the place of the Baron's bed was not probably within sixteen or eighteen feel of that of the couch of her Majesty; and that, in fact, he only slent, when he did sleep, upon the same deck with the Queen.

I would have had from him, or from somebody else, under his direction, a plan of the deck of the vessel, showing the situation of this thing nick-named a tent; shewing where the man at the helm stood the whole of every night; shewing where the binnacle was with the two lights he talked of heeling, I would buraing in it constantly every night; shewing the station of before him, and made him dethe several persons of the crew during the night; describing the deck of the vessel was made to general station of the officer on become a slope upon certain watch: describing the hatchway occasions; I would have made going from the interior of this him show me how nearly the protty little tent down into the Queen must have been in dancabin, or waist of the versel; ger of being dashed across the and, in short, leaving nothing deck every time the vessel took

table with myself; I would undescribed even to the precise have got from him a description situations of the couch of her of this thing nick-named a tent; Majesty and the pretended bed name of tent pretty quickly; I would have made him describe would have made him tell me to me the dangers to which her that it was made up of old sails, Majesty was exposed from sudthat it was fastened with strings den squalls; from the violence of to different parts of the ship; the waves, and from other accithat it covered a space of four dents which are continually to hundred and fourteen square be apprehended in such a situation. I would have got at a full knowledge of all his slang about larboard and starboard, about heeling and pitching and tacking and wearing and reefing and all the rest of the gibberish that trins so glibly off the tongue of a sailor; and that fills his head with conceit when he finds it not understood by persons on I would have caught land. him by the button and compelled him to talk to me in the language of this world. When have taken my pen, held it up scribe to me in what degree the

any night, might, without speedy time, of hearing, a fulsome Majesty to the opposite side of a most false culogium upon all her malignant persecutors.

got plain common sense an a substantive point in the openswers out of his mouth, I would ing of, my defence. ... I would one of the many thousands of I would have minutely described percargoes, who are in this have cited every corroborative city, and who have sailed in proof of the truth of each cirthe Levant. very clearly, or, at least, quite a wave, should have compreof truth, what I wanted to ex- clearly as I comprehended it mytract from him.

a heel: I would have made him | deck near at hand to protect explain what the shipping of a her Majesty; being prepared sea meant; and I would have with my plan, I would have made him, even from his "blunt" put the polacre scene in the lips, prove to the public, that very front of my case. I would the shipping of a sea, which have saved myself the trouble might happen at any time of of making, and the Judges the assistance, have dashed her eulogium upon themselves, and the deck, if it had not sent her Pitt and Perceval; I would for ever beyond the reach of have gone at once into my case, and would have taken This is a part, and a part the polacre charge as a only, of what I would have striking instance of the malig-to done with Lieut. Hownam be- nity, as well as the falsehood fore I would have placed him of the accusations against my. at the bar. If I could not have client. I would have made this. have confronted with him some have had my plan in my hand; intelligent merchants and su every circumstance; I would I would have cumstance; I would have exclearly understood all about the plained the thing so clearly, whole matter, and I would that a farmer and his family, have made him understand who had never seen a ship or clearly enough for the purposes hended the whole matter as self; and before I had done, Having done this; having before I had dismissed this satisfied myself that I had got point, even in 1 my pening. proof of the necessity of some speech, I would have, put forth, man being constantly upon the that which should have filled

the public with indignation! against the prosecutors, and with admination at the bravery of my Tears of compassion client. for her sufferings, mixed with those of joy at her approaching triumph, should have bedewed the cheeks, not of my hearers, perhaps, but certainly of my just and generous readers.

When I came to the production of my witnesses the bungling Lieutenant should have been the first. I would have left the perjuries and amours of De Mont, and the rest of that tribe, to bring up the rear. My Lieutenant should have taken the lead, and I would have had such a harvest out of him, as to leave the Solicitor-General not a single ear to glean. I would not, as Mr. Brougham did, have run scrambling over the head of the crop, and left the clean reaper to come after me. Every doubtful thing; every thing to which suspicion could be made to attach: every particle of matter that had adhesion in

dence was all-important. lated to things going on upon an element of which the people knew nothing; and was such a witness to be left to a mill-horse of an attorney, to a mere grinder of briefs!

This man's story, this "blunt British tar's" story, to Capt. Briggs, and which story, by the oy, this other "blunt Britishtar" kept as safe and as snug as a pocket-pistol, and did not remind Hownam of it when Hownam went to see him a little while ago, though Hownam then asked him what evidence he had to give, and though the Captain could remember not to forget to relate the story to Cockburn, one of the Lords of the Admiralty! This man's story to Captain Briggs about his having gone upon his knees, and with tears in his eyes, to beneach the Princess not to take Bergami to her table; this story shows what a sort of man Hownam must be; and should not I, if I had been a sharp-nighted lawit, would I have had out of yer, like Mr. Brougham, have him, or I would have left him discovered what sort of a man without either brains or tongue, he was; and, having made that Mr. Brougham had known this discovery, should I have flung Hownam long enough: he had him down to be rummaged and had nearly four months of oppor- raked and turned inside out by annity to talk with him. His evi- the Solicitor General? Should I

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have brought such a man there, | Hownam? Of what avail can knowing what point he was to these be, while the idea of a be questioned to, with nothing tent; of a one tent; of a conch hat the brief of Mr. Vizard in and a bed near each other. my hand, and without being hidden from all eyes, quiet and prepared with the means, even secure, during five whole weeks; of an efficient re-examination, while these impressions remain after a cross-examination of three whole days!

attention and great labour is required, an opper of industry is worth a ton of brilliant talent; and, as Mr. Brougham possesses an extraordinary quantity of antitude for labour, as well as om enthordinary quantity of ta-Tent, both brilliant and solid, the failure, as to this point, is the more inexcusable. Of what evail has been the poor feeble Staff of Mr. Denman upon this great point? Of what avail can be a few flimsy, pointless, remarks, without order, and withbit any one single quality, calthose sworn to by the master

unremoved; while the agitation of the vessel, the buffettings of In every case where great the waxes, the constant peril, the incessant danger of broken limbs, or of being washed overboard; while the interior of the tent remains looked on by the public as being as level as a chantinstead of being frequently is much a-slope as the roof of a house: as long as nothing is done, either in speech or in avidence, to remove these impressions, of what avail, or, rather, how directly mischievous, are all the innumerable proofs of the Queen and Bergami electing in their clothes! Oh! wise and zealous advocates! Just as culated to encounter facts like if the affairs of love were navar carried on except the parties and the mate, and fully come were naked in a bed! Swift, in berated by the festimony of observing upon the admirable

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judiciousness of the minds of that his being under the away lawyers, supposes a case wherein ing; nick-named a tent, during a cow has been unjustly taken the night, was absolutely nofrom him by his neighbour; and nessary to the safety of the per he says, the questions on which son of the Queen; though, it the lawyers would lay the we shall finally see, whatever greatest stress, would be, not may be done by the House of whether the cow really her Lords, hostile to her Mitjesty's longed to him, and had been bonour, will mainly rest upon upjustly taken away by his the want of proof of that hel neighbour : . hut . whether .. the comits ! " cow were white or black: whether the field in which she been well and traly attended fed were round or square.; and to and carried through; there whether she were a good milker would not have remained. The or the contrary : and of this ju- fragment of a pretence for say! diciousness in the practice of ing that any part of the prolawyers; Mr. Brougham's con- amble of the Bill's had been duct with regard to the Pulacie made good. There are, how? scene, is a most happy illustra- ever, other things which have tion. A great deal about Ber- been builted. Why were not it out sleanly and satisfactorily the Master and Mate had been

If this part of the dese had gami's drass. Most satisfactory the witnesses onlied to give proof that he did not sleep in proof respecting the charace buffice Testimony rupon testi- ter of Barbara Krants 2 Ways mony that the Queen was never was : not note witness called spen naked and that Bergami who went to Carlton-house was on no occasion seen without with Majecohi? Why were not the covering of small-clothes; withers called (and pleaty but, no attempt at all to make were at hand) to prove that

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after their sailing with the Prin- presence would have been greatceas, and that they always spoke by favourable to the cause of the of her in the highest terms of Queen. He would have been praise, and declared their opi- there in person; and that pernion, that the rumours in circu- son, of itself, together with his lation against her were false? deportment and manners, would Why was not Count SCHIAVINI have been the bitterest of recalled, who was on board the proofs to the calumniators of malagro? He could have talked her Majesty. It would have plain common sense, it a clang have been that he was a man of rabbling sailor could not. He rare endowments and qualities. could have described the dan- in his person and manners ger of a woman sleeping upon would have been seen a presuch a dock without a man at sumptive proof of his fitness for hand to assist her. Why was the situation which he had so not the Countess of Oldi cailed? long and so honourably filled. Why was not Louis Bergami In the very phraseology of called? and, finally, why not Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denthe Baron himself!

always been of an opinion dif- jury to the cause of their Royal ferent from that of some of the Client. In speaking of this real friends of her Majesty. I gentleman they have talked expressed that opinion from the about " that man," " that permoment of her arrival; not only sen," and never have called in private, but in three separate him by any name other than Registers. I do not say, that that of Bergami; just as they actually to call him to the bar would talk of Vichary or Cribb! would have land much effect in They should have left the pro-

in England with their vessel the way of testimony; Yet his

man, there has been some-Upon this latter point, I have thing tending to do great in-

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agents to talk in this way. They sion of Vice, the son of an old should never have spoken of him woman who kept one of the without calling him the Baron lowest pamphlet shops that Bergami, or the Queen's Cham- ever was known in London? berlain. When the object of the enemy was to lower him in the Queen to adopt, as far as the eves of the nation, they should have taken care not to assist in the furthering of that object. What would they think if any one were to call vices and endowments of this Sir JOHN ELBY, Lieutenant- gentleman. They should have Colonel of the Royal Horse- had at hand, and running glibly Guards, " Jack Elby, the pot- off their lips, a long list of men boy?" yet Sir John's mother distinguished for talent filling realty kept the Furnival's Inn high stations, wearing the high-Cellar, a low pot-house be- est honours, select companions tween Leather-lane and Brook- of Sovereigns, rising from the street; and Sir John began his very lowest walks in life. What career, just as the Baron did; a figure might they have made that is to say, as a Quarter- here! Almost the whole of our master in a regiment of horse. celebrated writers, a very large What would they say, were we portion of our most famous lawto trace back a considerable yers and judges, generals and portion of the long robe them- admirals, they might have selves to beer cellars and chand-traced back to the shop or the lers' shops, and were to call cottage. Here was a subject Mr. GURNEY, who is a King's perfectly inexhaustible. Counsel, and Attorney-General low origin of the Chamberlain

secutors and their malignant to the Society for the Suppres-

It became the advocates of possible, even the very feelings of their client. It was their bounden duty to dwell with particular emphasis on the serin the very first paragraph in have been complimented!the Preamble of the Bill against | Would I have suffered it to pass which they were contending; without a compliment to the and while, by a statement such merits of the coal merchant's as I have just pointed out, they son who sat upon the Woolmight have made the authors of sack? Would I have suffered it the Bill hang down their heads, to pass without reminding the to the very lodging of the chins noble Peer, who brought in the upon their breasts, they resort- Bill, of the merits of his own ed to poor puling apologies and father, who had once been a their client, in consequence of in the House of Lord Bute, who English nobility, that first soci- and paid for his writing as a redefence of his client.

stood staring them in the face | farmers of this charge might more pitiful lamentations than very humble personage, indeed, having been deserted by the had been a reviewer of books, ety in the world, had been com- viewer, and who had had the pelled to take up with persons great merit of rising to a Peerbeneath her! This might be a lage and riding in a coach very good way of currying fa- with a coronet on it, after havyour for themselves, but it was ing many and many a time, gone . the worst way in the world of from London to Litchfield on defending the Queen, and it the outside of the coach with very badly comported with that his pint of good warm purl in . declaration of Mr. his belly! Would I have said. Brougham, that an advocate nothing of this sort? Would I. was bound to sacrifice himself, not even have glanced at those nay, even to sacrifice his own meritorious personages, the reputation, if necessary, to the M'Mahons, the Addingtons, the Cannings, the Huskissons, and Low hirth, indeed! How the that great constellation of ta-

lent, the Right Honourable Sir | a man standing behind her Benjamin Bloomfield; Baronet, chair; all this despicable ruliwhose uncle is an industrious bisk; this calumny, in appar baker in Wapping! Would I have done nothing of this sort? Would I have stood staring like a stack pig and heard my Royal Client abused for taking the Courier, Bergami, to her table; and, when it came to my turn to speak, assume a pitiful aspect, a plaintive tone, and the miserable self-convicting language of apology!

I have, as I said before, always thought it wrong that the Raron did not come over with the Queen. The advice which prevented it was, I am very certain, the offspring of sincere friendship to her Majesty. It was, too, I dare say, the offapping of reflection; but, of reflection not carried far enough. The Queen came to face her enemice and above all the persons upon earth, the Baron should have come! with her. All this dirty talk about the Courier; about Bergami, about nation.

rently insignificant words, would have been dissipated at once, The very presence of the man would have been an answer to the preamble of the Bill.

There was, too, an appearance of something looking a little too much like shuness, in keeping the Baron from the scene. There could be no good reason for it. It seemed to be a step, for which there was no accounting; and, as it is always the best way, to correct an error as soon as possible after it be committed, the Baron ought to come now. It is never too late to correct that which is wrong. I dislike the circumstance of the Baron's being kept at a distance; I dislike it for many reasons; but I dislike it most; because it is unnatural? because her Majesty must, of necessity, act, in this case, against the dictates of her incli-It is unquestionable

that she has great confidence in judgment, say, when I look at red him before all other men, taking it all together, with the as an attendant upon her per- countries on the Continent, that son; and we know that he has this disdain and contempt is been six years in her service. be kept away. I could see no pretty thing, indeed, to take an reason from the beginning for objection to the Queen's contithis measure; and I see every reason that can be imagined for speedily putting an end to this species of banishment.

It is false reasoning that can lead any one to the conclusion, that the national prejudice against foreigners would have any weight with the people in this case. That prejudice is not a prejudice against individuale: nor, indeed, is it ever, in any case, a prejudice of a hostile nature. It is a haughty, domineering sort of spirit, that makes this nation look upon all other nations with a species of disdain and contempt; nor can I, though of the 10th Regiment of Dis-I am perfectly impartial in my goons; and in that station, he is_

the Baron, that she has prefer- this country, and compare it. wholly unjust. But, the people It is, therefore, unnatural that of this country have no prejudice her other foreign servants should against individuals of other be with her, and that he should countries; and it would be a nuing to employ her Chamberlain, merely because he is a foreigner, while the King's own regiment of cavalry is actually commanded by a foreigner, and that, too, directly in the teeth of the law; whereas the Queen's employment of the Baron would violate no law at all. This Commander of the King's Regiment, as another instance of sudden elevation from low birth and station, was a private soldier only a few years ago. He rode to please the Prince. He became a riding master; and now he is the first Lieutenant Colonel

I repeat it, in direct opposition | Away, then, with all the rubto the very letter of the law. bish about prejudice against fo-It were a pretty thing, indeed, reigners. It is a paltry pretence while things like this exist (and for keeping from the Queen. many such do exist) to pretend the man in whom she has so a prejudice against the employ- long, and so naturally, and, inment of foreigners! It were a deed, so successfully confided. pretty thing, indeed, to talk of I would have had him at the this, while we are actually pay- bar. ing about two hundred thou-follow the Queen to the House sand pounds a year, under the of Lords. I would have suffered name of half pay to foreign mi- nothing to wear the appearance lifary officers, who live and of shuness upon this score; and spend the money out of the I am perfectly satisfied that her country; and is there any one so Majesty's better judgment would diverted of all sense of shame as to trump up an objection to the Queen's centinuing to employ her Chamberlain, because he is a foreigner, when it is well known that we have been taxed to the tune of millions upon millions for the maintenance of foreign emigrants; and while we. even to this hour, are paying more than fifty thousand pounds a year for the support of those emigrants, after having buried ourselves in debt for the purpose of restoring the governments of these emigrants!

I would have had him to have avoided all such appearances. It had, I must repeat it. an ill look; and especially when Vassali and Schiavini Count came, and when even the sister of the Baron came over. reason could there be for his not coming? It is utterly impossible that the Queen, who had so justly bestowed on him such great marks of favour, could desire now to cast a sort of reproach upon him; to banish hlin, as it were, from her presence. This is impossible. Every

aibility of an imputation of a consciousness of something wrong, he should have been here in preference to every other foreigner.

the people; nest nature and sanctioned by of the writer of double ententhe approbation of all ages. I dres, the sister of her with

one will say that this is impos- | wish me to be ungrateful as the sible; and, therefore, to remove price of your attachment and the possibility of any lurking support, keep your attachment suspicion; to remove the pos- and support for your own service.

But, there is another witness, who was not called, and, indeed, whose name never ought to have mentioned in the open-At any rate, he ought to come ing speeches of the defence; now. He ought to be seen by namely, the sister of De Mont. and especially I was astounded when Mr. ought he to be here if the Bill, or Brougham pledged himself to any part of the Bill, should pass, call this person as a witness. The Attorney and Solicitor Ge- Did ever a thought such as this neral have called, and they will before come into the mind of call, most lustily for the Baron an advocate? The sister of De: and his brother, and, if I were Mont: the sister of the Counters in the Queen's place, please God, de Colombier; the sister of the they should not call in vain! I Shopherdess of Frith-street; the would have them here, and I sister of the bonne amje of Whitwould take an airing occasional- comb; the sister of her whom: ly in every one of the Parks, hav- the Queen had turned from hering the Baron for my principal service on account of her inattendant. "Love me, love my trigues, and of which turning, "dog," though blunt in words, away the Baron had been the is a maxim dictated by ho- instrument; the correspondent would say to any man, if you whom Powell was prayed to be

hving in sweet and uninter-land Brandenburgh House? If he rapted friendship. Coul Mr. had not, and if he did not see Brougham believe that there a wall surrounding Brandenwas a wall as high as heaven burgh House, reaching from between Frith-street and Bran- the ground to the sky, to call denburgh House, or could he as a witness in defence of the believe that any other means Queen, this sister of the noble which God or man could invent Countess, the sentimental jourwould keep the naif Shepherd nalist and the tete a tete acfrom communicating with the quaintance of the son of Quacht. sister of the Countess? Could would have been the madest he believe that there was any thing, or the most treacherous mode of communication that thing, ever done by mortal would remain untried! Could he believe that there was no one to slide into the house with a letter? Had he taken care to _surround the house with guards. to have the doors locked and bolted, as safely as that of Demont at Naples? Had he stopped all the kev-holes? Had he placed an inspector of milliners' ban-boxes, and of matchand of the sellers' baskets patches on beggars' eyes? Had he. in short, found out a some thing with more eyes than Ar- room nor time. The great singus to watch all the numerous of the defence is, the negligence channels between Frith-street with regard to the scenes on:

man.

He was not guilty of this most flagrantly wicked act; but why then did he talk of bringing this sister as a witness? Why did he positively declare, that he would do it? Why did he give his adversaries this fair ground for taunting him with his apprehensions? Why did he thus wantonly expose himself and: injure his client?

However, to dwell further upon particulars I have neither like a colour of a pretence, for passing any part of this Bill.

I have just got a glimpse of the speech of Dr. Lushington. In that, indeed, there is something to the purpose; there are some points, and those points well and clearly stated. But, it is the evidence that is deficient. How much better would it have been, if the labours which I have described above, had been previous performed! In such a case as this, nothing should have been lest doubtful, and especially when it required nothing but skill and labour to make every thing clear and sa- ments of the pitching and the tisfactory. The far greater part heeling of the ship? Could I of the judges themselves can not have shown the point for have no clear conception of the which I was contending in so

board the polacre. Upon those constant dangers to which her scenes; upon the evidence with Majesty was exposed while regard to them, the result will sleeping on the deck, and, of exclusively turn. Take "the the consequent necessity of hav-" tent: " take this thing, nick-ling some active man always at named a tent, out of the case, hand. Could I not have found and you take away the possibl- the means out of the thirty lity of finding any thing like a thousand pounds which Messrs plausible pretence, any thing Brougham and Denman have caused to be drawn out of the public treasury for purposes connected with the Queen's defence; could I not have found the means, out of these thirty thousand pounds, to provide myself with a complete model of the Polacre, from the top gallant mast to the keel, " tent" and all? With this model in my hands, it being four or five feet in length, could I not have exemplified the necessity for which I was contending? Could I not have made the witnesses exhibit. before their lordships the move-

clear a light as to make any lever, fair to conclude; and, inman ashamed to think of pronouncing guilt upon the circumstances relating to the co-existence of the Queen and her Chamberlain under that "tent?" And. when I saw. as Mr. Brougham must clearly have seen. that there would remain not a fragment of the adversaries' case undestroyed, if this were destroyed, ought I to have slept night or day, 'till I had destroyed this part of their case?

Before I dismiss this subject, and wait for the reply of the Attorney and Solicitor-General. I cannot help observing on two things: first, Mr. Brougham's often repeated, and never executed, threat of recrimination. This threat was, he stated in his opening speech of the defence, to be resorted to only in case of necessity. Of what that necessity was to consist, or by what circumstances or symptoms it was to be evinced, he

deed, such is the necessary conclusion, that he meant to exercise the threat of recrimination with a view of rendering service to the cause of his client. There might, during the defence, arise circumstances which would amount to this necessity of recrimination. For instance. the sending away of Rastelli; the compliments paid to Powell. who had sent him away; Powell's having taken him out of the locked-up and guarded depot, of his own head, of his own mere motion; and having obtained for him a passport, signed by Castlereagh, without Castlerengh's knowing it; the refusal to go on with an inquire into the conspiracy carried on at Milan and elsowhere. might have been circumstances to create that dire necessity, of which Mr. Brougham talked, of going into the recrimination. Yet it seems that they had, no such effect! for the defence has did not inform us. It is, how-been begun, continued and endheard about the recrimination!

This recrimination appears to tery. be a good thing that Mr. Brougham is treasuring up for some the present, to engage the speimportant purpose, though it is very difficult for us plain people to perceive how it can now possibly be used for the benefit of her Majesty, while it is not quite have summed up the case himimpossible, if we were to set our | self; and not have left it to Mr. wits to work, for us to form a Denman. I am aware that eticonjecture as to the use of which quette claimed the honour for it may possibly be made for the this latter; but, according to benefit of others. Whether Mr. Brougham's own doctrine, Brougham will ever make any use the advocate is to sagrifice even of it in his life time or whether he himself and his reputation to the he told us PITT left the cause then, there might have been a of the Princess to PERCEVAL; be a possession in see; or whe this two days of talk; of poor,

ed, and not a syllable have we | ter, which is certainly now involved in a great deal of mys-

Leaving this, therefore, for culations of my readers. I shall conclude this long, and, I fear, tiresome letter, by observing, that Mr. Brougham ought to will leave it as a "legacy," as safety of his client; and surely, sacrifice of etiquette. I have no whether he look upon it as a disposition to criticise harably possession of his own; or whe- the efforts of Mr. Denman. But ther he only partly enjoy it, as a I have a duty to discharge sort of corporator; whether it myself; and I cannot look at ther it be held in trust: these feeble, disjointed, drawled-out are questions which I shall not, observation, without feeling inat present, take upon me to an dignant at Mr. Brougham for Time, and, probably, a not having undertaken the task short time, will elucidate a mat- himself. There required, upon.

this occasion, clearness, strength | Then the characters of the and fearlessness. There did not witnesses, and their probable require an exordium of fulsome or proved motives. In my anacompliment to the Judges and lysis of this evidence, I would the adversaries of the Queen; have been clear and strong, but there required a regular pointed, and, I trust, convincand judicious classification of ing. And, having thus disthe charges. That, the want patched one charge, I would of which was complained of by have gone to the next. Mr. Brougham, with regard to the Bill of Pains and Penalties, proceeding, which even comought to have been found here, mon sense pointed out? Who Here ought to have been found is to carry along in his mind a list of those very charges, of the former part of a defence. which no list would be fur- when there is such chopping nished by the adversary. These about, such skipping backwards charges ought to have been and forwards; such repetitions! stated distinctly, one after the such a mass of confusion? other; first, second, third, Speechifying; quotation of evifourth, and so on to the end. dence, analysis of evidence, Then I would have begun with flights of fancy, statements all the evidence relating to the of facts, appeals to the pasfirst charge. I would have sions, all mixed up together stated it neatly, clearly, as pell-mell! Who, amidst such briefly as possible. I would a mixty-maxty of matter, is to not, like Mr. Denman, have be- arrive at a rational conclusion? gun my sentences at the wrong The charges should have been end. All the evidence against kept distinct; regularly enumeme should have come first. rated, discussed under separate Then the evidence for me. heads; each brought to a close

Was not this the mode of

before the speaker had proceeded to another. This was the way to produce a strong and suitable impression upon the Judges; and, which was of full as much importance, upon the attentive and anxious nation.

When this had been done. very little remained to be done in the way of appeal to the instice of the Judges. Here, however, was the proper occasion for stating the case of her Majesty, including the conduct of her husband towards her: for this is a bill of divorce, call it what else they will; and here the whole history of the conduct of the husband ought to have been fully and boldly stated; and the only argument which ought to have been attempted. in order to induce the Judges to act agreeably to what had been proved, was, that they were bound to act by their duty towards their country, as well as their duty towards the throne.

Instead of this, what have we by way of conclusion, from this defender of the Queen? I am almost ashamed to cram up my pages with any part of this, at once, feeble and swaggering effort of Mr. Denman; but, that the whole of the press, in a lump, may not be accused of participating in winking at this instance of imbecile loquacity, I feel myself called upon to insert the close of this everlasting " are satisfied that all that has harangue, which was in the "been proved has been scatterfollowing words. " heard it said, that a spirit of " 'lian's mane,' you will never " mischief was actually at work, " hold yourselves justified in among the friends of her Ma-" pronouncing a verdict con-"jesty; but the same person "trary to the evidence, be-

" who attered that memorable "expression, in a few weeks "was obliged to admit that it "was false, because the truth "could not be concealed, that "the whole of the generous popul-" lation of England had enlisted "themselves with ardour on the "side of the innocent and the "injured. At the same time, " it is possible that both may be " true : the sound and middling "classes of society may feel "acutely for the situation of "her Majesty; and there may " be, also, some apostles of mis-"chief lurking in a corner. " meditating a blow at the Con-"stitution, and ready to avail "themselves of any opportuni-"ty for open violence. If that "be so, the generous sympathy " to which I have alluded would " be aggravated by a verdict of "guilty; while those mischier-" ous and disaffected men would "deprecate nothing half so " much as to see your lordships, "in the face of the power of "the Crown, venturing to pro-" nounce a verdict of acquittal " for a defendant so prosecuted. " I trust your Lordships will not " allow the idea of having fear " imputed to you to divert you " from the straight course of "your duty; it would be the " worst of injustice to the ac-"cused, and the worst of cow-" ardice in yourselves. I say, " therefore, if your own minds "I have "ed' like dew-drops from the

"cause your conduct may be;" triumph was complete; and "imputed to the dread of a "admiration and delight, that "mob; or, to use the jargon of "the victory of the Queen was "the day, which I detest, the "accomplished. This is an in-"apprehension of a radical at- "quiry, my Lords, unprece-"course to pursue, and that," the world: the down-sitting "course is straight forward; it "and up-rising of this Illus-"is to acquit her Majesty at "trious Lady have been sedu-"once of those odious charges. "lously and anxiously watched:
"We may truly say, that as "she uttered no word that had "there never was such a trial, "not to pass through this se"so there never existed such "vere ordeal. Her daily looks "means of accusation. Before I "have been remarked, "conclude, I must be permitted "scarcely even her thoughts esto say, that during the whole "caped the unparalleled and disgraceful assiduity of her ma-" personally I have every rea-" lignant enemies. Itis an inqui-" son to thank the House for its "sition, also, of a most solemn -" kindness and indulgence) the " kind. I know nothing in the "highest gratification resulting "whole race of human affairs, "to my mind has been, that "nothing in the whole view of "with my Learned Friend I "eternity, which can even re"have been joined upon this "motely resemble it; but the "great occasion. We have "great day when the secrets of " fought the battles of morality, "Christianity, and civilized so-"ciety throughout the world; "and, in the language of the "dying warrior I may say,

'In this glorious and well-foughten

"We kept together in our chivalry."

"While he was achieving the " immortal victory, the illustri-" ous triumph, and protecting in-" nocence and truth, by the ada-" mantine shield of his prodigi- " and wisdom of that benignant "ous eloquence, it has been my " Being, who, not in a case like "lot to discharge only a few "this where innocence is mani-"random arrows at the de-"fest, but when guilt was detect-"feated champions of this dis- | ed, and vice revealed, said-"graceful cause. The House " If no accuser can come for-"will believe me when I say, "ward to condemn thee, nei-that I witnessed the display of "ther do I condemn thee: GO, "his surprising faculties with "AND SIN NO MORE."
"no other feeling, than a sin-" no other feeling, than a sin-

You have but one "dented in the history " all hearts shall be disclosed!

'He who the sword of Heav'n will

'Should be as holy as severe!'

"And if your Lordships have " been furnished with powers. " which I might almost say " scarcely Omniscience itself " possesses, to arrive at the se-" crets of this female, you will " think that it is your duty to " imitate the justice, beneficence,

"cere gratification that the ling, bombast and egotism,

not who you are, or how nu-mischief, lurking in a corner. merous: come all of you, from the four quarters of the globe; even bring Castlereagh and themselves of any opportunity lawyer Phillips amongst you; and match that if you can! Passing over, however, the two heroes who go off in the language of the "dving warrior;" barely looking at the two men in their great big-bigwigs, parson's bands, and long black gowns: barely looking at them and hearing them describe themselves as keeping together in their chivalry, in this well-foughten field; passing over the pradigious eloquence, the surprising faculties, and the immortal victory, with which one be-plaisters the other, at the same time that he claims a full partnership in the concern; passing over the idea of a battle fought by these heroes for morality, Christianity, and civilized society throughout the world; passing over also, the immediately succeeding adulatory blasphemy, comparing the approaching decision to that of the great judgment, and putting the power of the judges nearly upon a level with that of the Almighty himself; passing over these things, there is an argument to notice here, and, as it had the most important place assigned to it, it is worthy of notice.

Mr. Denman asserts, or takes asserted by others, that the of having fear imputed to them.

match that if you can! I care that there are some apostles of meditating a blow at the Constitution, and ready to avail for open violence. Now, though this is as false and as malignant and as base as any thing that has been done or attempted against her Majesty; though it is a poor creeping, crawling. sycophantic sacrifice made to the upholders of the system by which Mr. Denman hopes to thrive: though this is manifest, do not. my friends, trouble vourselves with the falsehood of the fact. or with his motives for uttering the falsehood. Confine yourselves to his argument. Here, then, he says that there are two bodies, the sound and mischievous. That the sound are very numerous and wish the Bill not to pass. That the mischievous lurk in a corner. and that they wish the Bill Dass, in order they may get at their game... of mischief. Now, supposing the Lords to be influenced by the dread of having fear imputed to them, who are we to suppose they would be most. likely to fear; the numerous... sound class, or the apostles of mischief lurking in a corner? The former class, to be sure: for, if fear be imputed to them. the fear must necessarily arise. from the expected displeasure of the sound body, the middle. ranks of society; and, thereit for granted, it having been fore, if they act upon the dread. sound and middling classes of they must necessarily pass the. society, feel acutely for the Bill; because nobody can supsituation of the Queen, and pose it possible for them to be

actuated by fear of offending is a Solicitor-General! passing the Bill as one could and well-foughten field. possibly expect to come from feeble a reasoner. And this is to be ascribed purely to his desire to evince his enmity to the "apostles lurking in a corner," and his desire to prove his seranxious to keep down those apostles; in his eagerness to gratify which double desire he blundered into an invocation to the Lords to condemn the person, to make every sacrifice to obtain whose acquittal was his bounden duty.

But, if this is calculated to excite a mixture of astonishment and contempt, what are we to say of the concluding sentence of all; where, having placed the Lords almost upon the throne of the Almighty; having raised them thus high by adulatory blasphemy, he invokes them to imitate that benignant being; to imitate the justice. beneficence and wisdom of that Being, and to say to her Majesty, the Queen,

This the "some apostles who lark is a man who, in the words of in a corner." Thus, then, here the dying warrior, tells his is as good an argument for companion: "in this glerious, have kept together in our the lips of so confused and chivalry." The poor bungling. thing does, indeed, put in, in the way of parenthesis, an assertion that this case is unlike that in which Jesus Christ humanely extricated the harlot vility to those who are most from the clamours and peltings of her hypocritical accusers: but, still, these are the words that he puts into the month of the Lords; these are the words. in which he calls upon them to dismiss her: he invokes them to imitate that Benignant Being, and to say to the Queen, "go "AND SIN NO MORE!" It is very curious, but it is perfectly. true, that an address, intended to be presented to the Queen, was shown to me, before being presented, and that it contained these very words, with just such a qualification, or saving clause. as is here made use of. I pointed out to the writer the inevitable interpretation that it would receive, and gave him, as my opinion, that, qualify the thing how he might, the bare use of "GO AND SIN NO MORE!" the words would be an insult to And this is an advocate! This her Majesty. He had the good

the further good sense to strike out the passage; and here I find it again staring me in the face at the conclusion of a two-days' harangue in defence of the Queen.

This close is a pretty fair specimen of the whole. Here are a parcel of quotations got together. With the exception of the malignity against the people, the servility towards the people's enemies, and the impiety and blasphemy against God; with the exception of these, here we have all the characteristics of barrenness and feebleness of mind, puerility and pure childishness. Here we see the school-boy prompted and tricked off for show by the sanctified, germandizing and mercenary master. Here he is, with his string of quotations; his "dewdrops from the lion's mane." his " well - foughten field." his " sword of Heaven;" and. last. comes

sense to perceive the error, and with his "go woman and sing " no more." Some people say that Mr. Denman is honest. It may be so; but who will swear as much for those who set him to make this defence! These things will not escape the Attorney and Solicitor General of the King. They will not neglect to give method to their analysis and their argument. They will not be diverted from their points to run about after " foughten-fields" and " lions' " manes." They will not call upon the Lords to imitate God. by telling the Queen to " go and " sin no more." They will find other texts of scripture better suited for their purpose. They will call upon the Lords to pass the Bill; and all that we have to do is to wish that they may labour no more effectually for accomplishing their object than Mr. Donman has laboured to prevent its accomplishment.

WM. COBBETT.

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Again I must put off my Sermon to the good Methodists. There will be time for that, when the affair of the Queen is a little more settled.

PROPLE OF MIDDLETON LANCASHIRE.

Difficulty upon Difficulty; Intrigue, upon Intrigue; Trick upon Trick; or, the Crisis of the Queen's Affairs.

> London, Nor. 2, 1920. MY FRIENDS.

A Letter, which I received from you some little time back, informed me, that you had forwarded an Address to her Majesty, the Queen, through the hands of Major Cartwright, to be presented by that gentleman, Mr. Wooler and myself. Owing to a mistake as to time, I was not present at the presenting of your excellent Address; but, I beg you to consider me as duly sensible of the honour you did me, and as having been present in heart and soul, though not in person. You inform me, at the same time, of a circumstance, on which it may be useful to offer

stated it. You say, that Mr. Harboard, son [brother he is] of Lord Suffield, and a Member of Parliament, who has a great deal of property near Middleton, came to his place there some time back, wished to have, and had, an interview with the leading Reformers, told them that he was strongly attached to the cause of Reform, and, after expressing the lively interest he felt in the well-being of the people of Middleton, left an impression upon their minds, that be must be sincere! That, therefore, when your Address was ready, you wrote to this sincere gentleman, requesting him to present it in company with Major Cartwright, Dr. Lushington, and me. That, at the end of a fortnight, this sincere Reformer, wrote you word, that he had no objection to present the Address. unaccompanied by any one; or, with his friend, Dr. Lushington, or any other respectable gentleman; but that he would have nothing to do with the Major or me, And, you add, that, considering you some remarks, after I have the great benefit you had derived

from my writings, you resolved, |" and - Buckinghamehire, that I should be amongst the presenters of your Address, which you, therefore, sent to the Major, to be presented by him, Mr. Wooler and me.

In return for this mark of your friendship and respect. I address to you this Letter on the intrigues and tricks that are now going on upon this theatre of matchless plots and conspiracies. But, before I proceed to my main subject, let me trouble you with a few words about this Harboard, whose name is Edward, and not John, who is the brother and heir apparent of Lord Suffield, and not his son, and who is a member for the rotten borough of Shaftesbury. You have probably read the " Peep at the Peers." A companion-piece to it, entitled the " Links of the Lower House," is preparing for the press; and, when you get that, you will find this sincere Reformer to stand follows: - " HAR-" BOARD, Edward, (Shaftes-"bury.) Brother and heir appa-" rent of Lord Suffield, who is " brother-in-law of Lord Cas-He is himself son-" tlereagh. "in-law of Lord Vernon. He is When those days come, the fox " thus closely linked to the fami- may be friends with the sheap-" lies of Vernon, Londonderry, dog, the rat may legitimately,

" more distantly, to that of Cam-" den, Hertford, and many " others: and is related directly "or collaterally, to nearly a "hundred place and pension " people; all of whom, with "their immense receipts, see in " Peep at Peers."

Now, my friends, is it possible, that you could look upon such a man as a sincere friend of that reform, which you must know would not leave to all these families one single penny a year of all the money that they receive out of the taxes, and which, if you do not know it. this Harboard certainly, did? Could you think it possible. that this man's very soul would not sink within him, at the bare thought, not of co-operating with me, but eyen at that of seeing me, or at hearing the sound of my voice? Do not complain of his delay in answering your letter; for, I dare say, it required the fortnight to cure the ague-fit and the curdling of blood occasioned by your application. The halcyon days, which dreamers have so long promised the world, may, at last arrive.

millenium would not make such a man as Harbourd cease to dread; to hate and to shun t radioak reformer ti

Play, be cared of this ridiculous hope of uniting things co opposite and so heatile in their very nature and essence. Pray, be cured of this lingering deference for rank and opulence. Pray cease to be votaries at the abrine of arrogance and hose. lence. We fer, and very fer inevery virtue, those who call us the " Lower Orders." Let us own superiority. The Cate chism teaches us " to order out: "scires lowly and revenendly " to all out bettern." This is very right, indeed; it is a procept which we always ought to Beer in minde I afways bear it in mind, and obey it most religiously : but then another part of my duty is to endeavour to ascertain who are my betters. And, in my endeavours in this way, I am to be guided, to be sure, by those principles, which God has

hap with the cat; but even a ed upon one man by the breath of another man, and sometimes bestewed from mere caprice or for some quality in the receiver. which would deserve censure and contempt in place of anplante and honeur. It is not this which God, has teld my makes one sten the better of anether. Neither is it wealth: that is to say, the possession of mount or of lands; it is not this not session that makes one man the better of another. : Am'I, orare. deed, surpass in talent, and in you, to regard a rich stock-jobber, who has acquired all his wealth by a constant violation mot; then; basely abandon our of the law; or are we'to regard a West India slave-holder subose means of wolupinous living are obtained by his negroe driver's lash; are we to regard such men as these as being our bes tend ? We are to regard as our betters those and those oute who are distinguished and ighe are actually placed above ug by their superior talents, and bythe great use which they make of these talents for the good of the people at large: Towards such men, it becomes us to order ourgiven us for our guide. He has selves lowly and reverendly. never told us that goodness, that But, it is servility, it is slavish superior goodness; that that ness, it is baseness, it is almost which makes one man the better implety and blasphemy for us to of another man, is rank bestow- acknowledge aspuratellers, those

who have nothing to recommend thing you can get at upon the them but their titles or their subject of politics and public money. You are kind enough to say that you have derived great benefit from my writings; and, I hope, therefore, that you will pay attention to what I have here said. You have seen me prove over and over again, the want of talent, the want of those who have the arrogance to pretend that they are our bet-For God's sake, then. break yourselves at once, of the vicious habit of paying any thing persons. Suffer not hat or tongue to move in complaisance towards them. Look upon them as beneath you; for, until you can do this, and do it upon all occasions, too, you are wholly unworthy of political freedom or civil happiness. Be sure to neglect, no opportunity of reading. This is the way to make yourselves the masters of the arrogant and insolent tribe; and that this is the great source of of their labour. their danger is manifest enough from the infinite pains they take suitable use of the information discover, to put a stop to it regard to the conduct of this That which they fear must be HARBOARD, I shall proceed to good for us; therefore, once lay before you some informa-

matters of every description. Neglect not the affairs of the next world: but he sure to attend to what is passing in this; to every thing in it affecting your interests and those of your children: for it never can have been the will of God that any learning, the gross ignorance of part of his creatures should be exposed to the lash of slavery or the pinchings of starvation. He who, in his abundant compassion and care of his creatures expressly ordered that the ox like respect to this description of should not be muzzled while he was treading out the corn; he who thus ordained that even the animal, while at work upon the crop, should have a share in consuming it; he, be you well assured, never intended that the labourer and the artizar, who provide all the food, raiment, and dwellings of a nation, should pine out their lives upon a half or a quarter supply of those things which are the products

Having now, I hope, made a incessant anxiety they which you have given me with more, I pray you, read every tion of what is passing, and of

with regard to her Majesty, the Queen, who, it appears to me. is now in the crisis of her affairs.

In the first place, I am of opinion that a Bill will pass the House of Lords, and that it will pass the House of Commonsulao. My opinions are not at all changed with regard to the innocence of the Queen; which I believe to be as perfect as innocence can be. Yet, her own lawyers have left her case in so imperfect and suspicious a state; the thing called their summing up has been so feeble, so full of trick and contrivance; it has been so childish, so perfectly babyish in its declamatory parts; so disjointed and weak in point of statement: so inconclusive in point of argument; so tricky and so shuffling all through; and has been followed by such perseverance, such patient digging into the case, such talent, zeal and spirit, by the Attorney and Solicitor-General, that, as the case now lies before the House of Lords, it is impressible for any man to say that there does for passing the Bill.

what I think is about to pass, Queen's lawyers with regard to the scenes on board the polacie! Those seenes, with regard to which the adversary was fully sustained by the Queen's own Those scenes, togewitnesses. ther with the absence of Bergami: those two points, wholly undeniable in point of bare fact: those two points, and those two points only, were the case of the prosecutors. The former of the two, was not only not battered down, but was left confirmed by the Queen's own witnesses, and left unexplained, unreconciled with an absence of all guilt, by the summing up of her lawyers. The second point, namely, the absence of Bergami, needed but to be stated by the prosecutor's coun-It was matter of publicnotoriety. It was a circumstance, which, from the beginning; from the hour of the Queen's arrival, struck me as' something that would weigh' heavily against her. But, why need I allude to what I then' thought about this matter, when' I could refer to my public writings, at the time, im which writnot exist a plausible pretence ings I insisted upon the ideolute necessity of Bergumi's coming In my last Register, I dearly open; We now see what the showed the negligence of the has been made of the absence of

this gentleman. I pointed out, " would relate to a cross-efin my last Register, the use that " aminstlets, and show that he would be made of it. I was "was morely what he was aswriting on the Friday, and, as " serted to be, an humble, dutipear as I can calculate, the At- " ful, obedient and respectable torney-General was speaking servant; he kneed not that of this very matter; he was " there was any thing in micena making this very use of that "trovertible in the facts of the circumstance, during the some " once as to stand this denial. hour that I was putting upon "If he was a man without paper my opinion that he would " blemish and without introtamake such use of it!

to be overleeked by either At- "He came topparde this rountorney or Solicitor-General. "try, but his courage failed. The first stack his claws into it " Her Royal Highages put him and tore it about pretty decent- " into one of her carriages at St. ly. The last made still more "Omers, a carriage bearing of it. He regarded it as a cir- " probably the Royal arms, and camatance of such weight as to "he departed, not during to acbe reserved for the close of his "company his Royal mistress speech. It was the last great " to the shores of England. His circumstance that he put for- "sister came here: Wastali ward; and he laid it before his "came hither; but he disk not hearers in such a way as to com- " dare to appear on the shore pel them to pay attention to it. " of England. This was said "Need he call their Lordships" " to be the first time within the ", attention to what he had men- " membry of man that any thing "tioned before, that there was " so extravar and as this the " one individual, who might " most monitrous pero of these "have been called to their Lord-" extraordinary proceedings was. "ships' bar, to give evidence "ever proposed! His teamed "to negative this conclusion, if " friends, who had learning and " it could be negatived. If this " understanding beyond any " parson would pladge his soul; " thing he could describe, were, " if he would deny that there " he should satisfy their Lord-

"tion on his character, his testi-It was too important a thing "mony might have some weight. " was any intercourse, if he dhips, missaken in this parti" ness had been examined ut " this very bar. He should " like to see this man cross-ex-" amined, and if he would swear " positively respecting the fact, " if on cross-examination he be-" trayed no instance of false-" hood, he (the Solicitor-Gene-" rul) did not know that there " were facts sworn to of a na-" ture to outweigh his positive "evidence. Whatever was the " cause of Bergami's absence, it " was manifest, that there was " not good faith on the other " side, or he would be put to " the bar. As he was not, the "case was so clearly demon-"strated, so free from doubt, "that they could not, for a mo-" ment, hesitate about it."

This reasoning is wholly without an answer. It rests upon the evidence of no perjused witness: it rests upon a notorious and undeniable fact. Why, then, was Bergami not placed within the reach of the court? It is said, that as to Schiavini, the Countess Oldi, and others, that they might have been got at and bribed by the prosecutors;

There was a recent the Queen, and you must regard " occasion in which such a wit- him, not as a faithful servent worthy of so many, and such great fayours, but as the greatest monster, as the most diabolical wretch that over disgraced the human form. He was a witness of whom no doubt could be entertained; and, if I could believe that he was kept away from the bar and even kept out of England at her Majesty's request, I should have no hesitation in the world in declaring that request the strongest presumption of constitus guilt. But I am perfectly satisfied that he has been kept away by the advice of the lawyers. I am perfectly satisfied of this; and though it is now too late to bring the proof of it before the House of Lords, it is by no means too late to bring the Baron here; and especially if there should be an opportunity of producing him before the House of Commons.

However, as the case now lies before the House of Lords, quing to the negligence on the part of the Queen's lawyers; or ewing to their want of talent and skill, there exists a plandbut allow, it to be possible for ble pretence for passing the Bill countless millions to bribe Ber- in some shape or other; and, gami to give false witness against therefore, I will now turn your

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passing in what is commonly, of all, her Majesty's lawyers called, in the parliamentary have come in for a share of the blung, " out of doors."

It appears to me, if I judge on to supplant the language of from circumstances that make reproach. their public appearance, that for some time past, an opinion has jesty appears to have adopted, been entertained at Brandenburgh-house, that the Bill would not pass; and that it was very desirable not to do any thing that should tend to irritate any of those on whom the passing of the Bill at all depended. This is merely a conjecture of my own, founded on the cirenmatances which I will now her answers to addresses. Those answers have been less personal, less hostile, less pointed, and rather of a conciliating cast. So much has not been said with regard to the times of about a selfish feetion, about conspiracy, subornation, perlury and tyranny. The Queen's cause has been kept more distinct from that of the people; abstract propositions have suppositively praised; and, which self of the people's support.

attention to what appears to be | was the most striking symptom applause, which has fast come

In the next place, her Maall at once, a system of seclusion. She has not, let it be observed, even left her dwellinghouse, as far as the public have been informed, since the close of the evidence against her, which is now about seven weeks. This was a singular change in her manner of acting, and, as actions have their rise in the state to you. In the first place, mind, it is to be wilfully blind the Queen has, of late, been not to suppose that there must induced to slacken her fire in have been a change equally important' in her way of thinking; in her views and intentions.

An alteration also took place receiving addresses. From an every-day's readiness to receive the testimonials of the people's attachment and zeal, her Majesty reduced the times of reception to once in the week. plied the place of more practi- There appears to have been cal matter. And, particularly, no motive for this, other than the judges have been spared; that of showing that her Majesty nay, a part of them have been was not over eager to avail her-

tic, abrupt, impolite, uncivil. nay, even rude, notification from the " Vice Chamberlains." Mr. Keppel Craven and Sir Wm. Gell, which could have been put upon paper by nobody but men half Italianised as to taste and manners, and which amounted to neither more nor less than a declaration, that the Queen wished to make it known that she desired to have no more communication with the people. This was conclusive with me; and there was, besides, in it, that word " Vice," which meant a great deal more than these gentlemen thought the public would perceive; but which has not escaped the pointed elucidation of those sharp-eved and sharptongued gentlemen, the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

tisfied that all these manœuvres have been the work of other persons; though I am quite satisfied that the real friends of her Majesty, those who went to meet her, and have had no other Has not she seen and felt too object in view than that of secertain that they have had no 1813, in 1814; and the fruit,

Lastly, comes the dry, caus- | hand in these manceuvres ; and that her Majesty's own unsuspecting and generous nature has induced her to yield to the councils of others; though I acquit her real friends and her of all blame; still, I must regard all these concurrent circumstances as amounting to a proof of an opinion that the Bill might be prevented from passing by these timely acts of concession, or, at least, of conciliation.

Little, alas! did the new counsellors of Brandenburghhouse know of the character of the enemies that her Maiesty had to contend with! When did they retract? . When were they softened by attempts at conciliation? When they draw back, except from an enemy with a bold front? The Queen's new counselloss should have looked at Spain Now, though I am quite sa- and Portugal: they would have there seen the altitude to be taken by those who have to deal with. enemies like those of the Queen. But, has not her Majesty herself had experience enough? enough of the effects of atcuring to her the enjoyment of tempts to conciliate? Such ather rights, her honour, and her tempts she made; forbearance happiness; though I am quite she tried in 1807, in 1812, in

forberrances, will now be a Bill of Pains and Penalties stuck tibon her for the remainder of her life; and that, too, you will observe, only through the means of the forbearance now practised by her lawyers, and the forbearance which she has now been advised to put in practice herself.

Such, it appears to me, have been the motives for the change of conduct which I have above described; and this change of conduct, it will be very soon seen, will, to say the least of appears to me to have been its grand object. A Bill will as-Biff may be greatly modified, I if will not be, with regard to her Majesty, full as injurious as If it were passed, divorce clause The actual adultery and all. has not been proved: but enough has been proved, by the Queen's witnesses themselves. and left in such a miserable state by her lawyers, as to arford, as I said before, a plausible pretence for passing a Bill of degradation, and to remove

the ripe fruit of all her series of lawyers had all their means completely in their power.

I am, therefore, of opinion, that a Bill will pass, enacting the degradation of the Queen from her rank as Queen. But this would not only leave a deep stigma upon the King. It would not only be saying, she is fit to continue to be your wife, though she is not fit to be at the head of the women of England: it would not only be saving this to the King, but it would be to leave him exposed to all the claims of a wife, on the part of the Queen. For, though such it. have totally failed of what an act would un-Queen her, it would not un-wife her: and she would retain the right of cohasuredly pass; and, though this biting with her husband; that is to say, of going to, and living shall be very much mistaken, if in, any palace, mansion, house, or building, in which he was residing, or in which he usually resided. How a wife can torment a husband in this way, any yellow-stockinged and miserable dog may find out in a minute by going to Doctors' Commons. To leave his Majesty in this state is impossible; and, therefore, the act of degradation must also take from the Queen the right of cohabitation. Then there must be a separate mainwhich bretence the Queen's trance; and it is very possible

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to settle this maintenance in such a way as that her Majesty herself shall never have at her command one farthing of the money; and to place her, though very commodiously and comfortably, in a situation to possess not one particle of power or influence; and to leave her to pass the remainder of her days in the enjoyment at 'once of the compassion of her friends and the scorn of her enemies. To this may further be added, a clause enabling the King to give her his Royal permission to reside abroad under certain local restrictions, and under some title not appertaining to the Grown of England!

One's blood freezes at the iden: but all this is possible: and, what is more, I give it you as my firm belief, that those near testion of the two " Vice-Chamberlains," would advise her Majesty to receive such a senapply to her husband for his to avail herself of the provision litt mentioned; for, whoever it gradation and infamy.

The manœuvres: of which I have been speaking, having failed of their object, another course may possibly be adopted: but there is but too much reason to suppose that the present visiting of great personages at Brandenburgh-house indicate any thing but an intention there to resume the former course. These visits are, upon any other presumption, wholly inexplicable. They appear to me to have arisen from this motive: the parties, much better informed than her Majesty and her new counsellors, saw that a Bill would pass. Look at these persons, leaving the Royal personages out of the question, the leader is Lord Fitzwilliam. The famons alarmist of 1793; the patron and the follower of Burke: the alarmist of 1817; one of the who advised the issuing of the Secret Committee who made the Report against the Reformers in that year; one of those, and the leader of those who tence in silence, and even to were called Opposition Lords. but who voted for that meniogracious perinission to suffer her rable Bill; by the powers of which so many men were crammed into dungeons on the mere was that advised the issuing of warrants of Sidmouth, without that notification is prepared to ever being confronted with go to the lowest depths of de- their accusers, and without ever being brought to trial from first

to last, after having been kept | rives. If we believe that the month. takes the lead in visiting the hopes of the Bill.

Why did he visit her? Why! did his wife visit her? Why select this time for the visit? The Queen has been in England since the month of June last: since the Sixth of June last. Could these friends find no opportunity between that day and It was said in the public papers that they had visited her, upon her arrival. The statement was false; and, what is more, they, themselves, lost no time in contradicting the statement. Why, therefore, visit She was accused then, and not acquitted. And is she aequitted now? was then under trial, as it was called; her case was pending. And is she not now under trial; is not her case now pending? If we believe that this alarmist Lord has now visited her, together with his wife, for the purpose of assuaging her resentment; and for the purpose of preventing her from putting her threat in execution, when the hour of condemnation ar-

in dungeons for nearly a twelve- object of this visit is to neu-This is the man that tralize her feelings, give her aristocratical pro-Queen, at the moment when he tection, and keep her in a state sees the approaching passing of of separation from the people. if we believe this, our belief has common sense for its foundation: if we ascribe the visit to any other motive, we set reason, experience, and common sense at defiance.

> It is supposed, by some, that a part of the Whigs, as they are ludicrously called, will openly espouse the cause of her Majesty, and by that means. bring the people to their backs, and to work themselves into those places for which they have been so long sighing and praying. I believe that this is their hope; but I also believe that in this, as well as in all their past tricks and contrivances. they will fail of their object. That Reform of the Parliament which is now, more than ever, obviously necessary, they abhor. full as much as their opponents; and, without espousing that cause, sincerely and zealously. they will soon find, that, even with the Queen in their ranks. their opponents may safely set them at defiance.

However, these are intrigues



kind. The main thing for us to of those that were attached to keep our eye upon, at present, it. In short, to pass the Bill. is, the tricks that are playing under such circumstances, seemoff, and will be played off, in ed to be to rush upon selforder to keep the Queen quiet and silent under the passing of the Bill. It has always been pass it was as full, if not fuller, with me a matter of doubt which our enemies would prefer, or rather, ought to prefer, the passing of the Bill, or the not passing of the Bill. There were dangers to the THING, (for I really do not know what to call it) in either case. That the whole mass of the people were on the side of the Queen was manifest; and there was a particular description of active citizens, whose peculiar nursuit in life rendered their friendship or hostility of a very decided character: and this description of active citizens also were notoriously unanimous on the side of the Queen.

The passing of a Bill of Pains and Penallies, which had something extremely severe, and even cruel, in the very sound of it: the passing of such a Bill while such a mass of powerful friendship surrounded the Queen, was manifestly full of imminent

and tricks of a common-place produce the destruction of many destruction.

On the other hand, not to of danger. For, in the first place, there stood the Milan Commission: there stood the Hanoverian Ambassadors; there stood the Ministers: there stood others that need not be named. all self-convicted of foul conspiracy and false and wicked charges against the Queen. any of these have been compelled to play at boo-peep, during the thing called a trial; if any of them have been compelled to imitate the owls and bats, and venture themselves out of doors only in the dark; if any of them have been compelled to flit from place to place with such velocity and such secrecy as for scarcely any human being to be able to ascertain, at any given time, the place of their abode; if any of them have been obliged to muffle themselves up, to put patches upon their eyes, change the colour of their wigs, and disguise their dangers to the THING itself, persons to such a degree as to and seemed to be pretty sure to be unknown to their own ser-

vants; if any of them have been | Bill; then, the denger was ebcompelled to do these things, visted. Then, the Bill could be even during the thing called a passed without any denger of trial, what must they have resorted to if the trial had ended without a passing of the Bill! In no part of this Island, on no part of its ceasts, could they have found a hiding place; and to have insured safe refuce from hootings and revilings, they must have crept to the distance of six feet under ground.

Then would have come such such bonfires. illuminations. such firings of cannon, such enthusiasm, and such triumph as never were witnessed before in this world. Amidst all this: amidat addresses and processions everlasting; amidst these neverending ebulitions of popular exultation, together with the Queen holding a Court, and all the incidents therewith connected; in the midst of all this, how could the thing have subsisted for six months?

There were, therefore, great dangers to be apprehended in either case. But, (and now mark. me well!) if the Queen could be neutralized a if she could be drawn off from the people; and, especially, if she kept on either side: One thing could be made to offend the we may rely on, and that is, that people, before the passing of the the intrigue will answer only a

all. She would be left without support from the mass of the people; without any thing to rouse their feelings into action. and without any thing to call forth a declaration of that chas of active citizens, whose interference would have been of a character so peculiarly decided. It was, therefore, of the very greatest importance that the Queen should be thus neutral ized and withdrawn from the people before hand; an object which, if it have not been effected, has, at any rate, had every pains bestowed upon it. that persons, whom I need not describe minutely, have been able to supply.

This is the grand intrigue: This is the thing on which we are to keep an eye. It may succeed, or it may not; but this is what has been attempted, and what is now in the full tide of experiment. It is possible that large promises have been made on both sides; and it is also possible that these promises have never been intended to be

in the end, even it's success will be conducive to the benefit of the people at large.

But, there are innumerable difficulties to be got over, before the success can be insured. Nothing is done, after all, unless the Queen can be got out of the country; and how is she to be got out of the country after the passing of the Bill! Supposing it possible, for instance, that her Majesty would consent again to quit England; a thing which I do not suppose possible: but the possibility of which I put by way of argument; and supposing the thing possible, how is she who refused to go, though the House of Commons declared that she might go without any imputation on her character; though she might have had a gilded yacht or a man of war to go in, and though she might have been introduced as Queen of England at a foreign Court; she that would not go, under all these circumstances, acknowledging her innocence, and giving her the rank of a Queen; how is she to go stripped of all rank and title, and with a sentence of guilty upon her head? The belief of such a thing is monstrous.

temporary purpose; and, that, | pass the Billia, unless four months, have worked a change in her very nature, made her wholly insensible to fame, to reputation, and have taken from her bosom. every feeling of resentment: unless these four months have. worked this more than miraculous effect upon her, to pass the Bill is to compel her to remain. in England for the rest of her life. For, here she will, at the very least, have numerous kind and cordial friends; while, in. any other country, she will be without friends to cheer her, and without the hope of ever seeing: better days.

Therefore, it is manifest, that while the great object is to get her out of the country, the passing of the Bill must, upon all principles of ordinary calculation, necessarily tend to keep her here! Yet, the Bill will, pass! And, for the reasons before given, and for other and, weightier reasons that might be given, these who wish to get .. her from the country must still wish the Bill to pass. Here is . difficulty upon difficulty, intrigue ... upon intrigue, and trick upon trick!

When the Bill has passed, we To shall see what will take place. We shall see in what manner it and that something must be of will reach the House of Commons, and how that House will deal with it. But, the more interesting thing is, what her Majesty will do upon the passing Those who have of the Bill. advised the notification of the two " Vice Chamberlains." will find their speculation blown up. They will find themselves in a very awkward situation; for, they will have to encounter the resentment of her whom they have deceived and misled, and in whose name they have almost insulted the people. They will find their scheme defeated. or, at the least, will see that it cannot be accomplished without entailing everlasting disgrace upon the Queen. As in the case of the answers to the Nottingham and Preston addresses, they may find, that they are again got to the length of their tether, and that, other advice must be listened to; in other words, that they must give place to more honest advisers. submissive silence the Queen never can suffer the Bill to pass. Every drop of blood in her will boil at the idea of remaining silent, under such an intolerabring something; " of the world " it must

a nature interesting to us. We need not care a straw what it It must be of a nature to do mischief to our enemies; and, therefore, of a nature to do us more or less good.

Let not the lawyers, therefore, exult too soon. The whole of these lawyers, on both sides, without one single exception, have had their cut at the Radi-Whether they have ascals. serted the innocence of the Queen or the guilt of the Queen; whether they have prayed the Lords to acquit her or to find her guilty; everyone of them has taken occasion to give a brutal Jack-ass-like kick at those whom he has designated the mischievous, the disaffected, the factious, the disloyal; in short, the Radical Reformers. From the very moment that the Queen arrived. I took occasion to tell the Radieals, that the whole thing would be ascribed to us. During the very first discussion in Parliament, Mr. Brougham charged us with eagerness to get at an exposure of the parties, and to make the Queen the means of tearing to pieces a thing which was the " enuy of surrounding ble indignity. Therefore, out " nations and the admiration

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Now, really, my friends of out the ferrets to Milan, who Middleton, this is a little too employed Brown, Powell and much. What have we had to do Cooke? Was it we who sent with this matter? We were not Ompteda to betray her and the husband of her Majesty; it clandestinely to correspond with was not from our house that she her menial servants? It was not went with her baby in her arms; we who did these things. we neither married her nor sent never sent a Protestant Ambasher forth to the wide world; we sador to the Pope, for the manidid not listen to the Douglases; fest purpose of carrying on inwe did not rake together accusa- trigues against her. tions against her in 1806. We asked for no secret tribunal her name out of the Liturgy! then, to set upon her actions; Was it a Radical that went to we never recommended King to caution her against fu- hand and a threat in the other. ture levities; we never wrote a and, that afterwards very quietbook in her defence; then sup-ly took his seat amongst her pressed the publication of that judges? Were those Radicals book, and got ourselves into who filled the green bage? Was office by the suppression; we it a Radical that questioned never signed a minute of Coun- Barbara Krantz as to the spots in cil, declaring her perfectly in- her Majesty's sheets, their colour of the witnesses against her, Wasita Radical, or was it Powell pensions in place of the pillory! depot; that got a passport for It was not we who tore her from him, signed by Castlereagh ball-pated That

any thing to do with leaving the St. Omers with a bonus in one necent, recording the perjury and their degree of humidity? and, then, gave those perjurers that subtracted Rastelli from the her child or her child from her. without Castlereagh's knowing It was not we who drove her it! Were those Radicals who from the late Queen's Court. In vouched for the goodness of 1814, it was not we who advised Powell's motives and character; her to leave the country; but and, was that a Radical, who blackguard boasted of the konour of bully, who could make a jest of Powell's acquaintance?" Were the "revered and ruptured Og- those Radicals who cheered the DEN. Was it we who sent evidence against the Queen,

with shakes of the hand?

then, for these impudent law- towards the Queen and the the filthy discussion; to ascribe having done their utmost to blame to them; and to endeanity, cruelty, and folly of those lawyers, their employers, aiders and abettors? Impudent and insolent variets! One set of them a strumpet; not only charging a manner the most disgusting and loathsome, the most filthy and most beastly. One of these men called, her a merctricious

and who congratulated Demont to NERO, the debauched and bloody tyrant of Rome! This is Is it not a little too much, the way the two sets have acted yers to bring the Radicals into King; and, having done this, degrade and vilify the King and your to turn upon their heads his wife, both sets cordially that indignation, abhorrence, join in abusing the Radicals, and contempt, due to the malig- and accusing them of designs to undermine royalty, and to destroy this glorious fabric, the " envy of surrounding notions. " and the admiration of the give to the Queen every appella- " world!" If we believe what tion and quality appertaining to has been said by these two sets of lawyers, our minds must be her with manners the most de- filled by detestation and loath-- bauched, a life the most lewd ing at hearing the very name of and profligate; not only as Queen or of King. We must abandoned to an adulterous in- be ashamed of ourselves when tercourse, but carrying it on in we reflect that we suffer such a thing as Royalty to exist in the country. We must regard Royalty as a thing which it is our duty instantly to extirwoman, and the other assert- pate, root and branch, and to ed that she had actually wit- cast forth from amongst us. as nessed a representation of the the Israelites did the accursed sexual intercourse; and that thing from their camp. These she had done this, too, in must be our thoughts and feelthe presence of several men. lings, as to Royalty, if we were The other set laid upon the to believe these two sets of King every species of abuse lawyers: and yet these two sets that their slanderous imagina- of lawyers chime in most harmotions could invent; and one niously in accusing the people. went so far as to compare him that is to say, in accusing their

hearers; in accusing the nation of the laws of Debtor and Credito whom they address them- tor, a total alteration as to the selves, and more especially the affairs of Bank paper, an end meddled with this matter, with simple and effectual mode of ver a design to degrade Royalty rifying titles to real property; and to subvert the Throne! Pro- they know very well that these verbially impudent and insolent as lawyers are, to this point of would speedily be done by a impudence and insolence they never before proceeded.

Let me stop here a moment to point out to you the reason why the variets of the bar detest the The law, at this Reformers. time, swallows up of the earnings of the people, very nearly as much as would pay the amount of all the poor-rates. There are, in the whole, about two thousand lawyers constantly employed by the government in various ways. These men are wise-in their generation. Thev know full well that a Parliament, composed in part of a House of Commons chosen by the people at large, would never suffer this enormous evil to They know very well that an abolition of the Excise, rochial processes, a simplification roughmongers themselves.

Reformers, who have never put to the frauds of banking, a things, and some others which reformed House of Commons. would go a great way towards stripping that hungry and rapacious race called lawvers of that which they now feed on. Lawsuits would no longer be found to last for ten, twenty, thirty years, in deflance of both plaintiff and defendant. To recover a debt of ten or twenty pounds would no longer cost thirty or forty pounds in law. These things are well known to They know that a lawyers. reformed Parliament would operate upon them as the fashion of shoe-strings operated upon the buckle-makers; or, as the cropped hair fashion operated upon the dressers up of toupees and pig-tails. Therefore it is, that they are, the whole of a great reduction and simplifi- them, to a single man, enemies cation of the Customs, a well- of Parliamentary Reform; and arranged and cheap mode of col- they detest the Radical Reformlecting the necessary taxes, an efers full as much as those Refectual stop put to vexatious pa- formers are detested by the Bo-

fore, we have to expect; but still we must be astonished at their audacity upon the present occasion; when, by no possibility in the world, can they so twist words as to make it out that the Radicals have had any thing to do in any part of that series of acts which began in a few weeks after the marriage of her present Majesty, and which terminated, for the present, at least, with that speech in which the Solicitor General took occasion to pour forth his false and malignant charges against us. We have had nothing to do in regulating the Queen's life or conduct. She did not go abroad accompanied by Radicals: she had, very different, indeed, would have been her present situation. The bully, who made a jest of Ogden's rupture; he who crowed like a cock upon his dunghill, and called us a low degraded crew when we prayed that proof might be received of the selling of seats; he who then said that it was time to make a stand against democratical encroachment; he who has since declared that he will preserve Old Sarum, and has openly Radicals in England, her Maavowed the employment of spies, jesty might not have found it which was justified by Mr. necessary to resort to Italians

Their general hostility, there-I Brougham: this bully it was that advised the Queen to go to the Continent. And who went with her? Who were her companions and her counsellors? Every one of them were of the aristocratical order. Lords. 14dies, honourables and Sirs. Not a Radical was found in her suite. Accordingly, we find them not acting a very Radical part. Ofe falls sick almost directly. Another stays with his Mamma. A third gets the gout, and can't travel. 'A fourth wants a ramble for himself. The ladies go off, we know not how. brought as a witness for the Queen; and she acknowledges. that, though she saw nothing amiss herself, she did hear rumours; and she will not sweer that she never did say or write any thing about those rumours. We have two or three Peers besides who were visitors, and the story they tell us is not of a character extremely decided. Not a single Radical was there ever of the party. If there had been two or three sensible. active, zealous and faithful young men, and as many young women, taken from amongst the

for associates and protectors it is: evident it is to all the No wonder that she sought the world that this eternal disgrace society of a sensible and gallant upon Royalty has been brought. man like Bergami, when she about; has been hatched and took nothing with her but such as those that I have above described, and two of whom have vileged Orders and the Bar. now put forth her disavowal of the And yet these impudent lawvers people, or, at least, that which amounts to a rejection of their proffered friendship and support, and which two men, let it be observed, have the meanness to sign themselves " Vice Chamberlains," thereby acknowledging themselves the inferiors of Bergami. If the Queen had been attended from England by Radicals, she would have had Radicals in her suite, and would not have been compelled, in order to find something rational and manly to pass her time with, to resort to the soldiers of the army of Napoleon. Call Vassali and Bergami; call them quarter masters, call them sergeants, or call them what you will, still they were preferable to those persons that the Queen took out in her suite. They periority.

nurtured up to perfection by persons belonging to the primust abuse us; must, at last, wind up their several harangues . by an attack upon the people. who have been the unwilling spectators of these disgraceful. proceedings, and who have protested and prayed against them in every stage of their progress. Not only this kingdom and all its numerous colonies; but the whole of the civilized world. have been inundated with this unparalleled fifth. In the United States of America, every word of the disgusting details has been published, and is under the course of publication. Birkbeck and his colony, though at two thousand miles from the Atlantic shores, will have the whole communicated to them. The deepest recesses of the American wildernesses will rewere superior to these men, at sound with the nasty, the loathany rate; and two of these men some, the execrably filthy pages have now, under their own published by the authority of hands, acknowledged that su-the English House of Lords. Here will be a pretty lesson to But, be this as it may, certain mankind! Here will be an ever

living enlogium on Aristocracy; the cause; and the blow which and Royalty! But let not the Royalty will have received will base lawyers dare again to as- be, in no respect, ascribable to sert that the people of England; us. We had not the manageand especially the Radicals of ment of her defence. We were indelible disgrace.

monstrations from the people, ture of man. which, in the opinion of every just and discriminating man, must appearances seem to indicate do us very great honour. We will be the case, shall have to saw a woman deeply injured pass under some other name and grievously oppressed. We than that of Queen, will have saw; craft and power united leisure to reflect on the past. against her. We saw her quite and to distinguish, when it will unable to stand against these be too late, her friends from her without our support. We gener- foes; she never can, at any osaly flocked round her, and gave her that support. From that support, her lawyers, united probably with other new advisers, now seem to be endeavouring to induce her to withdraw herself. If they succeed, changed, and ingratitude mark tion, we shall not have been misfortunes to the people of

England, have had any hand in not her accusers. We have not bringing upon those orders this betrayed her. We have done nothing, in short, but that which. To say the truth, these pro- was called for by the best and ceedings have brought forth de- most amiable feelings in the na-

Her Majesty, when she, as rate, say, that she has been abandoned by the people: She never can impute fickleness, want of feeling or want of generosity to the people of Eng-Her nature must be land. she is doomed to degradation her for its own, or she never for life; but, of that degrada- can ascribe any portion of her

to that part of them on whom her negligent and impudent lawvers have thought proper to heap their foul-mouthed abuse.

faithful to her as the Radicals lawyer would have done. eshave been, would the proceed- pecially if the Radical lawver present length? Would not a and the rest of the Queen's Radical lawyer, if one can sup- lawyers pose the two characters to meet Rastelli had been out of the in the same person; would not country for more than a forta' Radical lawyer have put an night! opened? Would he not have away; and though nesses; who swore to the acts of exclaim. subornation on the part of Rastelli? That subornation having been proved, would he not have instantly called for Rastelli; and, when Powell came forward, and one Lord vouched for his good though they could coolly leave motives, another for his good London for three weeks, one character, and a third boasted going a hundred miles to the of the honour of his acquaint- west and the other two hundred ance; when this had taken miles to the north, and there replace, would not a Radical law- main until the very eve of the

England; and more especially | yer have scraped his papers into a bag, made their Lordships three extremely low bows, and left them to go on according to their own will and plea-If those lawyers had been as sure? This is what a Radical ings have ever gone to their had known, as Mr. Brougham well These lawvers must end to the defence in less than have known this; for I knew ittwelve hours after it had been the next day after he went begun by examining those wit- Brougham and Denman, who

> "In this glorious and well foughten "We kept together in our chevatri :"

though these chivalrous gentlemen; these devoted defenders. Lords; though they could do, them before the bar; let these . and did do this, they must know lawyers answer this; let them and they did know of Rastelli's answer this charge, which I diabsence before they opened rectly and explicitly their case. Was there, then, against them; let them do this but this one straight path to before they impudently and inpursue? Were there not here solently renew their attacks the means of at once putting an upon the Radicals. end to the prosecution? Does not every one see, that if this feated in a cause which tendercourse had been pursued, the ed them three several occasions Bill never could have passed, for insuring complete victory. and is there a man in England The Queen had still left, and I who believes, that a Radical trust, she still has left, the peo-Lawyer would not have pur- ple at her back. And now, when sued this course? It was so ob- this is her only prop, miners and so infallibly efficient in prevent- her even of this. There are ing the passing of the Bill, that many difficulties to be overcome it is impossible for it not to have before the Queen can be comhave been impossible for it not hopes that those difficulties will sound understanding.

re-assembling of the House of upon their backs, and placing

However, there they are, devious; so short; so conclusive, sappers are at work to deprive been perceived; and it would pletely ruined; and I have great to have been adopted by any prove insurmountable. If, howman of sound intentions and ever, they should not. If she be, at last, to be made a sacrifice Let these lawyers, and espe- to the greediness of her pretendcially the two lawyers that her ed friends, we, the Radicals, at Majesty had honoured and be- any rate, shall stand clear of all nefitted by putting silk gowns imputation of blame. Had it not

been for us, she would have Bill not to pass. This must nesecret as well as open. If she ensure that great object; with now fall a sacrifice, not only her mind in this state, it was shall we have no blame to take easy for some artful knave to to ourselves for the past or the turn the scale, and to induce present; but we shall remain her to pursue the course which firmly attached to her for the she has recently pursued. future. We shall not ascribe any of her recent steps to her has passed, she may discover the own unbiassed mind; but to perfidy of such adviser; but, let that sinister and base influence, what will take place, I shall which has so often, heretofore, never ascribe a base or bad been a source of calamity to her. motive to her Majesty. Perfi-Her situation is one of peculiar dious advisers may pour into difficulty. often betrayed, that she can pointment and chagrin, even scarcely know where to place the desperate course of quitting reliance. All the faculties of her these shores. Even then, her mind must be bewildered by the Majesty will carry with her my everlasting suggestions of pre- attachment and gratitude. I tended anxiety for her safety, shall say that she has been be-Before one can censure any step trayed; I may be persuaded that that she may take under such she has, at last, found herself, circumstances, justice demands a in an hour of debility and defull knowledge of all her embar- spondency, induced to consent rassments. She must naturally to her own irretrievable ruin; be extremely desirous for the but I shall always say that she

been sacrificed at once, upon cessarily be the wish nearest her her arrival. We have preserved heart. In balancing as to the her thus far in spite of enemies steps to be taken, in order to

> When she find that the Bill She has been so her ear in a moment of disap

is intitled to the lasting grati-|mark that I feel sensibly the tude of this nation. done us more good than we ing me to be one of the persons could have done for ourselves in to present your Address to the an age. She has stripped our base enemies of their disguise. She has exposed them naked to our view; their turpitude is now so clearly seen that the wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err respecting it. Those who run may now read it, as they run. She has cut the viper asunder: the parts may linger in life for a while; but all the powers on earth never can re-unite them and give to them the poisonous powers which they before possessed. Therefore, let what will happen to her Majesty; whether present or absent, during life she will have our blessings upon her head, and after death she will live for ly been able to look at the gloever in our grateful recollectrious events, which have taken tions.

ed you my remarks upon these not suppose, however, that these fetter addressed to you, as a old friends the Boroughmongers,

She has honour you did me in appoint-Queen. What the contents of Harboard's letter to you may have been, I know not; but I should, I must confess, if you see no impropriety in it, like to see the whole of the letter. not proper to make the letter public, I, of course, do not wish to have it. In the mean while I remain

> Your most obedient And most humble servant. WM. COBBETT.

AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL.

Our attention has been so entirely absorbed by the affairs of her Majesty, that we have scarceplace in Spain, in Naples, and Thus, my friends, have I offer- especially in Portugal. We must I have done this in a have been over-looked by our

who, you may be well assured, Demont, Rastelli, and Barwould, if they could, bite and bara Krantz; by inquiring into tear every individual of those the state of her Majesty's bed nations (the despots and priests linen and into the fact of the excepted) with their own teeth swelling of her legs. and nails.

Portugal, which was little other ther our Ministers or the Port than a province of England, and tuguese Serjeant-major have which has been such for so long taken the most effectual means; a time! Here has been a Re- or, rather, which of them have volution, announced in the first taken the most effectual means place, by a Proclamation, stuck of supporting the established up by a Serjeant-major, attend- order of things, it would be realed with eight soldiers! This ly very difficult to say. Revolution has been effected without bloodshed; has releas- the recent intelligence from ed a whole nation from slavery; Lisbon, respecting the arrival has laid the foundation of pros- and departure of " Marshal perity, ease, and happiness for "General near the King's perthe present, as well as for future " son," English Lord and generations; and all this has Portuguese Marquis, BERESbeen begun, continued, and end- FORD. You will observe that ed during the time that our he was sailing in the ship of a rulers have been half finishing a Captain Mailland, who, I beprocess for maintaining the ho- lieve, is the same person that nour and dignity of the Grown brought Napaleon over to Engof this kingdom, by bringing land, previous to his transportaforward against the King's wife tion to the rock of St. Helena. swearings of, Majecchi, This Maitland is, I believe, a

are many ways of supporting Portugal, above all things! established government: whe-

I shall insert, if I have room;

son of Lord Lauderdale. Now. then, this Maitland, you see, had some specie and jewels on board, brought from the Brazils and consigned to the public treasury of Portugal. It appears that Captain Maitland refused. at first, to give this treasure up; but, luckily-for the Portuguese, and perhaps, for all parties, there arrived, the day after the Vengeur (Captain Maitland's ship), another ship, bringing duplicates of the bills of lading; and, upon sight of these, the treasure was delivered up.

It appears that Beresford, upon his arrival, was preparing to disembark, having with him a new commission, constituting him, in fact, a sort of Viceroy of the kingdom of Portugal. The New Government would not, it seems, suffer him even to land; though he was extremely anxious so to do. Upon corresfollowing this. pondence took place; ther, the following may be regarded as a sketch of the orrespondence.

FROM BERESFORD.

"The Marquis de Campo, " Mayor, Marshal in Chief of . the Armies of the United King-" doms of Pertugal, Brazil, and "Algarves, near the King's " person, was inexpressibly as-" tonished at the communica-"tion he received from the new "Government established "Lisbon, in which the latter " refuses to receive the Mar-" shal in Chief, and acknowledge " him as such, as it is bound to " do; since he has recently re-" ceived, through the favour of " his Most Faithful Majesty, ho-" nours, which he alone can " grant; and if the Government " proclaims him as the head of " the nation, it in no way can or " ought to alter the precepts of " the Monarch, and in this case " the nation does or does not " acknowledge him. If it does " acknowledge him, it ought to " preserve to him this undenia-" ble authority, and if it does of not acknowledge him, the " whole of Europe will feel " this offence, but more espe-" cially England, and insist on " the observance of her treaties, " as sincere as they are ancient. "On board the Vengeur, &c."

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ANSWER.

"The Supreme Government " of the Kingdom, in acknow-" ledging his Most Faithful " Majesty as the head and chief " of the nation, declares to " Beresford, that the nation has " at present re-assumed all the " rights belonging to it, in order " to recover its happiness .-"Lisbon, Palace of Govern-" ment, &c."

Now, if I call this man Beresford, it really is because I do not know what else to call him-He calls himself "Marquis De " Campo Major, Marshal in " Chief of the Armies of the " United Kingdoms of Portugal, " Brazil, and Algarves, "the King's person." New this is too long, and, besides, some of these titles, at any rate, cannot now be in existence without our refusing to acknowledge the New Government in Portugal, which I am by no means disposed to do. He is, besides this, a Lord, how, therefore, am I to know what to call him? The Spaniards and Portuguese have generally a gentleman seems to have been great many names; and they in a very great rage. It will be

relate a story of one of them going up to an English Inn. in the night, and asking for lodgings, The landlord asked who was there; and, upon the Spaniard answering, and mentioning all his names, the landlord, in shutting the window, said "You " must go on to a larger house "then, for mine will not hold " you all!" High blood is apt to break out into numerous names, as high living is apt to bring clumps of noses upon the face; and, be it known, to those who are not already acquainted with the fact, that Richard, Planlagenet. Grenville, Nugent, Chandos, Temple, is the name. or, rather, are the names, of one single Member of which the English House of Commons can boast.

Formidable, however, as were the names of Beresford, the New Government of Portugal knew very well how to deal with him. They resolved that he should not land; and the

perceived that he threatens the fectly notorious, that England is treaties.

constituting this Beresford, a fo- ployers, or 'forgot himself. or implies the unrestrained comingress and egress of British gal; and the same with respect the channel? to Portuguese in England. But,

Portuguese that, if they do not not free to Portuguese; but acknowledge him, the whole of that Portuguese cannot enter Europe will feel the offence, and here without a passport of permore especially England, and mission; that they cannot reinsist on the observance of her main without supervision: and that they may be seized at any What! was this man mad! Is moment and sent out of the there any treaty with England country by Capper, or his emagents, without reigner to the Portuguese! is cause assigned! What right. there any treaty with England then, had Beresford to land in ' constituting him the master of Portugal without the permis-Portugal? The man had so long sion of the Government; and been used to domineer, that he had not that government as good There is a a right to forbid him to land as treaty, perhaps, of peace and our Government had to seize on amity between England and General Gourgaud, and force him Portugal. This treaty stipulates out of England by the agency of Police officers, or to drive mercial intercourse of the two back the Countess de Monthonations; that is to say, the free lon with her sick baby in her arms, to be insulted on the hossubjects in the States of Portu- tile shores on the other side of

This Beresford had just come will the man of many names piping hot from the Brazils with contend that Portugal must, in his new commission in his pockvirtue of this treaty, be free to et; and, therefore, his audathe English; while it is per-city may be accounted for with-

out thinking him mad. His me- to a total Revolution. had but one step further to go, " one of these days, into Portsand to assert that if they did not | " mouth, as quietly as a mouse acknowledge him, the two "creeps into his hole, after havworlds would meet, and a uni- "ing taken a peep at a cat; take place.

must have felt itself indignant, plete than even I could have anat having been swaggered over ticipated. Come he is, and into so long, by this foreigner. What Portsmouth, too; and so quietright had he there; what right ly that hardly a soul there heard had the King of Portugal to put of his landing. What a pretty him over his people. The hav- story he has to tell to his musing done this before, was just ters here! Disgarnished of all

In my nace of bringing England and last Register but one, I anticithe whole of Europe upon the pated just what has now taken back of Portugal, on account of place. I said, must I not laugh the refusal to acknowledge him, to see the great Portuguese Maris something perfectly ridicu-shal "coming back to Portugal lous. It is contemptible beyond | " with the high commands of any thing that we can conceive. " King John in his pocket, writ-It is the most complete instance | " ten in kingly style: must I see of bloated and insolent pompo- " this, and must I not laugh, sity that ever was heard of. This " then? Shall I see this high is true puddle in a storm. He " and mighty Beresford come, versal crash of neture would "shall I see this and shall I not " laugh?" This was written on It is very pleasing to see with the 19th of October. It was what dignity and firmness the easy to see what could take Portuguese government has act-place in the main; but really ed. The nation felt itself and the thing has been more comgrounds for proceeding, at once, his high-sounding titles. And

has had a trip to Lisbon merely | peared to be already sure; and for the purpose of carrying the new Government a supply of money for their army. If this is not an Irish Bull I don't know what is?

centlemen, staring like the clown in the play when somebody has suddenly catched away his dinner. I defy the world to produce me an instance of a tisappointment equal to that of , this man of many names. He goes to the Brazils for the express purpose of getting the authority to act as King in Portugal; and when he comes back, his Kingdom is gone! We have often seen fools that have suffered kingdoms to slip through their fingers; but here is one that goes away across the seas to get the means of making his kingdom safe; he has al-- ready firm footing in it; he is, in fact, the master of it; but he wants his title to be made clearer and stronger; he wants to make surer that which ap- of Campo Major, Marshal-Ge-

when he comes back he is not allowed even to set his foot in that kingdom! Go thy ways. Marquis del Campo Major, Marshal in Chief of the United 'And there stand our pretty Kingdoms of Portugal, Brazil, and Algarves, near the King's person; go thy ways, if thou hast not got enough of Portugal; if the rap on thy knuckles be not sufficient to make thee more modest for the future, thou hast a front of brass exceeding even that of the Beresfords.

> That the reader may see what were the powers which his most faithful Majesty had invested this man with, I shall here insert his Commission: which I shall subjoin an article from the Courier, the spleen evident in which, will, I am sure, be highly diverting to the reader.

RERESFORD'S COMMISSION.

I Don John , by the grace of God, make known, by these presents, that the great and signa services which the Marques

neral and Commander-in-Chief through the competent Minisof my army of Portugal, has ter; and when the proposals for done me, having been considered worthy of my royal regard, kingdom, where I have fixed and seeking to give him a new public testimony of the particular esteem in which I hold them. and of the honour and confidence which he merits, I have raised him to the eminent post of Marshal-General, attached to my person. I determine, in consequence, to place under his immediate authority all the military corps of the three services; and all the objects which belong to the discipline, equipment and recruiting of the army, the state of the garrisons, and any fortifications to be made for the defence of the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarves, the reval arsenals of the army, the foundries, the public military works, the authorities and civil jurisdiction of the army, the military college, and every thing that relates to the execution of the regulations, laws. and commissions, which military law has determined, or may afterwards determine, regarding all or any of the above objects, referring immediately to me all invest him." his plans or propositions, of Signed and countersigned whatever nature, that I may sanction them by my royal will Giren July 29, Rio Janeiro.

promotion are made out of the my residence, he will have the power to grant the exercise of their commissions to Ensigns. Lieutenants, and Captains, till I issue my royal sanction for that purpose. Finally, I ordain that, in whatever part of myUnited Kingdom thesaidMarshal General attached to my royal person, shall be, beyond the district of my immediate jurisdiction, the Governors and Generals must afford whatever he may require for the knowledge of the state, discipline, and economy of the corps, or of the state of the fortifications existing, or necessary to be corrected or increased. And I command all the authorities, both civil and military, and all my subjects of all classes, as far it lies in their power, to obey and to assist the aforesaid Marshal-General attached to my Royal Person. in the discharge of the obligations and authorities, which, by these letters patent, I impose upom him, or with which I

as usual.]

CHYING ARTICLE OF THE. COURIER.

" We have given, in our preceding page, intelligence from Lisbon, which was brought by the last mail. In addition, we now lay before our readers the following private letter, which is extremely interesting, as disclosing the real motives by which the Portuguese Revolutionists are animated. We understand that in the answer which the Lisbon Junta returned to the letter of Lord Beresford (which will be found in that part of our paper already referred to) they simply designated him by the republican title of "Beresford," not deigning to give him his British title of Lord, nor his Portuguese one of Marquis. The answer thus:- 'The Supreme Government of the Kingdom, acknowledging his Most Faithful Majesty as the head of the nation. declare to Beresford,' &c. is added, that Lord Beresford felt justly indignant at this piece of democratic insolence.

" LISBON, OCTOBER 17.-Marshal Beresford arrived here from Rio de Janeiro, in the stores, compliance was impracti-Vengeur, Capt. the Hon. F. cable. Maitland, on the 10th instant, however, or of something else, As soon as his Lordship was prevented the Portuguese from

made acquainted with the state of things in this capital, he sent to inform the existing Authorities that he should land as a simple individual; for the purpese of settling his private affairs in this country, previous to his departure. A hasty and peremptery order was sent down in answer directing him to remain on board; and on his representing that his health, the length of the voyage, and necessity of the Vengeur's proceeding on a fresh service, would render this very disagreeable and inexpedient, a verbal message was sent in reply. desiring him to depart either in the Falmouth packet, or in Vengeur, within 24 hours. A. similar intimation was conveved in writing to Capt. Maitland both communications concluding with a threat to resort to violent measures, in case compliance with these orders were refused.

"As, however, the packet was not intended to be dispatched till the arrival of its successor, and as the Vengeur was taking in two months' A grain of prudence,

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resorting to hostilities: and the timent which leads some noblewill set the matter at rest.

violent and pusillanimous, their pitable board-of the hundreds weak and furious conduct has whom I have witnessed enshewn the nation what their joying the midnight festivity own opinion is of the solidity of the basis on which is founded were found who asked permistheir power.

tion with the Marshal, were mission under this free, enlightdifficult. studiously, rendered His servants, who had gone from his house to welcome his arrival. were arrested as soon as they set foot on shore, at their British Packet The Agent, who went on board to pay his respects to his Lordship, was also taken into custody as soon as he landed. And these violences took place without publication the previous issuing of any order, forbidding the visiting his Lordship. Such measures, however, proved but too effectual, in this regenerated order of things, so hailed by Sir Robert Wilson and Co., to stifle all feelings of gratitude, are wont to pay to the Command-

arrival of the Prince Ernest minds to shew that urbanity of packet, causing the departure of bearing towards a good and the Arabella, in which Lord fallen. Statesman, which their Beresford takes, his passage, sense of independence might have led them to withhold from "The Thirty Kings have him while in the plenitude of trembled in their heds whilst he his power. Of the scores whomhas lain in the Tagus, at once I have seen feasting at his hosunder his roof, five individuals sion from 'the Thirty' to visit "All attempts at communica- him-who ventured to ask perened, liberal Government, to visit an individual accused of no crime under the sun! These five were refused, reprimanded. and marked down as suspected Aristocrats. None dared go without permission; no more presumed to ask it.

"You do not suppose that our countrymen in this service, when no general order existed to the contrary, would suffer themselves to be deterred, by any consideration of the risk to their interests, now dependent on the breath of 'The Thirty,' from rendering that homage to their gallant Chief, which brave men and to smother that proud sen- er under what they have fought

and bled. No, they would un- | kingdom,- Sir, if your power derstand no hints or invendoes. They went: and mark the consequence.—Lieutenant-Generals Blant and A. Campbell, Sir J. Campbell, and Sir Victor Arentschild, yesterday received an order to quit the country without delay.

. " I shall conclude this record of meanness, tyranny, and newborn military liberty, with the answerofthegallantSirA.Campbeil to the General who intimated to him the this conduct in visiting the Marshal had given such umbrage to the New Governors, that he must quit the

to injure me were ten times greater than it is: if the advantages of your service were ten times greater than they are, I would not have abated one tittle of the respect which I have shewn, and will always shew, to an Officer whom I have known, have esteemed, and honoured, for more than twenty Vears."

"I ought to remark, that the soldiery are by no means satisfied with these indignities shewn to their late Chief, and the Officers, in whom they had the highest confidence,"

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

THE WOOL-COMBERS OF WARWICK

AND THE

INHABITANTS OF BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

On the last week's proceedings relative to the Queen; or, an illustration of "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the world."

London, Nov. 9, 1990.

My FRIENDS,

Lever was in it, or in any house her destruction.

or otherwise, by her Majesty, was the time when I had the honour of presenting your Addresses, which came to me wither out any previous knowledge of, mine, and without any desire, on my part, to have the office toperform, as is clearly evinced in. the fact, that several other Arldresses have been sent to me to! present in company, with other! gentiemen, and that, being otherwise surgaged. L'have not availed makelf of these oppore: tunities of going. I have never: In obedience to your wishes been introduced to her Majerty a I presented your Addresses to I have never given even the the Queen, on the 18th of Oo- most distant hint of a wish to You will see it asserted be introduced to her; not a sinin some of the newspapers, that gle farthing of her money has I have been a constant visitor at ever, either directly or ladi-Brandenbush House; that I rectly, found its way into my have been a sort of adviser pocket, or the pocket of any one there; and the New Times has belonging to me; but, with everyward, that I have placed what talent I pessens, I have : my of in the neighbourhood of laboured, from the very day of that house. Now, I have not, her landing, and in every way: since the Queen came, lived that I have been able to exert! within about three miles of that myself, most disinterestedly. homie; and, the only time that and most zeniously to prevent eccupied, whether occasionally while I take to myself not a

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those who have caused her de- was sure that it required some feat. I may, I trust, put forward bold, some decisive, some ima that claim to my full share of mediate, some open step on the the praise due to those, who part of the Queen; some instant have made the struggle produce and resolute step on her part, to to the people such a complete triumph over their bitter and savage enemies, who have now received a blow that they will mever recover.

I shall now endeavour to lay before you, a true account of the last week's proceedings relative to the Queen; and those precedings do, as you will find, furnish a most excellent illustration of that famous THING, which is called. " the envy of " surrounding nations and the "admiration of the world."

- You will perceive that, in my last Register I said that a Bill would pass. There were pesple, who would have betted ten to one against the affirmative of this proposition. I said as soon as I saw the evidence of Hownum, and especially when I saw the state in which that evidence had been left by the Queen's lastyers, that a bill would pass. When the subornation of Ras-

particle of the blame due to the Queen's lawyers: then I prevent the Bill from passing; and this I said, and this I put upon paper, with as much certainty, as I could now write down that the Bill has been read a second time.

> When I saw that the Queen took no such step. I was sure the Bill would pass; and the notification of the two famous Vice Chamberlains prohibiting the personal approach of addreisers in future, which notification came out in a few days after, appeared to me to be an invitation to the passing of the Bill. An actual invitation: it was as much as to say, " You "may pass the Bill as soon as " you please; for the Queen "hereby voluntarily relieves " you from even the shadow of "apprehension of popular dis-" content arising out of any "thing that you may do gainst " her."

The Queen did not see this; telli had been given in evidence; she had no idea of the notificawhen Powell had been called tion's producing such an effect. up, and had been suffered to go Nor do I believe that the two off without even an attack from Vice Chamberlains, who are merely poor things, apparently | ger of being called upon to without a second idea, had any notion of the magnitude of the mischief which they were the humble instruments in -01G ducing: but, to every man of discernment that notification was decisive of the fate of the Queen. The mischief had, in great part, been done by the lawyers: they had driven the nail of destruction home to the head; but it might still have been drawn back; therefore, it required the instrumentality of the two Vice Chamberlains to clanch it.

Every day gives us a clearer view of the intrigue then we had of it the day before; and it is of the utmost importance that we understand it well; and that we show to our enemies, that they can no longer cajole and deceive w. You remember. Mr. Denman's flash-in-the-pan declaration, that he never would achandedge any other rooman as hir Queen! This was thought to be extremely "bold." There were fools to call it even chipalrous. But, this declaration, like the iccuits' creed, had a double face; as was perfectly ledge that the Queen would be Gell. finally degraded from her rank; for, Mr. Denman was in no dan- October, all wore the outward

acknowledge another. Queen. unless the divorce clause should pass, which, from the very first, no one expected. I do not ase case Mr. Denman of any gift of foresight; and only mean to point out this as an instance of big words, though, at the same time, there is a sufficient reservation as to meaning. new upon our guard against these big words. Experience has taught us to depend more upon acts, and less upon words. Let us, therefore, now, with the advantages of this experience. take rather a scrutinising review of the occurrences of the last week; not attempting to draw any conclusion from rumpuns and bearsays; but solely from what has made its appearance in print. In order to do this, the more to our satisfaction, we must go back as far as the twenty-fifth of October, which day, it appears to me, the fate of her Majesty (unless something very extraordinary should happen) was signed, sealed and delivered by those two renowned gentlemen, Mr. Kepconsistent with a foreknew- pel Craven and Sir William

> On Wednesday the 25th of 204

appendace of vigour and cour-Idelphia, a French "lady," as age at Brandenburgh House; she called herself, curse the and, certainly there was no Quakers, while she had actually abatement of zeal and of onergy on the part of the people. On with a subscription raised by that day not less it believe, than those very Quakers, she being thirty addresses were presented. one of the French emigrants sieris; consisting of most re- God forbid that I should comspeciable persons in the middle pare her Mejesty to this shock-

in her mouth, bread purchased There were numerous proces- who had fled from St. Domingo. ranks of life. On this day not ing instance of human ingratiless than seventy thousand per-tude; but I have no hesitation sees were assembled round the in saying that even this was mansion of the Queen. The surpassed by Craven and Gell, zaidin ther came, the devotion and by those who councilled to her person, might possibly and took advantage of her find an adequate return in the Majesty's want of informgratitude of the heart; but, ation upon this occasion; for they admit of no adequate de- though the "French Ledy" was acription from the pen or the at that moment esting the bread tengue. Yet, it was on the given her by the Quakers, she evening of this very day; it had some reason to ascribe her was at the close of this exhilirat- fallen state to them, seeing that ing, this gratitude impiring, it was their principles of hosthis heart moving scene; it was tility to negro slavery, which at the close of this scene, and might have produced the revolt ga the very spot where it had of the negroes, and the present taken place, that Craven and poverty of the "Lady;" but, Gell sat down to pen the cold, in this case, the supporters the forbidding, the rude no- of the Queen had never had tification, though they had still any share in producing her ninging in their ears, the sufferings and oppressions,promises, the voluntary pro- Since her first arrival in Engmises of support to their mis- land, they had, whether she tress, coming from the lips of the were here, or in foreign coundisinterested, just, and generous tries, cheerfully laboured for her people! I once saw, at Phila- support, even in splendour, and

upon any occasion, given their sanction to any measure of any kind tending to make her uni happy or uneasy. Therefore. this act was less excusable; or, rather, more shockingly insulting and ungrateful than the act of the " French Lady" at Philadelphia, which I have a thousand times cited as an instance. which would remain without a parallel, as long as nature retained her power in the hearts of human beings.

The Queen was deceived. The whole course of her life proves that this shocking notification must have been got up, as the answer to the Nottingham Address was, without her knowledge. It must have been represented to her, that the people experienced inconvenience and suffering from coming and waiting in the wet and the cold. Her compassionate disposition would make her listen to this; and thus her assent must have been obtained. in the confusion and bustle of dent when we look at the ing words:

in profusion; and they had never; amended notification, of these two rapient Vice-Chamberhans. That I may not be accused of misrepresenting , them. I: will here insert the notifications. do" ginning with that of the 25th of October, which, as I observed before, was written, and at Brandenburgh House, too. while the rooms of that house were yet echoing with the shouts of the people.

" Mr. K. Craven and Sir Wil-" liam Gell, Vice-Chamberlains " to the Queen, are commanded " to announce, that, in conse-" quence of the lateness of the "season, and the probable approach of wet weather, " her Majesty wishes to decline, " receiving any future addressee " in person after Monday next, " the 30th instant. It is never-" theless to be understood that "her Majesty by no means in-" tends to exclude the presenta-" tion of such addresses as may " be at this moment in prepara-"tion, and which, if not ready " by Monday, her Majesty will "receive and answer without "the ceremony of a formal, " deputation.

" Brandenburgh-house, Wednesday, October 25."

This notification is every the moment, to the issuing of a thing that I have before denotification, tending to remove scribed it to be. The second the represented inconvenience or amended notification, comesand suffering. That this was out under date of Friday the actually the case becomes evi-3rd of November, in the follow-

having arisen respecting the " presentation of Addresses, we " are commanded to state, that "it is not the intention of her " Majesty to decline receiving "Addresses for the future, nor "her wish to check that ebul-" lition of respect and attack-" ment which has been so uni-"versally manifested by the " people, and which is so highly " gratifying to the feelings of Her " Majesty. Her Majesty, aware " of the great inconvenience " such numerous bodies of peo-" ple must experience in waiting - upon her on account of the " lateness of the season, and " the distance of Brandenburgh "House from the Metropolis, " will continue to receive Ad-" dresses by small deputations " only. An early day will be "named for her Majesty's re-" ceiving the numerous Ad-" dresses already voted, and not " presented on Monday last. "The Hon.KEPPEL CRAVEN, and "OF WILLIAM GELL,

" Vice-Chamberlains to the Queen. "Brandenburgh House, Nov. 3, 1890."

Sol a week had taught the new councillors to approach somewhat nearer to good manners, or, at least, towards an absence of radeness and insowe shell probably come at very

. . . . Some misunderstanding pretty way of beginning a retractation and contradiction.-From the whole composition of these notifications, it is very evident that a critical understanding of the meaning of words is, by no means, inseparable from the office of Vice-Chamberlain; or else we should not hear these wentlemen talk about an ebullition of respect and attachment, which are the result of sober thought, and are evinced by steady acts or demonstrations: and not the result of the bubbling or boil ing up of a sadden and momentary feeling or passion. But even Vice-Chamberlains be supposed to un to derstand the meaning of words which it is impossible for any human being to misunderstand: and, who could misunderstand the words of the former notification, which expressly says that the Queen wishes to decline receiving any future addresses in person? If this do not mearthat her Majorty meant that no lence. The cause of this change addressers should come and de liver addresses to herself after correctly by-and-bye; but let the next Monday; if these us here look a little at this no- wards have not this meaning, tification compared with the no words in our language have other. "Some misundwstand- any meaning; and when a man ing had arisen." This is a swears to one thing, he may be

ther thing, or to nothing at all. Then, as to the second sentence of the notification: that she does not mean absolutely to exclude such addresses as may be at this moment (mark the words!) in preparation; she does not mean to exclude these altogether; but, if not ready by the next Monday, her Majesty will receive and answer them "noithout the ceremony of a " formal deputation." So that this was saying, with as much rudeness as would stop short of absolute insult, that she would receive, after the Monday, no Address by any deputation at all, even though they may, at the time-of writing the notification, be already in preparation!

Now, then, what says the sethe uncouthness and bad gramthese out of the question, what sed; notwithstanding that day turn by and bye. was on the 30th of October, her word "continue" had to do rinth. It is a habyrinth of the

looked upon as swearing to ano- here. God only knows; but, this is, I suppose, a mude of writing peculiar to Vice-Chamberlains. The use of the word "only," upon this occasion. must be attributed to the same: cause. But, at any rate, we make out clearly that her Majesty will receive addresses in peraon; which is a flat contradiction of what was appounced. in the first notification; and a. flat contradiction, too, of a thing twice expressed in that same: paper:

What do these gentlemen: mean, then, by " some misun-" derstanding ?" What do they mean ?: To whom de they mean. to attribute the misundemtanding I Faith, there is no misunderstanding. The thing is plain: enough. Much too plain. The new. councillors had cast off the cond notification? Leaving out people on the 25th of October: and on the third of November. mar of the whole thing, leaving they threw out their bait to get; them back again; their success, does this second notification in which is a thing much more say! Why, though the afore- to be hoped for than to be dumentioned Monday is long-pas- pected. But to this I shall se-

We are here, my friends, en-Majesty will "continue to re- deavouring to develope a grand " ceive addresses by small de- intrigue! An intrigue is worse " putations only." What this than an artificial mass or labymost puzzling kind, assisted by to go abroad in; offered to inup to our knees: advance inch by inch, and look around us at every step.

You will observe, that I look upon the basis of the intrigue, and of all the little intrigues, to be. THE GETTING OF THE OUT OF . THE QUEEN COUNTRY. This has. all along, been the object. saw that Mr. Brougham was socretly negociating with the Ministers, to effect this, in July. 1819, upon the prospect of the king's death. In April last, after the king's death, he settled with them, the terms of her continuance abroad. In June. at St. Omers, the bonus and the threat were offered for the same When, at last, the purpese. Queen came, the King sent his Message and Green Bags; and in the message he stated that he had sent it, and that he wished her conduct to be enquired into. only because she had come to this country. Even after this the ministers entered into a ne- the ground of this persuasion gociation with her, offered to and hope. There was, howgive her a yacht, or man of war, over, one thing which I emit-

the entanglements of brambles troduce her as Queen at some and briars, pit-falls, and jack-a- foreign court, and to leave her lanterns. We must, therefore, rights untouched, if she would have patience, my friends. We but go abroad. Nay, even when must pick our way; lift our feet this had failed, the House of Commons, by the hands of a deputation (upon whom it is lamentable to remember that the people spit and at whom they threw old quids of tobacco); the House of Commons, by this ever memorable deputation, consisting of Wilberforce, Stuart Wortley, Sir Thomas Ackland, and Corfe Castle Bankes. pressed her to leave the country: for that was the real object and meaning of their resolutions.

> You cannot imagine, then, that the same object is not now as much in view as ever. You have seen in my last Register many circumstances stated, in order to show that an opinion was entertained at Branden-. burgh House, that, if the Queen would but cast off the people beforehand, the Bill would not be passed.

I also there explained very clearly the measures which the new councillors of Brandenburgh House had adopted upon

ted; and which I should not "rence of that inhuman and have omitted. On the 25th of October, the very day that Messrs. Craven and Gell issued their first notification, an Address was presented to the Queen by a most numerous and respectable body of persons from the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, The persons who prepared that Address appear to have had some misgivings in their mind as to the intentions of the Queen; or, at any rate, they appear to have wished to draw forth a specific pledge, that she would not leave the country. Before I go any further, I will insert this Address, begging you to pay attention to the parts marked by italics:

THE ADDRESS OF THE INHA-SITANTS OF ST. GEORGE'S, HANOVER-SQUARE.

" To her Most Excellent Ma-" jesty, Caroline, Queen of " England, &c.

"We, the undersigned inha-"bitants of the parish of St. " George, Hanover-square, feel "ourselves impelled to ap-" proach your Majesty with the " sincere expression of our most "affectionate attachment to " your person, of deep regret " at your many domestic losses, " of our most ardent admiration |" of which your Majesty will be of your heroic magnanimity, "the first, but not the last, vicand an unutterable abhor-"tim.

" dastardly persecution to which " your Majesty has been ex-" posed by those who, having "forfeited every constitutional " claim to the public support, " vainly seek to preserve their "ill-gotten power by the de-" gradation of our Queen.

"We heartily join in that " universal congratulation which " has hailed your Majesty's re-" turn to the shores of Britain, " and most cordially join in the " conviction of your Majesty's "innocence which now pre-" vails through the British Em-

" pire.

" We trust your Majesty will " retain a just recollection of " the generous promptitude with " which the people echoed back " your appeal, when, with ad-"mirable greatness of soul, " your Majesty declared that " you would use all the mean's "that God had given you " against the decrees of a too " partial tribunal: this appeal, "and this alone, has saved " your Majesty from destruct " tion.

"Your splendid example has " taught the people that their "own safety lies in the adop-"tion and the preservation of "those principles which ani-" mate your Majesty; and your " patriotic council confirms us "in the opinion, that if those "who are now unfortunately " entrusted with authority, shall " continue to misrule us, either " an unhappy struggle must en-" sue, or a confirmed despotism,

"With the frankness of free-|" the Lahabitants of the Parish " men, we remind your Majesty, " that the unbought homage of "millions, which now protects " you on every side, and which "is your only security against " your enemies, will melt away, " and leave you exposed to the " redoubled malignity of your "oppressors, unless you firmly " adhere to those constitutional " principles which your Majesty " has no often and so ably urged " in your admirable replies to the "devoted and affectionate ad-"dresses of our fellow country-" men.

"We fervently hope that " your Majesty, by continuing " to dwell among us, may not " only reign in our hearts, but "be an eye witness and a per-" sonal partaker of those joys "which your : Majesty's pre-" sense cannot but diffuse around " you, and that the remainder of " your Majesty's valuable life " may be passed in such an un-" imbittered tranquillity as may "in some degree compensate " for the long and cruel injuries, "afflictions, and persecutions, "which your Majesty has been " called upon to endure."

Now, pay attention to the answer to this address. You will see that this address required a specific answer. Look then at that answer.

THE QUEEN'S ANSWER TO THE ST. GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

"I have a peculiar satisfaction " in receiving this frank, loyal, "and affectionate Address from | "dom is her security."

"of St. George, Hanover-square. " While I have a heart in my " breast, and that heart beats " with the energies of life, or "while memory retains any " hold on my brain, I can never " be unmindful of the singular " magnanimity, disinterested-" ness, and affection, with which " the people have supported me "against the whole power of "my enemies. If the people " had not been with me, what "shield of defence should l " have had against the malignity "of my adversaries? If the " press had not been so power-"fully exerted in my favour, " how could that public opinion " have been excited, which has " proved such a security to me "and such a terror to my ene-" mies! I am convinced that, if " the spirit of the people, aided "by its exertions, had " erected such a rampart " strength against the impend-"ing aggressions of tyranny, "my rights would, 'ere this, "have been taken away along " with those of the nation. "a despotism is established "ln 'this country, the basis "will be laid in the de-"struction of the Queen. If the " Queen can be destroyed; with "impunity, what other in-" dividual can be safe ? " My enemies are the friends " of arbitrary power, but my " friends are the friends of li-" berty. No two interests were " ever more completely identifi-"ed than those of the people

"and the Queen: her rights.are

"their rights; and their free-

Here you see the main points | they wrote that notification the of the address are completely Queen's lawyers closed their deelegant writing in this answer. grateful acknowledgment; but consummate dexterity in evading the two main points of the ad-The first point was that of her Majesty's appeal to the people for protection against what the House of Lords might The other point was, her continuing to reside in this country! Both of these points are wholly overlooked in the answer; and it is impossible not to believe, that those whe dictated that answer had not her quitting of the country then in view; and, when we consider that immediately after this answer was given, the notification of Keppel and Gell was penned and sent to the press, it is impossible for us to have a shadow of doubt in our minds that the quitting of the country by the Queen was a thing in the full contemplation of the new Councillors of her Majesty. - Let us now proceed on with our observations as to what has taken place since that time. On the 26th October came out the first notification of Keppel Queen. On Sunday, the 29th, and Gell. On the day when Lord and Lady Fitzwilliam and

evaded. Here is some very fence. The new councillors were at that time what is valgarly call-A great deal of warmth and of ed cock-a-heop. They thought that Mr. Denman's talking about the charges being shaken away like dew drops from the lion's mone; they thought that his exultation at the result of the glorious and well foughten combat, in which he and his brother hero had kept together in their chivalry; they thought that his asserting that Mr. Brougham's grant arm had destroyed the enemies of the Queen, leaving him to discharge only a few random arrows; they, wise gentlemen, thought that all this amounted to a great deal more than a certainty, that the Bill would not pass! I told them the contrary, indeed; but let that pass for nothing and let us keep dates in our mind.

On the 26th, 27th, and 28th the Attorney and Solicitor-General made their reply. Still the new Councillors of Brandenburgh House seemed to have scouted the idea of the Bill's passing. On Saturday, the 28th; the very next day (mark it well!) Saxe Cobourg visited the Majesty; and on the next day, out comes a letter in the newspapers from Lord Fitzwilliam's son, Lord Milton, conveying a subscription to the Queen's Plate Committee. expressing his conviction of the Queen's innocence. Now, observe this mass of greatness begins to gather round the Queen simultaneously with the issuing of the repulsive notification of the two Vice Chamberlains.

There can be no doubt that at this time the full expectation at Brandenburgh House was, that the Bill would not It was manifestly intended to receive the last batch of addresses on Monday, the 30th of October; and, after that time to receive no more in person. But, when the House of Lords had gone through the debate of the first day upon the Bill, a little light seems to have broken in upon the minds of the new Councillors. During the Tuesday and Wednesday, the 31st of October and 1st of November, they appear to have collected enough of information to convince them that there was some which day appeared the second, reason to fear that the Bill or amended, or contradicting would pass. It was, therefore, notification of Messrs. Craven

the Duke of Sussex visited her Chronicle and other papers of the Thursday, that her Majesty was going to the House of Lords that day with a protest. Her Majesty did not go, however: but the Traveller newspaper, of the Thursday evening. published a second edition, to say that the Queen would go to the House with her protest at two o'clock the next day. Friday, the 3d of November. But, behold! when Friday morning came, the Times newspaper announced, that the Queen kept herself confined to her house on account of the approaching anniversary of the death of her daughter, which anniversary was the 6th of November. Shockingly disgusting as this pretence was upon the very face of it, k was rendered still more disgusting by her Majesty's actually going to the House on the very next day after the Times had inserted this pretence, and two days before the arrival of the anniversary of the Princess's death!

Thus, we bring down the progress of these manœuvres to Saturday the 4th November. positively stated in the Morning and Gell. I should observe to

that is to say, on the second day folding doors to the tardy mobiof the debate on the Bill, the lity. man who did not see that it would pass the second reading must have been nearly an ideot. Therefore, on the evening of that day the amended notification, inviting the people still to come with addresses, was written and sent to the press.

Sunday, the 5th November. was by no means an idle day amongst the politicians in London. Some still thought that the second reading would not pass; but to say the truth, no man could think this that looked at the matter with rational eyes. On Monday, the 6th, it was again notified that her Majesty would go to the House with her protest on the next On this Monday the House agreed to the second reading of the Bill. And on this same Monday came out another notification by anthority, stating that the next Monday (13th inst.) was appointed for receiving of addresses at Brandenburgh House.

Thus, then, the Bill did pass to a second reading, notwithstanding all the speculations of the new Councillors; notwithstanding their having repulsed the ing words:

you that on the 3rd November, people, and thrown open the Those Councillors must have been quite disconcerted at finding the Bill to pass thus glibly through it's most difficult stage. The Times newspaper of the 8th November, savs, that the Queen received the news with a "look of wild astonish-It says that she was " ment!" " almost doubtful of her own " senseá!" Whether this be stated on authority or not I cannot say; but, I should not be at all surprised if it were really true; for, who can imagine that she could have expected such a result after all the hopes that had been manifestly excited by her new councillors; or, rather. perhaps, I should say by her legal advisers; for these, it would clearly appear, have necently got the ascendancy; which is a thing, though very surprising, yet very common; and nothing is more common than to see persons who have been ruined by lawyers still enamoured of those lawyers.

> On Tuesday, the 7th November, her Majesty went to the House of Lords, where she was met by her legal advisers. and from her private room there. sent in her protest in the follow-

PROTEST. CAROLINE REGINA.

" To THE LORDS SPIRETUAL TEMPORAL, IN PARLIAMENT AS-

: * The Queen has learnt the decision of the Lords upon the Bill now before them. In the face of Parliament, of her family, and of her country, she does so-· demniy protest against it.

"Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors have prenumed to sit in judgment on the gnestion: between the Queen and themselves. Peers have given their voices against her Who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and abcented themselves during ber defence.

"''' Others' have come to the Miscussion, from the Secret Committee; with minds biassed by a mass of slander, which her enemies have not dared to bring forward in the light.

The Queen does not avail herself of her right to appear before the Committee, for to her the details of the measure -must be a matter of indifference : and unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the Bill before the other branch of the Legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last -pod by five years.

"She now most deliberately. and before God asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime 'laid to her charge, and she awaits with unabeted confidence the final result of this unparalleled investigation.

CAROLINE REGINA."

measures, which her Majesty had been advised to adopt, and which present to our view an instance of vacillation almost without a parallel, and so unexpected in a person, whose character has been marked by such promptitude and decision upon all former occasions.

There is very little in this protest. Its object is very obscure, and unless we gather from that portion of it which I have pointed out by italics: unless we gather from this a sort of threat, the document really has no meaning at all; or, at least, no meaning which could by any possibility tend to render service to her Majesty's cause.

Her Mainsty is here advised to say, that if the Bill be finally rejected in the House of Lords, she will abstain from recrimination! Who would have advised this! What wretched head didithis advice proceed from! It really was telling the Lords in ed many words: if you pass the Bill I will make an exposure that shall do infinite mischief to the kingly part of the gocernment; and, therefore, it was almost compelling them to pass the Bill. It was placing them in a similar situation to Thus ends this series of that in which she beneff had

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been placed at St. Omers by ration of the people from the Lord Hutchinson. It was, in Queen. short, daring them to do that, which, if they did not do, it complished, the Bill went cheerwould make the injustice of ly on; and without the smallest what they had already done danger of popular commotion manifest to the whole world. from the passing of it. And What a wretched man must be now let me draw your attention have been who could advise the in the first place to the progress uttering of this threat!

as day light, first, that these that progress, we shall be able Councillors had, for a consi- to call back our ideas to the derable time, indulged the fond main point, namely, whether it and foolish hope that the Bill be likely that the Queen will or might be prevented from pass-will not be got out of the country. ing by the Queen withdrawing The Lords came to, a division herself from the people. Next, upon the second reading of the it is manifest that, to the very Bill on Monday the 6th Nolast, the great object was to vember. There were 95 against prevent the passing of the Bill; it, and 128 for it. The Lords and, I am firmly convinced that who voted for it were the felan intrigue had been going on lowing. I insert the names to get the Queen out of the upon this occasion, because this country, upon condition that will be a memorable decision: the Bill should not pass. She has been led to believe, that if the people were repulsed by her beforehand, the Bill would not pass. Hence the notification of the Chamberlains, hence the evasive answer to the Saint George's Address; hence the seclusion from public view; hence all the measures touding to that fatal point, the sepa-

This point having been acof the Bill through the House Thus, then, it becomes clear of Lords. When we have seen

Lords Prudhoe Harris Ross (Glasgow) Meldrum (Āboyne) Hill. Combermere Hopetoun Gambier Manners Ailsa (Cassilis) Lauderdale Sheffield Redesdale St. Helens Northwick Bolton Bayning Carrington Dunstanville

Lords Rous Saltersford (Courton) Stewart of Garlies (Galloway) Stuart (Moray) Douglas (Morton) Grenville Suffield Montagu Gordon (Huntly) Somers Rodney Middleton Napier Colville Gray Saltoun **Forbes** Bishops Cork Landaff Peterborough Gloucester Chester Ely St. Asaph St. David's Worcester London Viscounts Exmouth Lake Sidmouth Melvile Curzon Sydney Falmouth Hereford Berls Limeric Ross Donoughmore Belmore Mayo Longford **Mount Cashel** Kingston St. Germains Brownlow Whitworth Verulam Cathcart Mulgrave Lonsdale Oxford Manvers Nelson Powis Liverpool Digby Mount Edgeumbe Strange (Athol) Abergavenny Avlesbury Bathurst

Barls Harcourt Chatham Warwick Portsmouth Graham (Montrese) **Pomfret** Macclesfield Avlesford Coventry Rochford Abingdon Shaftesbury Cardigan Balcarras Winchelsea Stamford Bridgewater Home Huntingdon Marquisses Conyngham Thomond Headfort Anglesez Northampton Camden Exeter Cornwallis Buckingham Lothian Queensberry Winchester. Dukes Wellington Northumberland Newcastle Rutland Beaufort. Lord Privy Seal. Lord President. Archbishop Tuam. Chancellor. Archbishop Canterbury. H. B. H. Duke of Clarence, H. R. H. Duke of York.

The following roted against the Bill.

Lords Breadalbane

Erskine

Arden
Milenborough
Alvanley
Loftus (Ely)
Fitzgibbon (Clare)
Calthorpe
Dawney (Downe)
Yarborough
Dundas
Selsea
Mendip (Cliffea)
Auckland
Gage

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Lords Fisherwick (Donegal),
      Amherst
      Kenyon
      Sherborne
      Berwick
      Ashburton
     Bagot
      Waleingham.
      Dynevor
      Foley
     Hawke
     Handridge (Argyle)
      Ducie
     Holland
     Grantham
      Clifton (Darpley)
     Howard of Effingham
      Say and Sele
      Dacre
     Zouche
     Clinton
      Audlev
     De Clifford
     Belhaven.
·Viscounts Granville
          Anson
          Doncan
          Nood
          Leinster (Duke of)
          Torrington
          Bolingbroke,
Earls Blessington
     Caledon
      Enniskillen
     Farnbau
     Gosford
     Carrick
     Morley
      Minto
     Harewood.
      Grey
     Romney
      Rosslyn
     Carnaryon
      Mansfield
      Fortescue
      Grosvenor
      Hillsborough (Downshire)
      Delawar
      Lichester
      Darlington
      Egremont
      Fitzwilliam
      Stanhope
      Cowper
      Dartmouth
      Oxford
      Roseberry
      Jersey
      Albemaria
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.. | Earls Plymouth Essex Thanet Denbigh Suffolk Pembroke Derby. Marquisaes Bath Stafford Lansdown. Dukes Portland Brandon (Hamilton) Devonshire Bedford Grafton ' Richmond Somerset. Archbishop of York H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester.

Some of the writers of the day have taken upon them to make distinctions upon this occasion. They have vaunted the high honour, the excessive purity, and even the great property, of the Lords on one side: and they have, in a style almost jacobinical or talked of the Noble persons on the other side. I shall presume to take no such liberties: for, if I make at most about five exceptions, I do (so help me God!), think the whole lot to be perfectly equal, one to the other. in every quality with which we, the people, have any thing to I believe them to be all equally independent; equally honest; equally pure; equally íust and equally What right have I to dare to trumpet forth the praises of one

other side, when I find plenty on both sides, who cordially united in passing the Acts of March 1817 and those of December 1819? Poh! Away with all this stuff! Away with all this impudent and senseless balderdash, about the motives of this Lord, the qualities of that Lord, the heart of this, and the head of that. I am as able to form an estimate of them as any man that I know; and I solemnly declare that, with the trifling exceptions before mentioned, I think their Lordships to be upon a perfect equality in point of goodness.

The Times Newspaper, which declares its determined enmity to every thing of a radical cast: This supporter of the Throne, and the Aristocracy, says, "That the earth never con-" tained female purity, against m which a greater majority of " this House might not have Some " been obtained by the same made in the preamble; and on " arts." " are families of those who have decided upon what has been " voted against the Queen, that called the Divorce clause; that " absorb immense quantities of is to say, the clause dissolving "the public money;" and it the marriage between the Queen further says, that it knows not and the King. 'Here a very whether it ought to congratu- curious scene took place.

side any more than those of the Queen on this decision of the House of Lords! This is the language of the upholders of aristocracy; this is the language of a professed enemy of the Radicals. For my part, who am a Radical, I neither use nor adopt such language; and I do know whether I ought to congratulate or condole with the Queen upon this decision. know that it would not have been a subject of condolence, but of congratulation, if the proper course had been pursued: if a proper answer had been given to the St. George's address, and if the notification of Craven and Gell had never been issued: but as things now stand, not to condole with her Majesty, is to discover complete folly, or a total want of feeling.

The Bill having gone to a second reading on the 6th of November, the House went into a committee upon it on the 7th. little alterations were It says, that "there the 8th of November, the House late or to condole with the Ministers who had brough tin

the Bill, found that they could than our most religious and granot carry it with this divorce They said that clause in it. they had discovered that many good people objected to that clause on a religious score. Several Peers had said that they should vote for the second reading of the Bill, only upon an understanding, that the divorce clause should be got rid of in the committee. Upon this understanding they have voted for the second reading; and it is possible that this might have full as much weight with the Ministers as the opinions of those religious people to whom they had been listening with such obliging attention. Then, if the divorce clause passed, our gracious Sovereign might possibly take a second wife; and that second wife might have a child or children. This must necessarily operate to the exclusion of the Duke of York from the The Duke is now a Throne. widower, too. He may marry again; and the next marriage may possibly be more fruitful than the last. So that, this Bill, in their minds, to throw out the with the divorce clause in it, divorce clause, it appeared evimust be considered as a Bill in- dent, one would have thought. jurious, by possibility, at least, that they had the power to do it. to this illustrious Duke, who is seeing that they would, in this

cious King himself.

Here was matter for deep cogitation with the Ministers. Then as to the religion of the thing, it appears to have been a very doubtful matter the Bishora being equally divided upon the subject, and Scripture being quoted in support of the opinions on both sides. The Times newspaper has, indeed, asserted that there is not a single man of learning amongst the Bishops. and that they are weaker than so many women. But, though this paper be such a staunch enemy of the radicals and so stout and able a supporter of the hierarchy; and such a terrible champion against blasphemy: we must not believe implicitly all that it says about the ignorance and feebleness of the Bishops, who, whether learned or unlearned, whether feeble or strong minded, have votes : and those votes it was desirable, if possible, for the ministers to secure on their side.

The Ministers having resolved, scarcely less dear to the nation case, naturally be joined by all

altogether, on the question of the second reading: that is to say, by Lord Grey, and those who .voted with him against the second reading. But (and now mark!) these Lords took another turn. Oh! no! said they! If you will have the Bill, you shall have it divorce clause and all! If you will have any of it, you shall have enough of it. Just as a wag, who once saw a Common Council-man pocket the half of a plumb pudding, at a city feast, took up the boat and poured the sauce in upon it' In this sort of mess was the thing left on Wednesday the 8th inst. when the House adjourned; and, as it has not met to day, this paper will go to the press before the result can possibly It is possible that be known. this Bill may be lost upon a third Queen had come to England. reading. But, there are various If she be got away, therefore, ways of going to work to effect the prosecution will have anthe purpose which the Ministers swered its purpose; and that, have in view. : Leaving these too, without any blame being for the present, let us now con- able to be stuck upon the Minisider how the intrigue is likely ters by their opponents in parto work towards the grand point, liament, seeing that the House the getting of the Queen out of of Lords have actually found her the country.

power in it's hands of doing fact, have effected it's object;

those who had epposed the Bill; with regard to the Queen. The Bill, if passed, may then go to the Lower House and he sent back amended without the divorce clause. No ground is lost by the Ministers. They stand on the vantage ground, and, they are all bastards to a man; they have not a single drop of the blood of the Jenkinsons and Ryders left in them, if they do not profit from what they have gained.

If they could now get the Queen out of the country by throwing out the Bill and putting a stop to all further proceedings against her, their object is gained. For, what did they ask at first? Why, merely the keeping of 'her out of the country; and this was all that the King asked: for he sent down the Green Bags only because the guilty. The Milan commission The parliament has now the will also stand clear, and will, in pretty nearly what it pleases and, the Whige may now take

sin everlanting leave of all hope, whit believe that it is hell hell of getting a share in the plundet.

Therefore, the Ministers are what the bankers call tiled in. and may carry on with great confidence their scheme for getting the Queen away. She, indeed, will suffer. She will go, even if the proceedings stop where they are, with a verdict of guilty upon her head; though I am convinced of her perfect innocence. She cannot now he introduced as Queen at any foreign court; nor can she have a vacht or a man of war to go in : while for shame's sake the sum of money allowed her must be very scanty.

Yet, I verily believe that the Ministers firmly expect that the Queen will leave the country: and I further believe that there are persons who have been negociating for this purpose. There was a remarkable expression, which dropped from Lord de Clifford during the debate on the second reading. I took down his very words, which were as follow: " It is supposed, that " her Majesty's residence in this

" jesty's wish to remain in Enga land "

Now, I beg you to observe, my friends, this Lord is the son. I believe, of that Lady de Clifford who had the care of the Princess Charlotte several years ago; and who has, probably. some direct means of coming at what are her Majesty's real inclinations as to this matter. At any rate his words had an ominous sound. He spoke not like a man who merely stated a surmise; not like a man who expressed a belief founded on the reason of the case, but like a man who really knew something of the fact, with regard to which he expressed his belief.

However, this point must now soon be settled. Next Monday is the day for settling this point. On that day an address is going to be carried to her Majesty from the populous parishes of St. Giles's in the Fields and St. George's, Bloomsbury. That address, which now is lying for signatures, expressly calls upon the Queen, for a pledge not to quit the country; and if her Ma-"country, would be attended jesty do not, under all the pre-"with evil consequences; but, sent circumstances, give that "I do not believe that her Ma- pledge, we may rest satisfied i jesty will remain here. I do that her worst enemies have at last prevailed; and that she is; she has exposed them to ten roady to yield herself a sacrifice to her implacable, cruel, and destandly foes.

It is useless here to anticipate the humiliation and disgrace that she may have to endure. It is useless to anticipate the manner and the circumstances of her going away, and the miserable end which will, in all human probability, attend her; deprived, as she will be, of her only support. Let us rather indulge the hope that it is not yet too late for her to reject the advice of these new and evil conneillors. Her Majesty has great claims upon the gratitude of the Radicals, at any rate; for she has done us a service greater than any words can describe. Let what will take place. I shall always say that she is the only royal personage to promote whose welfare I have any desire at all beyond that which is imposed upon me by the laws. Towards her Majesty I feel, and we all ought to feel, a great deal of personal her! has tumbled them down respect and attachment; and if neck and heels, peeled them we cannot do her all the good that we would wish to do, we are bound to do her every species of Therefore, my friends, let us service that lies in our power, never forget her. Let us overshe has humbled our enemies; look every thing that shall ap-

3

thousand times more scorn and detestation than before existed against them. They merited the united curses of the whole human race; but it remained for this gallant little woman tocause utterance to be given to those curses. Therefore, to the Queen is our gratitude due; and I, for one, shall always say, " blessed amongst women " be Caroline Queen of Eng-" land."

Oh! What a chevy; what a chace; what a hunting; what a baiting, what a worrying, and what a badgering, has she given the corrupt vagabonds! We, poor devils, had been barking at them; we had been snarling and snapping. bow-wowing for years. We had made some ground; we had hauled them about a good deal, and partially tore their garments, exposed their nakedness, and covered them here and there with suitable dirt. But she, God Almighty bless to the very skin, and dragged them through the kennel.

pear to us as error in her con-| Radicals, on the side of her Maror that she may commit to the designing and evil-minded men that get about her. Let us always resent her wrongs as if they were our own. Let us consider that, though she has so many great qualities, she is still but a human being; and that it is not given to mortals to be at all times upon their guard against the arts that may be put in practice against them. Let us always bear in mind that our children's children will reap the benefit of the immense good which she has done us. We all live in hopes of seeing the day when our enemies will be laid at our feet; and, when that day comes, 1 trust there is not a man of us that will forget the assistance which she has given us in overcoming and laying low those atrocious enemies,

I am, my Friends,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant.

. P. S. You have seen, imy

dust. Let us escribe every er- jesty, the Queen. It was it's interest to, do this; but, it begins to smell danger. It knows it has a number of sine upon it's head; and Mr. Walter is aware that the playing of his sisters', names at the stamp office may possibly not save his bacon. He, therefore, in his paper of Monday last, begs pardon of the Ministry, in what he does the manner most likely, to insure success: that is to say, by abueing, as he thinks, the Radicals generally, and particularly me, whom he calls their ". Corwe. "pheus." What an unlucky name for Mr. Walter! How dangerous for an illiterate man to affect to be learned! "The "Corypheus," says a French writer on the Grecian Theatre; "The Corypheus, that is to say, "the principal person who con-" duoted the Chorus, came for-" ward at the head of the rest; "in whose name he spoke. "whether in giving useful. "advice or salutary instruc-. "tions; whether to maintain " the cause of innocence and " virtue, to be the depository friends, that the Times news " of secrets, or to punish a paper has been working like a "mockery of religion, or, the Tark for these last four mouths, "short, to perform in all there in close conjunction with the "characters at one and the

".ashe, time: indead; (propettly: "skeiking the Chorus was the PROPLE OF MIDDESTON! " Konset man of the Drama, and "the Corypheus was the lead-".er of the Chorus" *-Thank you; Mr. Walter! The Radicals certainly deserve this lotty eulogium; and, as your compliment far exceeds my deserts at present, I will, by doubte ditigence in the Radical cause, endeavour to bring those deserts up to the standard of the compliment.

* "Le Correbée, c'est à dire, la " principale personne qui conduisoit le "Chœur, entre dans l'action à la tête "des autres, au nom desquelles elle " prit la parele, soit pour donner d'n-" tilee ceasells ou de salataires instruc-" tiens; soit pour prendre le pirti de "Inhosence et de la vertu; soft pour " en d'le depositaire des secrets, et le "vezgeur de la religion meprisée, soit "enth pour soutenir tous ces charac-"tères ensemble; en effet le Chœur "étoit, à proprement parler, l'honnête homme de la pièce."—Theâtre des Greec par Le P. Brumoy. Printed at Parist in 18 volumes, 1785, Nell J. pede 108.

My FRIENDS.

The letter which I addressed to you last week respecting Edward Harboard, has brought me a letter, containing an extract from the will of Lord Vernon, the father-in-law of this Harboard. The writer of the letter, which letter I do not insert at full length only because it is too true; and because the greater the truth the greater The writer of the letter tells me that he has seen this Lord's will and codicils, in the Prerogative Court; and that the codicil number seven, bearing date the 22d August, 1812, contains the following most " constitutional" and anti-radical bequest:

" I, George Venables, Lord " Vernon, de give and bequeath " unto my son-in-law, the Hon. " Edward Harboard; a sum not. " exceeding 5,000l. towards the purchase of a seat in Parlia-" ment."

This is a specimen of the thure of that fitmous thing which' a the ! envy of surrounding tions and the admiration of " the world!" This Lord Vernon was a Whig! This was one [well to keep his sapey letter to of the "constitutional" gentlet himself; and, at any rate, you men. One of those that tay have mained, by your upright that no reform is necessary; and and manly conduct in other busithat every thing is as well as it ness, information sufficient to can be. Only observe to what make you hesitate in fature bea pass a man must have come fore you believe to be a "sinbefore he could have put this in core reformer's every man that These are pretty peor his will! ple to circulate bibles, and to rail against what they call blasphemy. He was possibly upon his death-bed when this was written. This bequest was made, you will perceive, in a document, which began with the words: "IN THE NAME " OF GOD. AMEN!" So that here were the horrible words, expressing a bequest to be expended in accomplishing a corrupt purpose, and in effecting a gross and infamous violation of those laws, of which the testator was one of the guardians: here was this thing done under a most solemn invocation of the name of God!

But, again, I say blessed be the good little Queen, who has ,done so many good things for us, and who amongst her other of this thing coming to light.

pretends to be such.

I.am. Your faithful friend, WM. COBBETT.

OF THE AGE."

Amongst great numbers of very pleasing incidents which have occurred since the arrival of her Majesty, the Queen, there have been some of a contrary sharacter. Amongst these are the daily transactions at Bowstreet, in consequence of hissings, hootings, greanings, and peltings of august personages going to or seming from that august assembly who have exhibited such exemplary attention to the evidence of Majocchi. Demont. and Berbara Krantz; and one of whom discovered such, an amiableness; ofgood deeds, has been the cause disposition, as even to claim the honour of an acquaintance with Edward Harboard will pro- Mr. Powell. These hostings, bably begin to think by this hissings, and grownings, have time, that he would have done been employed, it seems, by way

obf salutation to divers Noble | that one of the eyes of the great personnes; and especially, ac- Captain of the Age was actucording to the Bow-street ac-ally closed up with mud on count, to the Duke of York, the Marquis of Anglesea, and Duke of Wellington, commonly called the 'a great Captain of the Age." Some time ago, a man, or rather a radical, I suppose, was committed to jail for a month for assaulting and insulting this noble person. And now it ap--pears that whole lots of men, or rather radicals, have been taken up and committed, or held to bail, some for saluting with hisses and greans, the Duke of ... York, the Marquis of Anglesea, ound the great Captain; and some for pelting them with mud, as they were going from - the House of Peers.

To talk of law with regard . to what passes near a spot where footways are stopped up and : barricadoes put across the streets and people forcibly prevented - from passing along the highways. To talk of law, in such a case, would be nonsense; else I should beg leave to observe, to the Mugistrates at Bowstreet, that it is no breach of the law, to hiss or groan in the open street. To fling mud is tain can look with envy to the indeed a different matter; and profound humility with which it is perfectly distressing to hear, the poor creatures on the Con-

Tuesday evening last. It appears that all one side of his face was bedaubed; but that one eye was actually closed with the uliginous matter, coming, probably, from the hand of a radical!

I know not what it is that has caused the radical resentment to move in this particular direction. but certain it is that the great Captain has been a favorite object of that resentment. However, if he have not the love of the radicals, he has his fair portion of the fruit of the sweat of their brows. Doubtless, he amply deserves all he gets; but a man that gets so much may easily console himself under circumstances like those abovementioned. It has been said that prophets are not honoured in their own country; and surely great Captains, great as they may be, need not break their hearts, if they have to submit to a similar fate; especially when they consider how fat a trade their's is, compared to that of a prophet. If the great Cap-

tinent bow to military chiefs, if the exhortation of our Bishops he should, at the same time, and priests were not enough, to look at the other side of the guard our hearts against " all picture, and see how scanty, compared with his, is the pay of military commanders. .The book of Peerage, in recording the feats of this great Captain, says, that a " due measure " of gratitude for his services " could not have been rendered " him. but the nation did it's " best." From the modesty of this observation, we can be at no loss to guess at the pen from which it dropt. Not it's best. for the nation might have given up all it's revenues to this consummate Captain!

When we look at these things and then turn to the face covered, and the eye closed up with need, the contrast is not less singular than it is distressing. Vote upon vote of thanks by the Lords and by the Commens: vote upon vote of money and estates; title upon title till the bare enumeration of the titles all up a long and broad entire page of a book; and after all this to see the mud come slap up against the face, and to close up the eye in spite of a guard object of the Meeting was of horse-soldiers, and in spite of stated by the requisitionists, to another guard of mounted po- he to take into consideration lice: to behold this is enough, the propriety of petitioning the

" the pomps and vanities of this " wicked world."

SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

This gentleman is coming out again with his wonder working arts.' In 1817 he advertised his first exhibition at the ! Free-Masons' Tavern, after having once already " retired from " Public life." The Signor is now come forth in what he calls his Ministerial capacity, having tried his legislative capacity, to the great disappointment of his foolish friends; and the greater amusement of those who 'always laughed at him. Those friends who, perhaps, are just as sincere as himself, have always insisted that he was a staunch friend to Reform. I always knew the contrary, and have always said it; and the truth of my saying the Signor has now proved.

A requisition for a County Meeting has been sent to him and his brother Sheriff. .. The

House of Commons, for a con- "this extensive County therestitutional reform in the representation of the people in parliament. The requisition or requisitions, purported to be signed by freeholders of the County; and the following is the answer which the Signor and his associate sent to the gentleman who presented the Fequisition:

"Gentlemen,-Having conrif sidered the several papers "presented to us on Monday " the 6th instant, and also others. "transmitted some days previ-"ously by Major Cartwright, " sequesting us to convene a "County Meeting, for taking "into consideration the prom priety of Petitioning House of Commons for a con-Ystitutional Reform of the Representation of the People in Farliament, we beg, in reply, to say, that fully appreciating fathe sacred right of patitioning, " we shall feel it to be a dufy to "convene a Meeting of the County Whenever we "called upon by softequinities "regularly and respectably " signed for that purpose. But " the papers delivered to us ap-" pear to have been circulated "and signed in a manner so " unusual and irregular, that " we do not feel ourselves justi-" fled in convening the great

"ROBBRT WATTHMAN. "JAMES WILLIAMS.

" Sheriff of the County of Michilarge. " Nov. 8, 1820."

This answer exhibits the Signor in his true light. Here is a shuffle; here is arrogance; here, is empty vanity; here is the true Jack in office. What does he mean by remisely andrespectably signed? The paper was signed with a pen and ink to be sure. The monds were upon paper to he sue; and without having seen them, I will pledge my life, that they were in better examiner then the Signor, without assistance, is able to out upon paper. What then does be mean by regularly signed? Did he want to have the requisition arritten apon lear paper; or upon parchment; did he want it to be stamped, or to have the great seel dangling to it? Did he went around rebbie instead of baxing the mames ract radio adt. rebus are bereig did be arent it to recemble this packets of goods, the name of the quinide and the sommetities within? Were shape any requisites deficient as to drames or shamidity of the signetums? Was it, in short, negentaries "body of the Freeholders of the names to be written ener

night that the ink might look principles; or whether it he dry in the morning ?

for the Signor. He and his as- the rest in reserve, and thus sociate, who is a member of the Bible Society, and carries on, luckily, the sister-trade of selling paper fit to make Bibles of: the Signor and this pions as- how are men at know; how activate must have respectability, tee, without daying down a rule or measure of that sespect- his associate may mean hy ability. They do not say when respectability? ther the mapactability is to be monement by the rent-roll of the thing would be of any other the isnesheder, or weekshed man, I can believe it of the against his purse. They do not Signor; it is said, though mosay whather it is to consist of deaty, is checked; and decemey money for of character; while stops the mose at it; it is reaid ther the evidences of it be to be that the Signor estually aims at featad in this and plain mealing, a merconvention selvens of the or in: Brafficking in smuggled seats in Parliament for the City geeds, and in making a some of London! This refusal, then, promise for the offence by w to call a Meeting for Reform, better, so much political print is a declaration on his partitles. ciple for so much remission of he is weathy of the friendship fine. They do not may whather of the enemies of that meathe evidence of respectability ture. We shall see him play he to commit of having and pretty tricks; but he will play sulling tip the astal thir and them very awitwardly. It will open manuer, or of carrying on be an exhibition like that of the a specied of traffick little above Am attempting to inditate the that of common sharpers. They blandishments of the Spaniel: do not sur whether the signs of and I should not wonder if the respectability are to be sought fruit of the attempt were litefor in men's coming forward and rally the same. Certain it is plainly stating their political that the Signor's expectation

best evinced by letting out But, segularity is not sufficient half a word at a time, keeping carrying on a sont of " cutting and ticketing trade" in polities. In the absence of all rais. all fixed principle, all standard. are the freeholders of Middlesex to know, what the Signer, and

It is said, and incredible as

toeracy of the City will never trust him; he is now distrusted by the real friends of Reform and at the end of his efforts he will find nobody to support him. but the few low place-hunting things that now draggle along at his heels. The Signor, wrapped up in his own matchless vanity, does not perceive, that the public mind is upon the expansion in the City of London: as well as elsewhere. He does not see, that scores of young men are crowding forward to though him from his stool. His vanity keeps him always in the same sweln state, and he imagines that every thing around . bitn is stationary. He does not perseive, that, though the traces of his pen; though never danghill still remains, he cannot did capital letter, point, semiremain to be the cock of that colon, or comma, make its apdaughill. He is, in short, like pearance amidst the signs of his all other men of intolerable erudition: I could excuse the vanity, stultified by his own opinion of his superior talent and wisdom.

Though it is man's first duty to know himself, to few learning. Nay, till he had acmen is, it given faithfully and tually tried it, I could excess cheerfully to perform that duty. him for thinking himself quali-But, when events; when ex- fied to render his country serperience; when the public vice in parliament, where God voice; when undeniable facts, knows, a man, even a modest urged upon us by every one we man, might expect to meet few

will be disappointed. The Aris-, hear; when any, and especially when all of these combined. have taught us to know ourselves, we are surely inexcusable if we still wilfelly and obstinately persist in this almost criminal ignorance. I could excase the Signer, applauded as he used to be at Common Councils and Common Halis. There was, indeed, some little contrivance; some little tricking made use of to insure these plaudits: but, no matter; he got them; and I could excuse him for clapping his hands together, turning about him as he spoke, acting the orater, and thinking he was one. I could excute him, though mever did sense or grammar follow the for daring to attempt to draw up resolutions, petitions and addresses; for the Solomons of the city thought him a miracle of

the tongue. But, after having tried it : after having sitten in parliament for two or three sessions; after having been there while those most important subiects were discussed, the cash payment and the new libel bills; after having sitten there while these interesting subjects were agitated, and while one would have thought it was impossible for a tongue to have been still. if that tongue had connection with either brain or heart; after this, after having spent the time of a whole parliament without making any other use of the powers given him by the Livery than that of franking his bills for bandannas and shawls: after this admonition from experience, from feeling, if he had had any resolution of the Signor is very feeling; from the universal voice; from those coughings his beat. He knows nothing within doors and those groan- of the matter; and my advice is ings and sliakes of the head that he never attempt to have without doors; after all this, any thing to do with it again. is it not an instance of most His experience in Parliament shocking vanity, of obstinate ought to have taught him that and wilful ignorance of self, the corruptions and malversato entertain a wish again to tions in the municipal body to become a member of parlia- which he belongs, and of which ment; again to run the gauntlet corruptions and malversations through coughings, groanings, there is no lack: his experience in and laughings, that ought to Parliament ought to have taught drive a man to the shores of the him that, at home, in the city,

superiors either with the pen or island, and send him, like the herd of swine, headleng into the sea?

> However, we have at present, to look at the Signor as a Sheriff. We have seen him begin his office in precisely the manner that I should have expected. Let us mark his pro-Should he do any thing gress. praiseworthy I shall be very glad; and, as an earnest of my good-will towards him, I will now press upon him one piece of advice.

The Signor, I hear, expresses his determination not to let his politics interfere or intermix themselves with his duties as Sheriff. This is nonsense, to be sure, as applied to the above case of the requisition; but the Politics are out of laudable.

that he is in office. to begin on any associate to attempt to ment. itravel beyond it. The Signor has, I dare say, too tender a applied to our famous City-Oraconscience to endeavour to make tor, took its rise from his memee of his office, of Sheriff for the marriele exhibition at the Freepurpose of securing a seat in mesons Tavern, in 1813, when Parliament: if he had not, it he had the modesty to issue his might be necessary again to as summons to "the nobility and .sure.him, as I may meet head teem went I as mid. erus. sively do, that the endeavour himself in the chair, to form an would be attended by defeat union for Reform, upon "modeand mortification.

to himself. It was his duty, as Signor's surprising powers. Sheriff, to call a County Meet-

if he would honestly undertake ling, upon a regulation of freeit, he would find plenty of em- halders, without any comments ployment for the rest of his life on their degrees of respectabi-I exhort him, therefore, now lity, as he chooses to call it. He has not performed this duty. heartily, and resolutely to cleaned He, has insulted the fresholders the fifth away from around his who sent the requisition; and own door; to endeavour to he must not be surprised if inkeep that apot clean, and never solence draws forth chastise-

The appellation of Signor, as " rate triennial principles." He If the Signor should, amongst found only about a score or two his other feelings; for he is a of citizens, and the motiens for great man for feeling things; an audience. Upon this occahe never says that he thinks any sion the following placard was thing: if the Signor should feel issued. I republish it for the becoffeeded at any thing that I have notited the public, who will this said here, let him take the blame acquire a sort of foretaste of the

tiffcation he exclusively devotes Fea. his surprising talents, that he the seasons

net accustomed to sound his the beauty of the Constitution. of Hogerdemain, he for eclipses ledge of what it is: Von Katterfelte:

MAGNOR WAITHMAN. | means of his nine-lived block " The wonder-working Sign cat: so the wonter-working Sign nor Waithman has the honour nor Waithman has attained to to inform the Whig Nobility and still higher excellence in Ket-Country Contlemen of the terfally's own profession, by United Hingdom, to whose gra- means of his immortal black!

" Signer Waithman has alhas opened his exhibitions for teady given a few specimens of his genitte, by demonstrating " Signer-Waithman, although | that the best made of displaying. own, praise, would yet merit is by keeping it out of sight; of their conture, did he not mount manifesting its simplicity, is by them that, by devoting more representing it as complex; and than twenty years of his life to of inspiring an ardour on its: the study of the sublime science behalf, by suppressing a know-

that profound scholar and simpet . " But the master piece of the inhaitable master of the art, Signor Waithman, whereon her desires to found a name, which, "If; like Namis, who per- by the amateurs of sounderfemiled his wontiers in legisla- working, shall never be forgottions by the divine inspirings of ten, is this, that over the bettle the nymph Egeria; or, like at a tavern, where a sumptudus Secrates, who, by communing dinner is served up at a grain with an interpresed familiar, new a-head, white a people besteme an oracle of wisdom; taxed with paupers are with. the great Katterfelfol establish- out, any dinner at all; he ed a superior reputation by proves to the conviction of anyauditory who are already of the the great beneat he has derived violation of that 'birth-right.'

and recommend a corrupt prac- be preferred. tice in contempt and defiance ciple of free government!

culiar pleasure in acknowledging almost forgotten name, dike

same mind, that Union in pur- from the instructions of his imsuit of Parliamentary Reform, mortal black Fox. A Fox eag. is best promoted by starting, in dowed with miraculous powers direct opposition to Five Hun- of speech; and he is more pardred Thousand intelligent men ticularly thankful for that in-. who have already petitioned for struction touching the impor-Annual Farliaments, which are tant point of parliamentary duthe sencient constitution, and ration; because, on the only: the birth-right of Englishmen, occasion where the said black. a proposition in favour of Tri- fox was ever known to have ERNIAL Parliaments, which are publicly given, in debate, his: not the Constitution, and, when opinion on that question, its first introduced, were an three- amounted to an opinion at all: vation, a treasonable stab to for he declared that having the Comtitution, and a wicked compared his country's condition, while respectively under: "And the Signor Waithman annual, triennial, or under, in a Common Council, to the in teptennial parliaments, he was finite delight of his hearers, can, unable to decide which in his; by his wonder-working art, and opinion was best; wherefore in a mode the most uncommon, Signor Waithman, provide of lay down conclusions in direct such a guide, logically inform: contradiction to his premises, that triennial parliaments use to:

"Signor Waithman, having so of a secred, fundamental prin- exclusively profited by his iin. timate communion with the "Signor Waitiman has a per immortal black fox, whose

the straw to the Country Gentlemen wand; and if the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will adopt his astonishing discovery for reviving the fraternal societies of United Englighmon. United Scotchmen. United Britons and United Irishmen, in one grand United Phalanx of Reformers, pulling two different ways and calling for two different objects, the said Whig Noblemen and Country Gentlemen will, in the opinion of the said Signor Waithman be soon called into power, by the united voice of those who are disgusted by their past, and offended by their present conduct!

sinking | does not pretend that his yard man, is caught at by his almost wand, like Ithuriel's spear, is forgotten party. flatters himself endued with every inherent, that, if the Whig Noblemen and quality for proving by it's touch, of the whether goods are truly Eng-, United Kingdom will rally round lish, or of Foreign manufacture. this Triennial Banner, planted yet he is bold to say, that it hath. at his Linen Draper's shop in it a certain mystical property. Fleet Street, being a silken three- which in an eminent manner ilcoloured kerchief on a yard- lustrates the doctrine he wishes. to inculcate; for as three feet, make that true English measure. one yard, so three yearly sessions make that most desirable, English measure of legislative duration one triennial parliament.

> "Glory be to the memory of the Legislators of 1694!"

VICTORY!

I have just a moment to say. and I can hardly write the words, I so tremble with joy: I have only a moment to say, that THE BILL IS THROWN Thus are the Queen's and People's enemies deteated! "Although Signor Waithman innocence, which was before acbisowindered by all housest mourie. All cities, towns, and villabei now produithed to the world by emphiso likenithate. -- P would the Medical of Lards a theory! Where how Castlefelistic. Wellinghin. are now the base conspirators? Short and Jenillason now fiel! Shall they as anyonished? - All congregations will doubt This is a glotious day for the letts; pray for the Queen of people, who have, at last, be- Sunday! mith to lity the ax to the root of Corruption. This victory has been atchieved by the people with the Queen at their head. God Almighty, I repeat it, sent ber here, expressly for our good; and, I hope, that we shaft profit from the blessing. Huminations will begin on Monday. I hear.-

A new and complete edition of the PEEP AT THE PEERS, with numerous additions, will be ready in a few days.

the Lateira est 480

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PEOPLE OF DOVER.

On the triumph of the Queen and the People over persecus tion, carried on by the means of conspiracy, subornation and penjury.

London, Nov. 16, 1820.

My FRIENDS,

The victory, which has just been gained by the Queen and object of the present letter. the people over a combination, which I address to you, the Peo-I verily believe, ever before obtaining of this victory you been witnessed upon the face have acted a most distinguished of the attention of all mankind, best. We have all done well;

Ministers, we have had to record. The black annals of the last three years and a half exhibit a sufficiency of failure on the part of the people to obtain justice and to avoid oppression. Let it not be said, therefore, that we were intensible of victory when obtained; and especially when that victory has been obtained by means the most fair and honourable.

To record this victory is the the parallel of which has not, ple of Dover, because, in the of the earth, is a subject worthy part. We have all done our It is a subject for the mind of but you have taken the lead the moralist and the philosopher, amongst well doers; and it is as well as for that of the politi- probable that if people less cian. At any rate it ought to zealous, less active, less prompt be recorded, and some of the and less resolute than you had leading circumstances apper- been placed on the frontier; taining to it ought to be pre- had been placed as an advance served in such a manner as for guard to the nation, the result them to reach the eyes and ears might have been very different of future generations. Disgraces from that which I have now to enough, proceeding from the record, and of which our chilwickedness and folly of our dren's children will not only

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read with pride, but of which against the Queen, and enactthey will feel the beneficial effects; for, great and glorious as the victory is in itself considered. it is comparatively nothing when we compare it with all its mass of consequences.

We have before had seasons of rejoicing; or, at least, they were called by that name; but what were those compared to the present occasion! They have always been a mixture of constraint, affectation and hypocrisy. The present rejoicings come from the heart; and they have their foundation in sound reason as well as in generous feeling.

Before, however, I proceed to an account of the manner in which the public joy has shewn itself, I ought to go back a little, in order to trace the proceedings of the House of Lords down to the moment when the Bill of Pains and Penaifies was finally cast out. You will bear in mind, that this was no trial in the usual meaning of the BILL DO NOW PASS." Tiese word trial. There was no in- were the words: "these were dictment; no charges regularly the six awful words, which made; no warrant or commit after all the Minsters had not ment; no jurors impannelled; the courage to pronounce. All but merely a Bill, brought into these stages in the passing of a the House of Lords by the Mi- Bill are so many periods, most

ing her degradation and divorce. This monstrous Bill was brought in and read a first time. Then, before it was read a second time Counsel were to be heard and witnesses were to be extenined in older to convince the members as to the propriety or impropriety of pating the Bill. After these Counsel and these witnesses had been heard, the Bill came to the second reading; and, as you have been before informed, there were for this second reading. a hundred and twenty-three Lords, and ninety-five Lords against it. But, there was still a third reading, and on Friday the tenth of November. the question was taken on this third reading, when the former majority of twenty-eight was reduced to nine! There was yet snother stage after this for, after a Bill has been read even a third time, the question is put upon it: "THAT" THIS misters, stating certain things wisely contrived to give time

the possibility of laws being pected the Bill to pass, seeing passed unadvisedly. Very sa- that no man, who can avoid it, lutary indeed are those regula- is ever the spectator of his own tions; and never more salutary than apon the present occasion; Ministers, therefore, when they for. I think it is very evident, went into the House on that day that if the Bill had passed, this were manifestly resolved to pass country would have been inwolved in universal uproar and confusion. Great, however, was the indiscretion in pushing the Bill on to a third reading. This clearly shewed, that, up to the "Bill do NOW pase." Jenkinvery mement of the time when son, Lord Liverpool, the very the words "that this Bill do "new pase;" up to this very Bill, put the question," that this moment the Ministers were resolved to carry the Bill. But when that moment arrived they were afraid to pronounce those words. That they intended to means that this Bill be put an carry the Bill; that they had this intention previous to the meeting of the House that day, is very certain; for Castlereagh place, every Bill, which has been whole of that day's sitting; and he had not been confident that the Bill would pass. His duty

for reflection, and to prevent it is very evident that he exdiscommutare and disgrace. The the Bill. There were only the six words to pronounce: then had still their majority of nines. but their courage failed them; and instead of saying " that this man who had brought in the " Bill do pass THIS BAY "SIX MONTHS ?" which question was carried without a division, and which decision end to for ever, for, you will observe, that when a promogation of the parliament takes was in one of the galleries brought in and not passed, is amongst the Lords, during the wholly put an end to, and has no more an existence than if the wan will easily believe that he paper had never been blurred would not have been there, if with it. Indeed, motions of this sort are very frequently made. and this is regarded as a mild did not call him there; nor, in- and genteel manner of getting deed, was it very becoming for rid of a Bill, or of throwing it him to be sitting amongst the out, as it is more commonly call-Lords. But there he was; and ed. The six mentile never come,

months, the Bill is totally annihilated. But, the singularity in this case is, that the motion for the six months was made after the Bill had been read a third time, a thing which has never hadpened before, I believe, within, the recollection of the oldest man living! This fact is very material as showing the pertinacity of the Ministers; their deep reluctance to give way; and the magnitude of the fears by which they were finally actuated.

Perhaps the world never witnessed anxiety so great as that which prevailed in this immense metropolis at the hour of which I am speaking. It could scarcely have been greater if every one of this more than a million some friend hanging upon the verdict of a jury who had retired to their room. The House of Peers, notwithstanding all its guards of Horse and Foot Soldiers and of mounted Police;

because, by the prorogation, People at a distance, had which takes place before the thousands upon thousands of arrival of the end of the six men (and, it being the middle of the day, when the labouring classes were at work, the assembly commisted chiefly of the higher part of the middle classes). waiting for the result with a degree of eagerness, and in a solemnity of silence which it is impossible to describe.

At this time the Queen herself was in one of the private rooms adjoining the chamber where the Peers sit. Her carriage and that of Mr. Alderman Wood were waiting on the outside. Her Majesty, firm and resolved to the last, had sent in a declaration of her resolution to act in conformity to the determination expressed in the close of her letter to the King. This declaration had been committed to LORD DACRE; and his lordship. of individuals had had the life of holding it up in his hand, announced the receipt of it to the House; but, he was instantly interrupted by Lord Liverpool; who rose and made his motion for the destruction of the Bill! This is a very material circumnotwithstanding the double bar- stance. Perhaps it was this very ricadoes across the streets lead-notification from Lord Dacre. ing to it; notwithstanding all which, after all, prevented the manner of presentions and all Bill from passing; and that, manner of means to keep the thus, the country has been pra-

served from confusion by the cheers, the sound of which gallant conduct of her Majesty could not but reach the ears of herself.

The words "THIS DAY MONTHS" were' no sooner pronounced by Lord Liverpool than the gentlemen connected with the press, and others below the bar, involuntarily uttered a shout, which soon reaching the outside of the of the goodness of her heart, and house, drew forth, from the immense assemblage there, shout- her enemies. ing, waiving of hats, and such can be much more easily imagined than described: a cry of "the Queen! the Queen!" was soldiers flew to their arms. The drums beat a royal salute. The regular

those who had stationed them there for their protection.

It was observed, that her Majesty appeared deeply affected: and that her eyes were full of tears when she got into her This was perfectly carriage. It was at once a mark natural. of the falsehood and cruelty of

The news flew like lightning demonstrations of gladness as into every part of the metropolis. It was now growing late in the afternoon; but the firing of guns and of cannons soon spread heard. In a few minutes, the the intelligence, and bid the victorious people prepare for a celebration of their Soldiers presented their muskets triumph. The innumerable stage with uncommon noise, and with coaches which leave London joy beaming on their counte- every evening for all parts of nances. In the midst of this the Kingdom, carried white flags scene, her Majesty, accompanied on their tops with bunches of by her zealous and ever-con- laurel; while the horses, and stant friend, LADY ANN HAMIL- the whips of the coachmen, TON, came out and entered her were decorated with bows and carriage amidst the enthusiastic streamers of white ribband. congratulations and benedictions Away went the tidings, carryof the people, who accompanied ing pleasure to every honest her a considerable part of the heart in the kingdom, and coway towards her house at Ham- vering with mourning the sermersmith. The soldiers, having vile wretches who thought piled their arms, took off their that their own security, their hats and caps, and gave three own power to continue to fatten

the destruction of one whom direction of FREELING the ilthey knew to be innocent of luminator-general, used to sally the crimes laid to her charge, and whom they also knew to be the devoted victim of the fonlest and most atrocious conspiracy that ever existed against human being.

Short as the time for preparation was, the whole of London and all its surrounding villages were in a blaze of illumination on that very night, Friday, the memorable tenth of November. On the Saturday night, on the next Monday night, and even on the Tuesday night, this immense space, cent villages, a bundred square miles, nearly the whole of it covered with buildings and very small gardens, exhibited such a scene of rejoicing as I believe never was before witnessed in this world. The scene did not

on the people depended upon of the Post Office, under the forth. An illumination took place, a grand display by the public offices and by the Aristocracy; by Bankers, Army Clothiers and Contractors of all sorts; Collectors, Supervisors, and the whole herd that live upon the system, and especially upon the harvest of war. The people used to collect in groups. stare at the brilliant lamps, half grumble at the cause of the seeming joy, and go home, again in sulky silence to their own dark dwellings.

Very different indeed was the containing, with the circumja- thing now. The streets were filled with people. It was dirt up to one's ancles on the horse road, and on the causeways it was uncommonly dirty. spite of this women as well as men crowded every street. The whole population seemed to be at all resemble those that I have on foot; and not a face could I formerly witnessed. Upon those see that had not a smile upon it. occasions it was the Govern- You could read in people's ment that gave the word to faces the gladness of their hearts. rejoice. The principal streets There was this characteristic, used to be grandly illuminated. above all things worthy of at-The mass of the people felt very tention, namely, the demonlittle interest in the thing. The strations of joy were confined order was issued. Three or to the labouring classes; or four hundred people in the pay rather, the want of demonthe Aristocracy, the Bankers, the Contractors, and the taxeaters of every description,-All the immense streets, occupied by tradesmen; for, instance, that seven miles in length from Whitechapel to the end of Edgeware-road, where the houses are wholly occupied by the industrious classes. Then again from the extremity of Bishopsgate-street down over London Bridge and through the Borough to Kennington; then again from Billingsgate to Kensington down Holborn-hill along Fleet-street and the Strand, up the Haymarket and along Piccadilly; in all these streets, consisting of the habitations of shop-keepers, artizans, and manufacturers, and which streets, together with the large cross streets going out of them, far exceed a hundred miles in length: in all these, it was one blaze of illumination, and one continued cry of triumph.-The narrow streets and alleys occupied by journeymen and labourers, scarcely yielded to those of their employers in point of brilliancy or in any demonstration expressive of sa-The base and disappointed enemies of the Queen lonly in the streets, but also up

strations of joy was confined to and of the people do, in the agonies of their malignity, denominate the rejoicers a rabble. The very best answer that can be given to this is, that, perhaps, the greatest brilliancy, and the strongest demonstrations of joy were displayed in the Highstreet of the Borough of Southwark, which is well known to all England as the place of abode of the most substantial and most independent tradesmen that this island, so abundant in substantial tradesmen, can boast of. Here, the stupid Ministers, in this very street those Ministers might, if they would, have learnt the opinions of the people and the resolution of the people, long ago.

There was another characteristic in this rejoicing, well worthy of notice, namely, that, upon this occasion, an infinite number of guns, pistols, blunderbusses and cannons kept firing during the whole of the night, from sun set nearly till day light. There could not be less than about fifty thousand pieces of fire arms, constantly at work. To the noise of these was added that of squibs, crackers, rockets, fire-balls and all sorts of fire-works, so that not in the air there was continual!" Duke Smithson:" they sufspace.

truly curious to observe how anick was the communication of the feeling, and of the sense of victory. On the very evening of the defeat of our enemies all the labourers in the gardens and on the roads were seen with laurel leaves in their hats. tened on the bridles of their cart horses. children were all decorated with laurel, with white ribbands white ribbands. Every creato him. The coaches and other haughty and insolent tribes, marks of joy. The good hu-

light blazing over this immense fered their houses to remain unmolested. It was truly a curious The means were, in short contrast to come from the joyous proportioned to the end. It was scenes in Southwark, Bishopa-THE PEOPLE's TRIUMPH gate-street, Cheapside, Fleetbyer those who had so long street and the Strand. Holborn triumphed over them. It was and Oxford-street; to come from these to the gloomy mansions liust mentioned, and to see groups of big ugly men standing about them, apparently with bludgeons and dirks under their clothes, and at the same time to hear the noise of the feet of troopers' horses parading and with sprigs of laurel fas- backwards and forwards before the doors; to see this; to view The boys and this contrast, was certainly not a thing to make a man in love with the office of Lord Chanor with paper in imitation of cellor, Secretary of State, or "Great Captain of the age." ture seemed fully sensible, that The labourer who had gone a share of the victory belonged without his dinner and supper, and who was to go dinnerless fine carriages of the arrogant, the next day, and to sit without a candle for a week in order to excited a sneer as they passed garnish his window with candles along undecorated with the and with festoons of ribbands and laurels: such a labourer's mour of the people was ex-situation ought to have been an cessive. They suffered the Lord object of envy with the inha-Chancellor, the Duke of Wel- bitant of any great and gloomy lington, Castlereagh, the Duke mansion on the tenth, eleventh, of Northumberland, whom Can- or thirteenth of November. ning, in one of his poems, calls The India-house, the Stock-

far greater part of the law- to place herself under the proyers; the Bishops here and there tection of Englishmen: to me put in a saving candle. I saw these were a sufficient guaranbut one Parson's house, and that tee, that no fickleness, no tihad just one candle in it. Again midity would ever come to ren-I say it was the people's tri- der the efforts of the people useumph. Never were there seen less. I was very sure that the in this world greater zeal. woman who could do those greater prudence at the same things was never to be frighttime, and greater generosity ened by big wigs and big talk. than the people have displayed Her Majesty has proved herself upon this occasion; and never to be the bravest woman of was the display of these quali- whom we have ever heard. Her ties more completely and abun-life, whenever it shall be well dantly rewarded. Yet, all these and truly written, will be one of exertions on the part of the the most interesting as well as people might have failed, if the most useful works that ever they had had a fickle or timid were given to the world. She person to struggle for. They has all that is good, as well as had just the contrary. To me, all that is great in her characwho, of course, knew before but ter. It is singular enough that very little of the qualities of her the pretended friends of Royalty Majesty; having never even should seek her destruction: heard of her astonishing travels when she has done more to susand voyages: to me the prompt tain the character of Royalty departure from St. Omers, the than all the Kings and Queens, descending of the pier at Calais the records of whom fill the at midnight, and the dashing pages of our history. through the mud to get on board of an English packet- rejoicings in the Metropolis, I boat, in order to avoid the must now not omit to say somefangs of a Bourbon police; the thing of the country. As far as putting to sea with a head wind, the news of the second reading and beating through the surf to of the Bill had reached, an opiget on shore at Dover; and nion had been conceived that the

exchange, the BANK; all | those memorable words upon were in deep gloom. Also the her landing, that she had come

Having given a sketch of the

Bill would finally pass the House of belle, that is to say, pulling of Lords; and, therefore, petitions were every where getting ready to be presented to the House of Commons against the Bill, when it should come to that House. Demonstrations of disbeen every where brought forth by the second reading of the Bill. When the news reached Malton, the belis were muffled, and telled in that state as a sign of sorrow. In other places, some of the leading enemies of the Queen were burnt in efficy; and in every direction were heard the sounds of disappointment and indignation.

Happily for the tranquillity of the country, this edious intelligence was soon succeeded by the news of the throwing out of the Bill. The night coaches, as they went on from town to town, left the news behind them. The people every where were waked from their beds by the ringing of the bells in the churches. The watchmen in the several towns, where the coaches arrived in the night, cried the intelligence, along with the hour of the night. The churches

the ropes of all the bells at once, and, thereby, making a tremendous noise. The people in many of the towns got up in the middle of the night, running about to their neighbours content and of resentment had houses, shaking hands with one another, as if by way of motival congratulation, upon an escape from some dreadful calamity! Disgrace enough we have had to endure from the wickedness and folly of these Ministers: but here is something wipes away every stain from England. Here is something that wines away even the stain of the transaction relative to Marshal Ney, Here is something that will tell the world that a want of justice and gene 🎠 resity never did, and never will, pelong to the people of this kingdom.

It is impossible to relate, within my compass, a thousandth part of the interesting facts brought back to the Metropolis from the different parts of the kingdom. No wonder that the town of Dover, which had given the Italian wretches so suitable a reception, should have been were universelly taken power- filled with joy and exultation tion of by the ringers, who per- at her Majesty's victory. Prompt formed what is called the firing like the royal object of their

indicious as prompt, instantly insulting the Queen even under called a meeting to consider of an address of congratulation to her Majesty; an example that will be followed by the whole kingdom. Her Majesty has, it seems, named this as the first address to be presented to her; which is perfectly proper in itself, and is another mark of her Majesty's grateful disposition, as well as of the soundness of her judgment. Doubtless the inhabitants of any other English town, or Scotch town, would, under similar circumstances, have acted the same gallant part; but it so happened that you were placed in the front of the battle, and most nobly have you discharged your duty. The reception given to the scretches, when they arrived at Dover. The detestation of them and of their employers, so strongly evinced by you, was one of the causes of that series flected such dishonour on the of apirited acts on the part of the people; which acts, and we are indebted to the people which alone, have preserved her of Dover, who are, therefore. Majesty from destruction. If the entitled to the intended mark of scretches had been suffered to her Majesty's favour. The Atest foot in Ragiand without mo- torney-General, in his calumnilestation, whole bands of them one and savey opening speech, would have followed, and said, enceringly, that these might, probably, have been seen " good people,"

protection, the people of Dover, | walking the streets in London. our very moses. But, you having given the alarm, having taught the nation how to deal with such wretches, the intelligence having reached the Metropolis, even London could not afford a hole to hide them in in safety. Their employers were compelled to take them in disguise to another sea-port; pack them off back to the continent; and, at last, to steal them into the country by night; bring them up the Thames under the cover of darkness, and in boats with muffled oars : and. to crown the whole, put them into a species of fortress, guarded by soldiers on the land side. and by a gun-boat on the side of the water! For this, the most disgraceful part of the whole of this disgraceful transaction; for this, which, of itself, has from the beginning, reenemies of the Queen; for this whem the

"Dover rioters" had so mal-| Countess de Montholon and her treated, would in a very short time be able to walk the streets of London in perfect safety. This is not the first time that the devil has over-reached even a lawyer. They have not walk ed the streets yet; and the difficulty now is, I should imagine, how they are to be got off, either by water or by land.

The Attorney-General and Castlereagh may talk as long as they please about a " Dover " riot." I always called it, and I still call it, a most meritorious It discovered great and just indignation at the thought of bringing a set of wretches here to be paid and fed by us as the wages of perjury to take away the life, or at least, the reputation and happiness of a long persecuted and most injured woman, and that woman a Queen, whom it was our duty to defend and protect against all enemies whatever. Castlereagh, sweet soul, even reproached you for a want of hospitality! Hospitality in mouth! Hospitality in him, who seized on General Gourgaud, and sent him out of the country " English hospitality," who took the most ready, effectual drove back from our shores the and sensible means of prevent-

baby; though her landing was necessary to preserve the life of that baby, which actually died in consequence of her not being permitted to land! Hospitality from him who is the upholder of that Alien Act, which is the impoverisher of our sea-ports and which makes our once free country little better than a prison at large. When these gentlemen were talking about English hospitality, as violated by the people at Dover; they forgot the English hospitality, which they had shewn to England's own Queen! They forgot that they had refused her a vessel to come in, a house to reside in, and had sent a messenger to tell her that she should be prosecuted if she dared to set her foot on English ground! This was their way of shewing English hospitality. But, tender souls, they could cry out that there was a want of hospitality when you set your faces against a set of wretches brought to swear away the life or character of your Queen.

It will be long remembered as a signal proof of the discernment, as well as of the justice of by force! Hospitality from him, the people of Dover, that they

ing this flagrant scandal, now | The people said, we do not want brought upon the government and aristocracy of the country. They went the right way to work. They and those who followed their example actually drove the vermin into the sea and out of the country. This was enough to convince any men of common sense and common honesty, that the nation would not endure the intended sacrifice of the Queen. our pretty gentlemen must needs go on. They had succeeded so They had had often before. green bags and secret committees and dungeon bills and gagging bills; they had so long gone on with success, that they must needs bring their witnesses back again, though they actually saw that the country was literally too hot to hold them. They will have their reward, this time. Never will they again bring forth a green bag; and, indeed, never will they be able to carry on the affairs of this country. They would not listen to the warning voice of the people; they would bring in a Bill to protect their morals, in spite of the people themselves. They would compel the people to receive lessons of morality from honours.—At Tunbridge Wells

to hear it. We have got our Queen and we like her. We know her to be a virtuous woman. We want no investigations: we have had enough of them already. But the pretty gentlemen said, you shall have an investigation, for the good of your morals; and we will have Barbara Krantz here and Powell's friend Demont, to teach you morality. I have always said that this was the foolishest set of men that God ever suffered to let live; and who will now dispute the truth of the assertion?

But, I must return to the news from the country, which has most amply repaid the metropolis for the sounds of joy which it has sent forth. To mention particular places would, indeed. be endless; but here and there incidents have taken place which I cannot pass over. At Hereford, they burnt Restelli in effigy, accompanied with a large green bag, after both had hung a suitable time upon a gallows, and had been carried round the city gallows in a procession. The next night, Majocchi and Demont received the same Demont and Barbara Krantz, they made a bonfire consisting

of trees, two chaldrons of coals. a cord of wood, five hundred faggots and a barrel of pitch. Mr. Pittuck and Mr. Smith distributed three butts of porter amongst the country people. which they drank while the bondro was burning. -- At Guildford, in Surrey, they had a grand illumination on Monday, and during the time, a large green bag. filled with combustibles. and baving written on it "MILAN "FILTH." was suspended across the street, and when set on fire. the contents exploded in ten thousand fragments, amidst the acclamations of the spectators,---At Farringdon, in Berkshire, as soon as the news arrived on Saturday morning, several respectable inhabitants ran towards the church, set the bells a ringing, hoisted a white flag on the tower, while guns were fired and music was played in the streets. At night the inhahitants paradetl the town with white favours in their hats. All business was at an end. The Reverend Mr. Cleobury ordered the flag to be taken down, but the Church-noardens refused to an illumination, a public dianer,

of four waggon leads of trunks | Southampton, the people were waked on Saturday morning by the ringing of bells. At Portsmouth and Portees all was joy and illumination. At the village of Botley, which consists almost wholly of poor labourers, there was an iffumination on Monday night; but Baker, the Parson. whom I have rendered so famous, under the name of the " Botley Parson," had got the key of the church in his possession, and would not give it up to let the people ring the bells. and the church-wardens had not the spirit to force it from him. At Stratford the illuminations were singularly beautiful. Bath, at Briefol, in all that part of England, villages as well as towns, the illuminations and rejoicings were universal. At York the stage coach that brought the news, 'had herses taken from it. though very heavily laden, was drawn through the streets of the city by the people, preceded by banners and music, amidst crewds singing "God save the Queen!"-AtSudbury, the bells continued ringing during the whole day; at night there were comply. Wednesday was fixed for | tousies, into one of which were thrown the Milly green bug and and a will. At Winchester and the Courter newspaper. With

Exeter the rejoicing was such | having been informed that as must have charmed the Bi- "there is an intention, by shop of that see .- At Bury St. Edmunds the bells rang throughout the day. A green bag, 'hung with black, was carried about the streets accompanied with flags and music.-" At Morthyr Tydfyl, in Gla-" morganshire, the greatest " iron-foundry, or perhaps ma-"nufactory, of any description "in the United Kingdom, the " news of the defeat of the Bill a arrived on Sunday. The "greatest joy was expressed by " the inhabitants; but the more "open demonstrations of joy "were suspended till next day, when the worthy iron-master " Mr. Crawshay, set his can-" nons rearing, and the greatest "exultations were displayed by " all the inhabitants of that po-"putous place. Preparations were immediately commenced " for a splendid illumination for "Wednesday."-At Coventry there was an illumination more general and brilliant than ever Mayor and Magistrates to pre-

" some of the inhabitants, to " ifluminate this evening; but "as, on the present occasion, " difference of opinion prevails. " which may induce several per-" sons to refrain from illuminat-"ing: the Mayor and Magis-" trates, at the same time they " are desirous that the public " may demonstrate their 'feel-"ings in a way that shall not "have the effect of violations " the public peace, recom-"mend that the intention of. "illuminating may be relin-" quished; which recommenda-" tion, if acted upon, will, they " trust, insure the general har-" mony of the inhabitants.---"Signed W. PERKINS, Mayor." -I wonder whether this Mayor and Magistrates thought that this was a good opportunity of giving the nation a specimen of their literary talente; 'or whether they were afraid that the Queen, being left so destitute by 'the Government, ' would was before known in that city, want a share of their public in spite of a grand effort of the charities! This curious production however, completely hiled vent it. These wise men is of its intended effect; for; with sued, on the 14th, a hand-bill, the exception of the houses of the of which the following is a copy: Church Parsons, the Receiver-"The Mayor and Magistrates general of Taxes, the Barrack-

master, and a late shoemaker. now Adjutant of Local Militia, there was not a house in the city unilluminated. In this city there were roasted between thirty and forty sheep and an ox. the meat of all which was given to the poor. This was done at the expence of the more opulent inhabitants, and not, as has been represented, by Lord Hood's generosity! The bells of all the churches had been ringing intervals during three days. The malice of the Queen's enemies, who are also the people's enemies, did every thing they could to provoke the people to some breach of the peace, but in this they did not succeed.-I shall conclude this account; which is a mere partial sketch, with noticing what has taken place at Cambridge. where a parcel of people, calling themselves Magistrates, met on Saturday, and issued a sort of proclamation, forbidding bonfires; discharging of guns. and so forth. This is signed by WORDSWORTH, Vice-Chancellor; John C. Mortlock, Mayor: and six others. Of this Mortlock, I shall, I think, be able to give some account another time: Wordsworth is, of course, a Parson. At dark, however, on called "gentlemen." It is a

Monday, some people came out with shouts of " Queen! Queen! " light up." They were attacked by between six and eight hundred students, with the cry of " King! King! for ever." The students arranged themselves into close column, and after five hours of attack and defence drove their assailants from the ground. This, you will observe, is their own account of the matter. "Lions are not " painters," said the lion to the man in the fable, or else men would not be drawn in the attitude of defeating lions. That the people beat these blackguards who begin to suck in public property from their infancy; that the people beat these place-hunting vagabonds. is clear enough: for they themselves confess that there was an illumination: and all that they brag of is, that " not a " dozen windows were broken " in the town, though so many " of the houses were not light-It is very clear that virtue, a love of justice and humanity triumphed at Cambridge over these "gownsmen," as they, call themselves. But, pray pay attention to this.-This is a seminary for fellows

breeding place of Parsons. with a pen make a blabber or a: Mark this well. Here are those fellows only that oppose themselves to those natural and laudable expressions of loyalty which are bursting forth from all the rest of the nation. This. is very well worthy of attention. The Parsons have, from the very beginning, been extremely active against her Ma-I have given two instances in the foregoing pages of the conduct of Parsons upon the present occasion; and I shall be very much obliged to friends in the country, who will send me an account (postage paid) of Parsons, or others, who make themselves busy in still endervouring to calumniate and degrade the Consort of his Maiesty.

I have now to record, with a degree of pain which the reader will more easily conceive than I describe, some occurrences of a extremely distressing. The houses in which the Courier, the Morning Post, and the New Times are printed, had all their windows completely demolished on Friday night, the 10th instant; it would be useless for me to shed tears upon the occasion; because the reader

cry. Some consolation, however, may agise to the proprie-, tors of those newspapers, when; they reflect that their glass will probably be extremely well paid for: and that, as to her Majesty, they have already taken vengeance on her, if they can be satisfied with having attered against her with impunity the foulest and most atrocidus alanders ever put in print against any human being. I have no hesitation in saying, that every man of them has been guilty of high treason against ber; and if they were indicted instead: of the placard man, Fletches, the presecution would be for more just and would sayswer a much better purpose. It is satonishing to me, that her Majesty's Law Officers have never thought of indicting these men. .. This is a system which centret be suffered to continue. Law that operates; only on one side, is a very inadequate sort of law, For my part I pewer like to meddle, with law; but, if her Majesty's Law Officers negitot much longer to de their duty with regard to these publications, I mean myself to: wy whether there be any law in could not see the tears, not can I this country which warrants lumnies against the Queen, that addresses himself, particuwhen the slightest of those ca- larly of latter days, to the lumnies, if issued against the hearts of his readers : King or against Castlereugh, would cause a man's family to "quis of Buckingham passed be ruined and himself possibly "through Aylesbury, on his road to be banished and certainly to " to Stowe. Though not in his be half killed by imprisonment. " own carriage the people dis-It never ought to be forgotten "covered him. that the Morning Post explicitly " concourse collected round the declared, that, if the Queen "carriage, whilst he was changcould not be got rid of as a "ing horses, and addressed to criminal, she ought to be sacri- " his Lordship the loudest reficed as a martyr. It is not the "proaches on the conspicuous place of the King's Attorney "part he has thought it his and Solicitor General to pro- "duty to take against her Masecute these things; but of the " jesty during the late inquiry. Queen's own Law Officers, "The post-boys, when mounted, Give us a free press, and we "were dragged from their want no law to interfere; but, " horses; and at last, with the that part of the press which is in " greatest difficulty his Lordship favour of the Queen, is liable to " was rescued from his perilous prosecution; and I can see no "situation, and was permitted reason, why that part of it "to proceed to Stowe amidst which is against her, should not "the most deafening groans." be prosecuted.

The Courier relates two very a little with the noble Marquis, unpleasant occurrences; one who seems to have fallen in with regard to the Marquis of with a set of true-born radicals! Buckingham, and the other Not to travel in his own carwith regard to the Bishop of riage, and yet to be discovered Landaff. Both of them being by the people, must have been of a very metanchely east, and truly mortifying! And in Buckmy talent not lying in the way | inghamshire, too! To be placed of the pathetic, I shall give in a state of peril; and to be them in the words of the Cou- rescuel, probably by vile me-

them in issuing continual ca-| rier himself, who is a gentleman

" On Saturday last the Mar-An immense I must stop here to condole

chanic hands! The rabble-rout | tion of those favours. rascals surely could not know, that it was the descendant of "Rollo, first Duke of Normandy." that they were thus handling! Tfey could not know. that it was a Plantagenet whose person they were placing in a state of peril! Alas! All respect for antiquity is disappearing! all veneration for noble blood. in spite of Sidmouth's circular and the Six Acts. Even these. and Sidmouth's letter to the Manchester Magistrates and Yeomanry into the bargain, and a hundred other efforts made within the last three years and a balf, not forgetting the examples made in the Old Bailey in May last: in spite of all these endeavours to keep alive in the bosoms of the people their reverence for noble families; in "every window, besides very spite of all these, we see even in Bucking hamshire this noble Marquis actually mobbed and put in peril. Perhaps these people did not know any thing about the numerous favours which we Englishmen have received at the hands of the noble Marquis " remitting attention to his late and his family, during the last " painful duties in the House of ave and thirty years. I have "Lords. He ventured out, hownot room here, nor a fiftieth part " ever, to expostulate with the of the room, which would be "rioters, and in endeavouring necessary for a bare enumera- " to apprehend one of the most

or other I may give it. In the mean time, I beg the noble Marquis to be graciously pleased to accept of my hearty condolence; and in a spirit of condolence equally ardent I now turn to the Right Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Landaff, of whose misadventure the Courier speaks in the following most appropriate and most feeling terms:

"On Monday evening last, " a most disgraceful outrage " was committed at Ewelme (in "the county of Oxford), by a " furious rabble collected to-" gether for the purpose of com-" pelling the inhabitants to illu-" minate their houses. " the Rectory-House not lighted " up, they proceeded with the " utmost fary to demolish almost " much damaging other parts " of the premises. The BISHOP " OF LLANDAFF was then occu-" pying the house, and had but " just come off his journey con-" siderably indisposed in con-" sequence of his long and un-

"active of the party, his Lord-, the old Bishop of Winchester " and exposed to great personal " danger. Such is the return " which the misguided and in-" fatuated populace of a seques-" tered village have made to " their faithful pastor, who, for " seven years, has lived as much " among them as his other du-" ties would admit, in the exer-"cise of continued benevolence " to them and to their families. " and earnestly endeavouring to " befriend them in every way. " A more striking instance can " hardly be given of political " delusion and popular phrenzy, " overpowering in the minds of "men every feeling of grati-" tude, veneration and affection " towards their best friends and honour not to believe me. " benefactors."

This narrative is distressing enough, to be sure. That the people of a little obscure village should pitch upon a Bishop, and actually pelt him with stones, and this in England, too, is really something so outrageous, as to become almost ridiculous. I am sure I

"ship was most grossly ill- laid his hands upon my head. "treated, pelted with stones, though I was a sturdy boy, I am sure I looked upon him as something more than a man Every man of my age will say that, in the country places in England, this was the sort of feeling generally entertained towards Bishops; and yet we find this transaction take place in a sequestered village in England. Now, what can have been the cause of this wonderful change? Wonderful it really is. were disposed to philosophise, upon the subject, I could, I think, account for this change; and, sincerely and from the bottom of my heart, I lament the change; though I dare say the Courier will do me the people to be happy in society, there must be authority lodged somewhere; but the obedience to that authority must be yielded cheerfully and not from fear: it must be given, not taken by force. Our government has been going gradually on, taking away the natural Magistracu of the country; that which cbwas more than twenty years tained obedience through love old before I looked upon a Bi- rather than through terror. shop as any thing short of a Parsons have become Magisbeing of a superior order. When trates; Nabobs have become

Bankers, Loan-jobbers, Stock- classes, as he impudently still iebbers have become Magis-continues to denominate the The sword has been mass of the people. seen gleaming every where, then, has vice gone on increasing The people see that the rehance, which was formetly placed on their affections, is time then for Mr. Vansittart and now placed only on their fears. Lord Gambier to cease to trum-The knowledge of this is a challenge to every drop of blood in their hearts; and thus it is that they come, by degrees, to tions as the Old Times, the Rehave a dislike to every thing bearing the name of authority.

That man must understand very little indeed of human nature, who does not perceive, that there can be no real harm in a community where the superior is served and loved by the inferior. I have not the smallest doubt that the Bishop has, as is here related, been in the constant exercise of benevolence towards these villages and their families; but, alas! he has not perceived, perhaps. that he might give them the whole of the income of his thousandth part of the love. ed without giving them a single tion. farthing. The Courier ascribes

Tax gatherers, ship to the vices of the lower with the increase of schools and the increase of bibles? It is pet forth the effects of their bible societies. The Conrier ascribes this vice to such publicapublican, the Deist, and similar productions. I could almost pledge my life that not one of the villages of Ewelme ever heard of the two latter (I never heard of the third till within this month), and scarcely a man of them can have the means of reading the former. I should think it miraculous if there were to be found a Republican in the whole county of Oxford, and, if you exclude the Colleges of the University, I should think that half a score of Deists are more than the county contains. In the Colleges there may be plen-Risboprick, without gaining a ty, and they in general are fools who delight in being singular, which, under another state of having neither learning nor gethings, he would have possess- nius whereby to obtain distinc-

What silly stuff, then, is it to this violence towards his lord- ascribe this assault upon the Bishop to a cause like this! The whole of these acts which have immediate cause, was, doubtless, the Bishop's well known conduct, as to the case of her Majesty, the Queen; but, still, this cause was too feeble to have produced such an effect had there not been a more powerful and longer existing The truth is, the cause before. have been greatly changed, in respect of their opinions as to their superiors in The change has been rank. going on from the beginning of the French revolutionary war to this day. In 1793, the nation stood in need of gentle treatment. Conciliation ought always to have been the object of the government. It never was, and it never has been, up to the present hour. We have been under a government of lawyers; and lawyers know of no principle to govern by but that of fear; know of no remedy but that of punishment.

Not to dwell longer upon this subject at present, suffice it to say, that if the whole of the acts of parliament, passed for the purpose of imposing new restraints upon the people, for that of inflicting new punishments upon them, and for that of di-

been passed, since the year 1798 were collected together, they would form a volume in balk, nearly equal to the bible. And. alas! What is the fruit of them all? Why the Courier tells us, to pass more acts, of a similar description, only of greater severity! Happily. things are now come to that. pass, that a different system must be adopted. It is impossible for the present system to continue for any length of time. We are, at last, brought by this system into a state of incessant: heart-burning; and it is something worse than nonsected to. pretend that this arises from the. writings of this man, or the writings of that man. press does .somethinin: and in: cases where a mementary impulse is the object, it does a great deal; but there must be something more than the press to preduce such a great change. in the habits of thinking of a whole people. However, even as far as the press gaes, is it good policy to endeayour to rule by the principle of fear? Was ever man yet, converted from his errors in religion by shutting him up in a dungeon for the half minishing their liberties; if the of his probable life time, and by

was ever the asperity of the politician's pen weakened by making him survey the inside of a prison during some of the most precious years of his life? Who shall say that a man has not even a right to seek to destroy that, which has unfeelingly sought to destroy him? Again l say, it is worse than nonsense to talk of bringing back the people to their former habits of cheerful obedience by further assiults upon the press. A censorship; and we can go no further without one; a censorship would only add to the evil. would only render the people more callous and the government more hated. The cause of-her Majesty, for instance, though well calculated deeply to interest the feelings of us all, and to rouse us into action in ber defence, would have wanted its best ally, if it had found us in a state of cheerful and willing obedience. But, it found us ready to compare our own case with that of her Majesty. We had not forgotten green bass, secret committees, bills to imprison ment without bringing them to triat; and bills to banish man: for what was called Sodi- which, however, would have

the treating of him like a felon; to make the mass of the nation believe, that these affected those only who put their thoughts upon paper, and who were promihent in calling for a reform of the parliament But, these efforts, though apparently successful, were very far from being successful in reality. The mass of the nation could not believe, that it was either sedition or blesphemy to endeavour to put an end to bribery and corruption. practise cruelty by the aid of delusion may answer the purpose for a while; but in the end delusion must fail: there must be a government by the means of willing obedience, which is freedom; or, there must be a government simply on the principle of fear, which is despotism. We are now vibrating between the two: we must soon fall into one or the other; and I am pretty certain, that it will not be into the latter.

This misadventure of the Bishop, who, by the bye, would have done better to light up his windows than to endeavour to apprehend one of the pelters; this misadventure has drawn me into a sort of digression, tion. Great paint were taken served as no very unsuitables

the glorious victory of the Queen cially on the subject of rumoured changes in the ministry. This last, however, is a subject of such great importance, that it would require much more time than I have at and again in Portman-street. present, to do any thing like instice to it. I shall, therefore, reserve it for my next Register, to be discussed in the form of a letter addressed to Lord Grey, who has acted so truly noble a part upon this occasion, and without whom there can be no new ministry that would not be too centemptible to be worthy of notice.

In the mean while the Queen's law advisers are, I dare say, as brav as the Devil in a high wind. The object of Mr. Brougham will be, and is, to turn the present triumph to his own account; and there is no doubt that it might be made to turn greatly to his advantage. But, what is

preface to the remaining part of it, looking at the rest over his my letter, in which I intended shoulder, and crying, " Reep of. to offer you some observations greedy guts!" He may have a on the consequences to which fairish slice of the cake if he will; but he wants it all to himself. may probably lead, and espe- He would fain begin to bite; he is licking his lips, and his mouth waters; but he wants to have it, as well as to eat it. was this cormorant-like ambition that foiled him at St. Omers.

It is supposed, and I think it is very likely, that he is the agent of those persons called Whigs, for bringing them into power by means of her Maiestv. Nothing would be more practicable than this, provided due consideration were had with regard to the people. But, in the first place, Mr. Brougham is an unfortunate agent. His extreme eagerness to get on himself weighs heavily against him: the public have no confidence in him, and it is impossible that the Queen can have much. However, there is one obstacle. which must be removed before any new Ministry can be formed, that would have a chance of to be expected is, that he will duration; and that is, the refuwant to make too much of it. sal of the Whig Lords to give He has got, as he imagines, the us Reform of Parliament of cake in his hands; and he is any kind. A men so eager for minning up into a corner with place, and domination as Mr.

Brougham is, in his full gallop without a change of system. towards the end of his journey, would become helr to all the overlooks things which less eager | means of destruction prepared nersons clearly perceive. Lord Grev, who merited, upon this occasion, the largest portion of popular applause, and who is really the only man, who has any pretensions to be placed at the head of a new Ministry, left London with as much haste as did those Noble Peers, who Bill, and to all the troubles have had sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails thrown into their out of the miseries created by carriages. The newspapers of this morning (Friday) say Brougham, who sees a remedy that the people at Aylesbury Aung sheeps' heads into the Marquis of Buckingham's coach, and that the people of Watford fung entrails into that of the Earl of Bridgwater. Lord Grey had nothing to do but to shew himself to call forth the most enthusiastic applauses. He might have almost ordered the Ministers to quit their places in But of twenty-four hours. what use would this have been? he knew very well that no Ministry could carry on the government of the country upon the present system; and he saw no hope of bringing any considerable number of the boroughholders to consent to a change Brougham will be of no avail. of system. A Ministry, formed There can be no patching up

by the present set of men. Heir to all Canning's impudent declarations against reform of any kind: heir to all the sentences passed upon the Reformers who are now in dungeons, and the executors of those sentences; heirs to Peel's and turmoils which will arise that Bill. Such a man as Mr. for all dangers by a mere glance at the Criminal Code; who sees a cure for every evilin the spy system, the dungeon, the rope, and the axe: such a man is ready to dash into place and power, little caring, and, indeed, never thinking, about difficulties such as those above mentioned: but Lord Grev does think about them, and must think about them. at present safe in character at any rate; and he does not wish to arrive at the end of his life by being dragged through the kennel of odious, disgraceful and discomfited political power.

All the workings of Mr.

Law Advisers were to attempt men of this description. to make a league with the present set, the set would only be thereby rendered the more odiand the Law Advisers would participate in the odium. I should not be at all surprised, if those who wrote the answers to the people of Nottingham Preston, which answers and nigh ruined the Queen: I should not be at all surprised if they were to attempt, by obtaining a compromise with her Majesty, to into get themselves power with the present people, having made the discovery, that Castlereagh, Canning, Liverpool and the Chancellor, are very good sort of men, as they have already discovered. I am told, that Powell, Demont, Majocchi, Cuchi, and Rastelli are not indictable for perjury. I should not be at all surprised at this; but I am very certain that, by such an accession of colleagues the overthrow of the present set would only be rendered more speedy and more signal. I have so bad an opinion of lawvers as politicians that I should scarcely be sorry to see the even fools, stark fools, could without some material change

of this horrible system. If the | never again place confidence in

However, while we keep our eye upon these Law Advisers we may rest perfectly tranquil as to the result of their efforts. What they want is, to keep up the system in all it's parts, funding. taxing, gagging, spying, hanging and quartering. They would no more voluntarily give their consent to a Reform of the Parliament, to any Reform of the Parliament, than they would give their consent to pleading without a fee; or than Mr. Denman would give his consent to the putting of a stop to that everlasting cause; that perennial spring of briefs, the wonderons case of Sir Francis Burdett: which always comes on at a time when the Court is so extremely busy as to be compelled to postpone it at the end of a six hours hearing, and with regard to which case the complaisance of the Attorney General is such as passeth all understanding.

Again, I say, we, my friends, need entertain no apprehensions for the result. They may intrigue and cajole and wringle as long as they please. They never can accomplish any thing, thing take place; for, after that, that shall have any duration.

speech, to save the Queen than all her Lawyers and all her witnesses put together, fled at once from this scene of useless intrigue. He saw clearly what power he had; but he also saw that that power, great as it was, was not sufficient to enable him to encounter this hydra of difficulties, without such a change in the system, as he probably saw no hope of bringing others to agree to. This is a large and most interesting subject. question is simply this: whether the present system shall taken to pieces quietly; whether it shall be knocked to pieces in the midst of confusion. I must confess that the patience, the industry, the talent, the experience, and even the courage, necessary to accomplish the former, are such as to make a man, almost any man, turn from the task and resign himself up and take his chance in the storm. Nevertheless, I am of opinion, that the thing might be accomplished, and that, too, without the smallest risk to any of the Lawful establishments of the country. I have long ago, over things, from any set of probable and over again, stated my opi- successors. nions as to the measures that and the only cause of the si-

in this intolerable system. Lord ought to be adopted for this Grey, who did more, in his one purpose; but, in my next Regitter. I will offer such additional reasons as recent events and present circumstances suggest. If we can have a change of the Ministry, founded on a change of system, it will be our duty to petition his Majesty for such a change; but to get one set of bawling lawyers instead of another set of bawling lawyers: one set of stock-brokers instand. of another set of stock-brokers: one set of place and pensionhunters instead of another set of place and pension-hunters: to endeavour to obtain such a change as this, would not only take from the people of England all the reputation that they have now gained, but would mark them out for a race of the most complete idiots that ever drivelled out life upon the face of the earth.

> Why is it that the present men retain their places for a single day? Why is it that they retain their places so tranquilly, while sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails are hurled at their supporters? It is because nobody sees any hope of better This is the cause

seal were displayed for the redare to attempt to retain their offices? Their security in office depends entirely upon the general conviction that their successors would be no better than themselves: and this conviction is founded on the fact, that, amongst those who must naturally be looked to as their successors, the people have give us something like justice, say. I should not be much surand the Ministers would soon prised if it were Mr. Brougham see that their power was gone. who is putting off this sprig Whether this will happen or of the not; whether, with all the ex- Lawyer may imagine that he perience which they now have can, somehow or other, edge before them, any of those per- himself in with this gentleman

lence of the people as to this aim at the Ministry, will, at matter, with regard to which last, make an appeal to the they would otherwise naturally people, is more than I can say; be as active and zealous as they but I positively assert, that withhave been in the cause of her out such an appeal all their in-Majesty the Queen. If similar trigues and all their tricks will prove to be vanity and vexation moval of the Ministers, does of the spirit; and, for my own any man believe that they would part, I solemnly declare that I should think a change of Ministry, without a material change of the system, an evil, of which every man ought to endeavour to rid the country as speedily as possible.

In conclusion I will just observe, that efforts are making to produce an opinion that the son of Mrs. Hunn (who they say found nobody even to talk of is about to return) is a friend of a change of system. Let suc- the Queen! What may be the cessors appear with an offer to precise object of this I cannot old actress. sons who may be thought to who so candidly uttered praises

assisted in keeping her name tions of Peel's Bill, which will out of the Liturgy, and while he enable us to laugh to scorn all positively asserted that he ne- the puns and jests of Camping. ver would consent to the placing and all the impudent and " raof her name in that Liturgy! However, be in no apprehension from any intrigue of this sort. The sixth of June last can never be recalled. The sheeps' heads and bullocks' entrails have been served out; and Peel's Bill. whether it stand or whether it be repealed, will give us a Reform in spite of the lawvers, the Hanoverian Legation. the Holy Alliance, the Pope and Me Devil! Be, therefore, in no apprehension. Let us carry addresses of congratulation to her Majesty; let us place her name in the kalendar as well as in the Liturgy; let the incomparable good she has done us never be absent from our minds; let us love, cherish, honour and obey her; let us be to her a tower of strength; let her security and happiness be as dear pears to be getting out of huto us as our own; and let us mour; but he should consider,

on her Majesty, after having patiently wait for the operabid" botheration of Brougham! I am.

> Your faithful friend. WM. COBBETT.

SIGNOR WAITHMAN.

This famous personage is figuring away in grand style. There is a correspondence between him and Major Cartwright, which I have this moment seen, but which I have not time now to insert. this in my next, and in the mean. time, I strongly recommend-to the Signor, to make some schoolmaster a part of his household establishment. The Signor ap-

ticularly necessary to every opein defence of his conduct. . It is if those excuses be mere evasions they only serve to do mischief to the inventor.

THE QUEEN.

. It is stated from authority, that her. Majesty intends to go to St. Paul's on Sunday the 96th inst. to return thanks to God for her deliverance from the machinations of her foes; and,

that to keep himself cool is par- | certainly thanks to Ged never were more loudly demanded. rator, and especially to one who If I were to write a prayer for has to some forward as a writer the occasion it should contain an enumeration of all the most convery easy for a man to find ex- spicuous of the fiends that have cuses for not doing that which been at work against her. On he has the power as well as the that day every man and woman inclination to refuse to do; but in England onght to join her Majesty in her thanksgiving; and ought to pray most fervently for blessings upon her head. Her Majesty, like the people of England, has been beset by spice; and we ought always to recollect, that her cause is our cause, and that she can experience no sorrow for which we ought not to feel.

WER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS! ment is honourable to the Queen. TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WOTTON-UNDER-EDGE, IN THE COUNTY OF GLOUCESTER.

I cordically thank the inhabitants of Wotton-under-Edge and its vicinity, in the county of Gloucester, for this loval and affectionate address.

Every day, during which the recent parade of a judicial proceeding against the Queen has been exhibited in the House of Lords, has contributed to elevate me more and more in the good opinion of the people, and to make me more and more an object of popular regard. Every day, during which the evidence was adduced, either to support or to refute the accusations of my enemies, the people had clearer views of the injustice and the inhumanity which I had experienced, and of that malicious conspiracy, of which I had for so many years been the meditated victim. The increased conviction which the people felt of the accumulated wrongs that I had experienced, continually added not only tenderness to their generous sympathies, but fire to their honest indignation. Hence I have derived the most powerful support even from the malignity of my persecutors. My enemies have multiplied my friends, and the attempt to effect my degradation has raised me to a height of power, as far as power depends upon the affections of the people, such as no sovereign ever laws are not shadowy illusions, pessessed before. If the high but the most substantial realities, excitement of the public senti- without the protection of which

it must, from the pure sources from which it originates, reflect no less honour upon the people. In the people it springs from those principles which must ennoble the nature of man-the principles of truth, of justice. and humanity.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BO-ROUGH AND PARISH OF DINGWALL, IN THE COUNTY OF ROSS. .

I cordially thank the inhabitants of the ancient royal borough of Dingwall, in the countv of Ross, for this loval and affectionate address.

I feel a pride in reflecting that the sympathy, which vibrates on almost every nerve in the inhabitants of South, has become so general in North Britain, that it has penetrated into the remote Highlands. The inhabitants of the parish of Dingwall, in the midst of their high mountains. or their deep valleys, have reverberated the same sentiments that have been so generally expressed in the streets and squares of the metropolis.

This generalised sentiment, this burst of public sympathy in all parts of the island, has by some been termed delusion. But. if it be delusion, then may truth and justice, then may constitutional rights, equal laws, and general liberty, be termed delusions. And if these are delusions, then are the best realities of civilised man a mere phantom of the brain, or a vain mockery of the imagination. But equal

to protect every subject in the realm, whether high or low, have received a daring stab in the aggression on my honour

and my rights.

The Scottish Highlanders. who have been exemplary for their devotional habits, distinguished by their piety, and above all, remarkable for their fidelity, must have been shocked by the late outrage upon all decency, which has been exhibited in the investigation before the House of Lords. The recent conduct of that House has incurred the condemnation of the good and wise of all parties, and in all nations.

FROM THE WEAVERS OF BASTER AND WESTER PORTSBOURGH, EDINBURGH.

I have much satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Incorporation of Weavers of Easter and Wester Portsbourgh, Edinburgh.

The unconstitutional proceeding by which my enemies expected to accomplish my degradation, has had no other effect than that of humiliating themselves in the opinion of the peo-They have sunk almost beneath contempt, while their injustice and oppression have contributed to raise me to a height of popular regard, where, if I were ambitious, I might be giddy with the view.

The perfidy which I have experienced in some of my domestics and attendants has been, in a great measure, defeated by the sincere attachment and in-

all social enjoyments are inse-experience of treachery in a few Those laws which ought has not made me distrust the fidelity of the many; and certainly among those on whose steady attachment my experience teaches me that I ought to place a firm reliance, I shalf ever reckon several of the natives of Caledonia.

> FROM THE MEMBERS BELONGING TO THE DIPPERENT BENEFIT SOCIETIES WITHIN THE TOWN OF SWANSEA. IN THE COUNTY OF GLAMORGAN.

I cordially thank the members belonging to the different Benefit Societies within the town of Swansea, for this loyal and affectionate address. The principle of benevolence on which these societies are founded has my unfeigned approbation. That principle is more than any other calculated to promote the happiness of mankind; and I rejoice to see it not only so generally diffused, but united with such a love of liberty as augurs the most glorious results. Mankind cannot be under the direction of two better principles than the spirit of benevolence and the genius of liberty.

FROM THE BRASS-FOUNDERS BRAZLERS, OF LONDON, AND ITS VICINITY.

I gratefully accept this loval and affectionate address from the brase-founders and braziers.

If my adversaries had been studiously desirous of promoting their own downfall, they could not have taken more ef cacious methods to effect that purpose than by the inveterate bostility which they have shown to the honour and dignity of the flexible integrity of others. The Queen. Men may differ about

ideas to the name, but all men condemn oppression and hate

the oppressor.

I have now been greeted, and that not formally or ceremoniously, but warmly and affectionately, by industry in almost all its modes of existence and diversities of operation. There is hardly a branch of trade of which the members have not united to animate my spirits by their tender sympathy, and to cheer me by their promises of support in every peril and adversity. If praise be most acceptable from the praiseworthy, no sovereign can be more highly extolled than by the affectionate approbation and the heartfelt homage of the most industrious part of the community. The strong marks of popular regard which I have experienced will. I hope, teach sovereigns that the best way to secure the affections of their subjects is to be, not only in profession, but in principle, a friend vitude. There is usually a recito the liberties of the people. H sovereigns would study to promote those liberties, they would receive that genuine unsophisticated homage, in the consciousness of which they would find more unfeigned satisfaction and more certain security than in accumulated fortresses or in bristling bayonets. The members of the Holy Allisafeguard, and their affection as liberty is in danger, let not its

liberty, or may attach different; the most certain means of preserving every existing dynasty.

> FROM THE COOPERS OF LONDON AND ITS ENVIRONS.

> I gratefully receive this loyal and affectionate address from the Coopers of London and its

vicinity.

The industrious classes of the metropolis contain few courtiers: they comprehend what is better. a mass of honest men. ceive the spontaneous, unbought homage of honest men, is more. honourable to any sovereign than all the incense of flattery, and all the protestations of servility from myriads of false hearts and venal lips. It is sincerity alone that impresses a value upon the professions of friendship, and the encomiums of lovalty.

A free government will not last long without virtue in the people. Where liberty does not find virtue, it will either make it or degenerate into serprocating agency between virtue and liberty, and liberty and virtue. Virtue favours growth and secures the permanence of liberty, while liberty is genial to the production of virtue and to the diffusion of all its fair progeny, in the persons of truth, of justice, and humanity over the land. To make people slaves to vice in any of its forms, ance might have spared them- is to incapacitate them for liberselves the pain of uniting for ty. The slave of sensuality will the preservation of their power, sell his birth-right, even though if they had been sufficiently that birth-right be liberty, ragood or wise to consider the ther than forego the gratificaliberty of the people as their tion of a present appetite. When

defence be entrusted to the inebriate or the voluptuary; for they will often be under the dominion of a passion stronger than that of liberty; and where any domineering vice can enter, tyranny will always sooner or later make its way.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE CITY OF ABREDEEN AND ITS VICINITY.

I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate tribute of regard from the householders and inhabitants of the City of Aber-

deen and its vicinity.

Innocence is open, ingenuous, unreserved. It dreads no disclosure, and it practices no concealments. It speaks what it thinks. It has no occasion to have recourse to equivocations and double meanings. These are the refuge of falsehood and the artifices of fraud. My conduct has, I trust, through my whole life, displayed the characteristics of that innocence. which is featless because it has no detection to dread. Innocence, when it is accompanied with great natural frankness, or habitual artleseness, may at times, be so open as to appear indiscreet to those whom malevolence has taught to be wary, and perfidy to be circumspect. But it is only guile that seeks the obscurations of artifice, as the serpent lurks beneath the leaves.

PROM THE ENHABIRANTS OF MAID-STONE, APP. LTS VLGINIST.

I return my unfeigned thanks to the male and female inhabitants of Maidstone and its vicinity for this loyal and affectionate address.

I am happy to find my conduct so warmly approved, and my right so strenuously maintained by such an enlightened

part of the nation.

In vindicating my rights, I am defending those of the people: the sanctity of a free constitution is invaded if a single individual is oppressed. A free constitution protects individual right as a part of the general liberty; but were the true principles of the constitution ever so glaringly outraged as in that measure which is now pending in the House of Lords?

BROM THE INHABIZANTS OF BRECON. IN THE PRINCIPALITY OF WALES.

I, am unfeignedly obliged to the inhabitants of Brecon, in the principality of Wales, for this loval and affectionate address.

A vivid sympathy with the sufferings of a woman, and that woman a Queen, must be ever congenial with the feelings of those who are descended from the ancient Britons. If my accumulated persecutions did not strongly interest their sensibility, every spark of chivalrous ardour must be extinguished in their breasts.

As the same power which menaces the degradation of the Queen, threatens slavery to the nation, it is an additional argument with all who value liberty strenuously to sesert the rights, and to vindicate the junocence of the Queen. The liberties of the nation are, at this mament: blended into a strict union with the rights of the Queen. One must perish with the other.

the Queen is degraded, the peo- rmm run master and warneds or ple will cease to be free.

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF ST. MARY-LE-BOW, IN THE COUNTY OF MID-

The inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary-le-Bow, in the county of Middlesex, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

The present conspiracy against my honour and my life, though not yet stripped of all its disguise, and laid open to the broad day, has been sufficiently developed to show that in the malice by which it was primarily instigated, in the turpitude of the different agents by whom it has been conducted, in the gigantic magnitude of the whole, and the intricate ramification of the details, it was never equalled in the annals of barbarity, or moral infamy.

The conduct of my enemies has justly excited the indignation of the country. They see the whole force of the administration arrayed for the destruction of a single female. behold tyranny making use of the proceeding, to rear its head above the law and the constitution, and to threaten the security of every individual.

The way to peace is often through a path of thorns. The numerous persecutions which I have experienced, and which have infested so large a portion of my life, may perhaps, under the direction of a kind Providence, be preparatory to an interval of more undisturbed tranquillity than I have hitherto enjo**ved**.

THE CORPORATION OF CORDWAINER OF THE TOWN OF HAVERPORDWEST.

.. The Master and Wardens of the ancient Corporation of Cordwainers, with the other artisame of the town and county of Haverfordwest, are entitled to my grateful acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate. Address.

The public press in this country tends to give unity to public sentiment to a degree that never existed before in any country in the world. The facilities of communication between all parts of the kingdom are now so great, that the sentiment which the public prints diffuse through the metropolis to-day, is in the course of the morrow or the next day transmitted to almost every part of England, and in less than a week to the most remote parts of Britain. The metropolis is the centre which soon vibrates the sentiment with something like the rapidity of electricity to the extremities: and the sentiment at the extremities, or in any of the less rembte parts is, in the same manner, vibrated back upon the metropolis. The state, though composed of so many remote and disjointed parts, is thus, ima high degree, individuated: and means are thus afforded for ascertaining, with great certainty, on any subject of general interest or importance, the genuine sentiments and the real feelings of the people.

If the sentiments and feelings of the people, on any one subiject, were ever more clearly manifested than on another, it

has been on the treatment of i the Queen: That treatment has, from one end of the kingdom to the other, and with individual exceptions then were ever found upon any topic of controversy, been unreservedly and universally reprobated. When the public feeling on this subject has been to general and so strong, so much one and indivisible, as to be incapable to be mistaken, to what cause are we to ascribe the fact, that the Government did not yield to such an indubitable expression of the national wish, and relinquish the tyrannical promeding? Towhat other pause can we ascribe the signal opposition between the general will and the will of the Government but that the Government itself is in the hands of a faction, and that the interest of that faction is dinmetrically apposite to the public interest?

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF BURY ST. EDWONDS AND ITS VICINITY.

I am much gratified by this loyal and affectionate Address from the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmonds and its vicinity.

My enemies have always been unbounded in their professions of loyalty and religion.

-1. 1 2 3 3 (Mar.)

They have usually monopolized so large a portion of these good qualities among themselves. that they have left none to their neighbours. They have hence made no scruples of venting accusations of treason or of scenticism against all who presume to think differently from themselves. They have forgotten that the best test of loyalty is obedience to the laws: and that the better part of refigion is charity. If my enemies will apply this true test, either of. loyalty or religion, to their own conduct, they will, perhaps. find that they have formed an erroneous estimate of themselves; and that even the Queen and her friends may not be totally wanting in those viltues with which they are so plenteously furnished.

No one who has taken a large and comprehensive view of the happiness or the minery that prevails in the different conditions of life, would desire power except as the means of enlarging his sphere of usefulness. Happiness by no means the paper with the successive aspirings of ambition, but still it may be increased by the additions which we are able to make to the stock of private or of public felicity.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTE

oL. 37 .--- No. 19.1

TO

EARL GREY.

On the talked-of change of Ministry.

London, Nov. 22, 1620.

My Lord.

my political life, that an oppor-spised, abhorred, by the great tunity has been offered your body of the people, sitting as Lordship for totally destroying quietly and as securely in their the power of the Pitt-faction and places, as if they were comsystem; that accursed system, pletely triumphant and were under which the country has, at universally respected and belast, arrived at a state of misery, loved. Yet, this spectacle is such as no country on earth ever not more curious, than the thing before was placed in. Petitions is natural, when we come to seme parts of the kingdom, pray-been, and are, at work, to pro-

a Letter, addressed to your Lordship, whom, I am convinced, the public voice places at the head of these who could possibly be thought of as fit to manage the nation's affairs, and to save the country from a turbulent revolution.

It is a curious spectacle to This is the fourth time, within behold a ministry, defeated, deare new again preparing, in consider the causes that have ing the king to dismiss his pre-duce it. Those who wish to cent ministers. My opinion is, supplant the ministers, and, at that those petitions will be un- the same time, wish to walk in availing. Nay, my opinion is, their steps, allege the enormous that, as things now stand, it is power of the Crown as the cause. the duty of the people to ab- That these persons are foolish stain from presenting, or en- or insincere, must be evident couraging such petitions; the now at any rate, when that reasons for which opinion it is power has been stretched to its my intention now to lay before ulmost, and yet has peen inthe public, under the form of sufficient to accomplish an ob-

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ject, as dear, if not dearer, to ing of those loan-jobbers and the Crown, than any one ever stock-holders, whose projects aimed at since the kingly office was known in England. With the lands. That blister, Mr. such striking proof of the contrary before their eyes, such persons must be insincere, when they ascribe the present security of the ministers to the power of the Crown. Indeed, they know better: they know the real causes; but, they try to disguise them from themselves, thinking that they thereby disguise them from others.

In order to come at a fair view of those causes, we must go back to the state of things at the time of the Queen's arrival in June last. The case of her Majesty has been, and is, a matter of great importance. It must be considered as a great incident: but, still, it is no more than an incident, in the grand drama, the close of which will infallibly be the total destruction of the Pitt-system, either by gentle or violent means.

The Queen's arrival, while it did indeed create an embarrassment to the ministers, relieved them from sundry other embarrassments. It drowned the howlings of the farmers, merchants to reduce their workmen to and manufacturers; and, it put starvation. a stop, for a while, to the schem- been a very current coin. No-

aimed directly at a division of PERL's BILL, which, by the by, seems to have condemned its author to eternal silence: that blister upon the back of the country, had produced the commencement of its natural effects. The Six Acts had only tended to make the bitterness of the people more bitter; and, though the scaffold was yet streaming with blood, and the open and impudent avowal of the Spvsystem yet sounded in our ears, the people of this whole kingdom beheld that system with abhorrence. Never was there a greater error than to suppose. that those feelings were confined to a few, and those few nothing but rabble. They were the feelings of the people is general.

But, the great circumstance of all, was, that state of the currency which was produced by Mr. Peel's Bill. This measure was, and is, proceeding, with regular and unrelenting step, to produce the total ruin of all farmers and traders, and " Lovalty" has

thing has had a more glib cir- Great, therefore, as are the reeffects of this measure were too much even for "levalty" to the Queen, to which exertions endure. Accordingly we have new heard crying out for " a change of system," the very ruffans who exulted at the slaughtering of the people at · Manchester !

When I received, on the other side of the Atlantic, the newspapers, containing an account of the passing of that Bill, I hastily ran my eye over the columns to discover what wow had said upon the subject; and, I was happy to perceive. that, if the vote was unanimous, there was, at least, your opinion standing on record against it. I have not the debates now before me; bút, Í well remember the doubts you expressed, and the opinion you gave.-Whether Lord King spoke upon the subject I do not recol-'lect: but, I am sure he must have joined you in sentiment. From that moment I was satis-"fled," that, if it were yet possible to save the country from confusion by a change in the ministry, your Lordship must be at and almost at the command, of the head of the new cabinet. an upstart punster, the aristo-

It has been a pass- cently-acquired claims of your port to an immense mass of Lordship on our confidence: knavery and cruelty. But, the grateful as the nation feels for vour exertions in the cause of next after those of the whofe of the people, her Majesty cartainly owes her triumph; still. in the minds of all those, who reflect on the real causes of the nation's miseries, your conduct with regard to Mr. Peel's BMI, constitutes a stronger claim."11

It is in the matters connected with this Bill that we see the great difficulties of the comtry. How vain have proved all the hopes and expectations of the two Houses, who undrimously voted for that Bill! Could it be any thing short of ideocy, which anticipated nothing more than temporary distress from that measure? From a measure which must necessarily go on producing more and more misery for four years, and must then fix the misery for ever! This necessity was so obvious, that the dullest eyes of the most illiterate and inexperienced could perceive it; and yet, at the instance of the saucy son of froth; at the instance,

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voted their estates into the hands of loan-jobbers, stockhelders, and the other vermin. of Change Alley; while, by the same vote, they awarded min and starvation to the farmer, the tradesman, the journeyman and the labourer!

Your Lordship will not have forgotten the hopes held out by Lards Liverpool and Castleneagh at the commencement of the Banishment-Act Session. The evil was to be but tempogary, and one reason was, that there was distress in America. and that our distress arose partly out of that, and, as that would be only temperary, ours would be only temporary! took occasion instantly to show how fallacious this was; and new we find, or, at least, I know, that this American distress, as they called it, has been regularly increasing, and must become permanent. The fact is, and who, except those wise ministers, did not foresee it, the paper-money in America was reduced in quantity by Mr. Peel's Bill! Lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, and their profound colleague, Mr. Canning, will not be able to perceive how,

cracy of England unanimously Prices fell, of course; and, of course, there was less momet to lay out on English goods,--Whether the Americans will resort to a reduction of expense. to loans in time of pages, to internal direct taxes, or to a reduction of the interest of their debt, I cannot say. To one of these they must resort : and, as I love the people of America. God preserve them from the third; for, that it would, in a few years, break up the Union. I am as certain as that I am in existence. The first is hardly practicable; the second would only put off the evil day, and tend to enslave the people; and the fourth, while it is perfectly just in itself, is the only remedy free from danger. In 1816. when the "National Bank" was established with a view of giving what was called adidity to the paper-system, I, in an essay addressed to them, warned the Americans of their dan-I never met with a wellinformed man in that country, who did not lament that my advice had been rejected; and who did not anticipate the consequences that have now arrived.

This is no digression, my perhaps; but this was the fact, Lord. These matters, though

they exist on the other side of holdest man Hving shrink Trom the ocean, are closely connected with our most important concerns. They show how visionary were all those hopes which our Ministers built upon what they called "the returning " prosperity of America;" and they form an admirable illustration of the futility of all the notions that produced the meaeare, which is now grinding the landholder and all the industrions classes in this kingdom to dest.

- Here, then, my Lord, is the first obstacle to the turning out of the Ministers! What successor, who is worthy of public confidence, will undertake to carry Mr. Peel's Bill into effect? That is to say, will undertake to cause the total ruin of all farmabout for food? And yet, who is minister be, where a stock-job-

making the proposition with he other than such subnort! ! ? "I

Therefore, before any one blame you, my Lord, for not doing what some have called your " duty?" that is, standing forward to oust these Ministers: let that man declare explicitly. that he, at any rate, is ready to support you in reducing the interest of the Debt; and not! that he is ready to support your in carrying on the Pitt-System. which is, in fact, only promising? to assist in dragging you through every species of mortification1 and disgrace. It would be pretty support, indeed, 'that' your Lordship would receive! from Alexander Baring, John Maberly, Pascoe Grenfell, and David Ricardo! Some author' ers and people in trade, and to asks: " what must the pricet be, reduce the labouring part of the "where a monkey is the God?" people to banditti, prowling And I ask: what must the bold enough to propose to re- ber is "the Oracle?". Pretty duce the interest of the Debt? support, indeed, would that be That this must be done, at last, which would be given by a set I know; but, the shaffling, the of Lords and country gentles evation, the false pretences, the men, who could call in Briting? feigned candons, the miserable and Gladstaines and Rothschild cowardice that would prevail, and Ricardo and Goldsmitt to even amongst those who wish-instruct them as to the const est the measure to be adopted, t ditions, upon which they were. are quite enough to mike the in future, to hold their estates?

tion of such men, could actually never produce this conviction. pass a law, which, if it were They will never make us becarried into full effect, would lieve, that a spy-system under disinherit their completely children! The bare thought of better than a spy-system under having to encounter support like this, is enough to make a statesman, who has character any better than starvation under left, fice from Whitehall, not Mr. Vansittert; two gentlemen only to Northumberland, but, if who appear to have been formnecessary, to the ends of the ed by nature to be rivals in earth.

Here, then, in this one circumstance, there is sufficient to figure with Mr. Maberly for dater any man, who has a cha- your Chancellor of the Excheracter to lese, from becoming quer. either the head, or a member, of a new ministry. It is not for the office as well as any now, as it was forty years ago, one else. a change of men and of some . It is a great deal worse than particular measures, that are useless to attempt any change wanted, leaving the main prin- of Ministry without a resoluciples of governing, the same, tion to encounter and overcome means prepared. On the con- come, plunge it into atter conthe present system Ministers themselves; and the mentary Reform.

and who, upon the recommenda-| They labour in thin. They will another man would be anything Sidmouth; or that starvation under Mr. Maberly would be every thing. Your lordship would make a very pretty And yet, without a change of system, he would do

It is a change of system that is this memter of paper-money, wanted; and, for such a change which is devouring the nation call themselves piece by piece, and which must, opposition people are by no if not encountered and overtrary, they have hitherto ap- fusion. There is besides, and peared as anxious to uphold of much about equal magnitude, as the the great question of Parlia-There are point they labour at, is, to con- numerous minor matters which vince us, that they (wise gen- must be attended to, and with tlemen) would carry the system must tem on in a better manner. be totally reversed; but thereis this great question of Par-for, at best, a deluded herd, liamentary Reform, without a that some men really seem to decision of which, and, indeed, have believed the representawithout the making of Reform tion to be true. His Majesty, in some shape or other, any new Ministry would be a thou- look upon them in this light; sand times more odious than the present.

lordship not to take upon trust gard to them the same opinion. these who represent the Reformers to be a mere disaffected few; a low and deluded crew. may very well suit the Durdoses of such men 88 Lord Liverpool, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning thus to represent them; and, without any extraordinary degree of penetration, one may discover reasons for Mr. Scarlett. Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Baring, Mr. Ricardo, Mr. Pascoe Grenfell and others who are ranged on what is called the opposition side, representing us in the same light. One can easily discover very good reasons for this; but it would now be wilful blindness to affect to believe such representations; seeing that the question relating to her Majesty the Queen, has in its progress so clearly demonstrated the contrary.

The Reformers have so long been called a despicable rabble, as to outward appearances, the

for instance, does, I dare say, and the borough-holders have, from their desire not to believe And here let me beg your the truth, entertained with re-It has been imagined that the nick-name of Radical has represented nothing more than a pitiful faction, partly knaves, and partly visionary fools. To be sure the lie direct was given to this idea by the assertion of the absolute necessity of augmenting the military force in the amount of ten thousand men; by the erection of new barracks; by the passing of the dungeon law in 1817; by the issuing of Sidmouth's circular; by the passing of the Six Acts; and by all the prosecutions and sentences against persons denominated Radicals. It was no trifling matter to adopt measures like these; and their clearly proved the adoption stupid folly of every one that could be made to believe that the Reformers were a contempti ible faction.

It is very true, indeed, that,

cause of Reform was heartily servation of my whole life, How strikingly was this exemplified on the arrival of her Malesty! But of this I will speak bereafter. of things, why the labouring finally accomplished. classes should stand foremost Social Compact, the precise by the great and the rich, and words of which I do not recol- even not by the middling classes leet, but I dare say your lord- of the community. ship does; and they are really country arrives at actual military worth turning to at this time. despotism these latter are the He is speaking of the degrees classes which finally decide all of dependence in society. He great questions; but we are not shews that there is no class so to conclude, that, because we independent as that, which do not see these classes in open relies for its well-being on the activity, they are unconcerned sweat of it's brow; and even spectators; and much less are as to this class he prefers the we to conclude that they are artizan before the labourer in hostile to a cause openly esthe fields. His reasons are so poused by none but the laboursolid, so incontrovertible, and ing classes. The farmer is geso true, that they have always nerally a tenant; the tradesbeen present in my mind, when- man has his opulent customers, ever it has been drawn to sub- and he is known to these cusjects of this nature. The ob-tomers. He is also a tenant

espoused by few persons, com- which has afforded, by the bye, paratively speaking, other than no small scope for observation. those of the labouring classes. of this kind, has fully confirmed But, when was it otherwise? this doctrine of that celebrated When were not those, who had writer. It is with the comleast to lose, the foremost in mon, the labouring artizan that openly espousing a public cause? all great revolutions have begun, and that all great and salutary reforms have originated; that is to say, that the There is a overt acts have originated, by reason, my lord, in the nature which those reforms have been

Therefore, it is to deceive in every such struggle. There one's-self to suppose that a cause is a beautiful passage, applica- is bad or weak, merely beble to this subject, in Rousseau's cause it be not openly espoused. Until a. ninety-nine times out of a hun-| sons not of dred. The waggen master and classes. coach master are known to those are those who suppose that the who have money to hire wargons and to ride in coaches The inn-keeper is known to those who have money to ride in chaises and to eat and sleep at his house. Every ale-house keeper is dependent on the absolute will of the Magistrates for his lisence. In our miserable state of things there are the discounts by the Bank and by Bankers. While every man who has a farm in his possession; or who rents a house of any thing of value, is in some degree under the beck of the tax-gatherer. Think, my lord, of the dependence created by the raising and the expending of fifty millions of taxes every year; and of more than four millions more of taxes actually divided amongst the tax-gatherers themselves! Think of the workings of this immense mass of influence; and you will find that it is next to impossible that any man in the middle classes of society can think himself wholly safe in openly espousing any cause to which the government is hostile.

Therefore it is that the Reformers have, to outward op- observe the progress of the de-

the labouring But. foolish indeed. middle classes do not wish for a Reform of the Parliament,-These are millions, indeed, who: have been afraid to act with the Radicals; but these millions have not acted against them. Their fears have made them stand aloof, and content themselves with wishing us success. They have not acted as Radicals: but they will not act to turn out the Ministers for any thing short of Reform! They have been made afraid openly to join us : but nothing will induce them openly to join any body of men who persist in refusing us Reform altogether. Lord Liverpool said (at the beginning of the present session. I think it was), that there was a great mass of disaffection existing in the country; but that the middle classes were perfectly. sound. Does he think them sound now? Perhaps he may have changed his opinion, but, then, what becomes of that security which he acknowledged rested solely upon that sound-: ness?

It is truly curious, my lord, to pearance, consisted of few per- velopement of public opinion with

regular increase of that popular countenance and support, which (though I never leave out of sight the able speech of your Majesty's salvation. I witnessed her arrival in London in a miserable half broken down carriage covered with dust, followed by a post chaise and a calash; the whole exhibiting all the marks of poverty, outcast misery and wretchedness. I saw the members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, who were walking up Parliament-street and Whitehall. as she scrambled along amidst the mud carts and drays, over that very bed of gravel, which had that morning been laid to render the motion of her hasband's state carriage to the House of Lords, soft and easy; I saw the faces of those noblemen and gentlemen at that moment; and I endeavoured in vain to read in their features inward feelings such as I thought ought I was close behind her, too, when she passed the house in St. James's-street, the rendez-

regard to the case of her Majesty assembled on the balcony. They the Queen; and the gradual and did, indeed, slowly take off their hats; but they hang down their heads at the same time, and seemed ashamed that vielded this ordinary mark of lordship) was the rock of her respect at the command of those who are denominated the rabble, and whom Castlereagh has called the basest populace. At Shooter's Hill one, and only one private carriage, and that a tradesman's, attended to meet her Majesty. Before she reached London, there were many post chaises and hackney coaches, and a considerable body tradesmen on horseback; but the far greater part of the carriages consisted of carts, of one description and another; while the persons assembled at various places to greet her, consisted almost entirely of labourers and artizans and their wives and children. This was the description of the body that surrounded ber when she alighted in South Audley-street; and this was the description of that immense multitude that surrounded her in to have existed in their bosoms. Portman-street, while the deputation from the House of Commons were presenting to her a paper intending to get her votes of those who are called the jout of the country; this was opposition. Many of them were the description of that multithem out! turn them out!" a more instantaneous effect than This was the description of that the cause of Reform. It apmultitude, from whose indigna- pealed more immediately to the leaping all four into the same importance, every woman and carriage, into the doors of which especially every married wothe spittle actually flew like the balls of an extensive battery all directed to one single point.

From that moment, when "Castlereagh's basest populace" gave the wisest advice that ever Majesty's cause possessed over was given to human being, that of Reform; but, stiff, the the love and admiration of the friends. At the moment of her assistance from the former. arriving in London, she had no the service, and the notoriously persecutors were wicked.

tude, who, while the deputation at the termination of a similar' was in the house, made the sir progress. The cause of her Maring with the cry of, " turn jetty was of a nature to produce tion the deputation escaped by heart; and, what was of infinite man, clearly understood the merits of the case, while every really virtuous woman made the cause her own. These were great advantages, which her her Majesty has been rising in progress of the two have a great similarity between them; and whole nation; and every day that man must be blind indeed. has added to the opulence as who does not perceive that the well as to the number of her latter has derived very great

The causes of this are eviopen and active friends except dent enough. There was, in the mere labouring classes. In the first place, a striking similaritime the friendship towards her ty in many respects between . went on gaining upwards, till, the mode of persecution in the at last, it brought every thing two cases, besides the very under its power, except the base, powerful circumstance that the identical persons. It was im-This is the true history of the possible to hear of the Milan progress of her Majesty's cause; Commission; it was impossible. and can your lordship discover to from of the works of Godke, no reason here for supposing, Powell, Browne, Baron d'Ompthat the cause of Parkamentary teda and the rest of that tribe, Reform must not shally without without looking back to Oliver, a

dering at the thought of the exhibitions in Derbyshire and more recently in London. It was and Secret Committees without sending the memory back to 1817 to re-visit the dungeons altogether hostile to Reform. of numerous men, shut up in prison upon the warrant of a Secretary of State, without such a state of persecution on being confronted with their ac- account of their activity in the cusers and without ever being brought to trial from the first to the last. The Bill of Pains and Penalties, slanderous, odious and detestable as it was, and enemies. evident as were its intentions. collection back to the time when the dungeon bill was founded.

Castles and Edwards. It was the people. They have now impossible to hear of Italian actually compelled hundreds of witnesses coming, without shud- thousands of those, who are either neutral, or who are in a state of hostility with regard to us, to join themselves to us, as impossible to hear of Green Bags the only means of obtaining protection. Thousands upon thousands of men, who were have now been so ill-treated, so persecuted, and are now under cause of her Majesty, that they are driven to seek for a Reform. as the only means of delivering them from the hands of their

But, that which has most concould not fail to carry our re- tributed to the strengthening of our cause upon this occasion, is, that there has been, during this passed, while evidence was struggle for her Majesty, gratendered, and refused to be re- dually sinking into the pubceived, in proof of the falsehood lic mind a conviction, that of the facts upon which it was there is something radically professed that that Bill was wrong in the conducting of the government. In all cases where All these circumstances of great evils arise, and command similarity tended to identify the a great portion of public atcause of her Majesty with the tention and interest, the people cause of Reform; and, now the are set to the work of reflection. identification seems to be sought. They do not content themselves to be established by our enemies with a mere contemplation of themselves, by their pertinacions the evil. They enquire into its hostility to the whole body of oqueen, and, in the end, they trace

it back to those causes. The people saw, indeed, that Cooke, Powell and Browne were sent out by the Ministers. They anw that it was the Ministers proper conclusion at once. And who brought in the Green Bags. They were angry with the Ministers; and they wished the Ministers to be punished: or, at least, to be stopped from proceeding against the Queen. But how were the people to step the Ministers? When they came to reflect they found that they had no power to stop the Ministers. They then looked about them for the way to go to work to check the Ministers in a proceeding, which the Oncen as well as themselves regarded as the most unjust, insulting, cruel and cowardly that ever was heard of in the world. that all the miseries of the na-But, in thus looking about them for assistance against the Ministeen, they could find none. In their haste they first looked to the Parliament. found the House of Lords pro- them for the cause of what gives secutors, judges and jurors in them offence, their eyes and the case. They then turned ears are open to statements reshort round to the other house, containing the "representatives " of the people;" but, alas! they there found that the Mini- the facts, which have been sters had an enormous majority brought to light by this transen their side!

There needed nothing further! The mind of the people; the mind of those who were not Reformers before, rushed to the thus, while the cause of Reform has scarcely been mentioned, during the last four months, it has gained more proselytes than it ever gained before in ten years; and, at this moment, if the middle classes of the people were polied, there would be found a hundred to one in favour of a Parliamentary Reform.

The mind, when it takes a turn, travels at a great rate. Every one can now see that if there had been a Reformed Parliament, the Queen never would have been persecuted or oppressed; and every one can now see tion would have been prevented by such Reform. When the passions are deeply engaged. when strong feeling exists. But, they when men are looking about lating to that cause. are the number and uncommonly great is the interest of action. The people bate

namely, that nothing but a Reformed Parliament can give soewity to her Majesty, or a chance of prosperity and happiness to the nation.

Therefore, it is now something little short of madness to talk of a change of Ministey without a change of avatem that would include a Reform of the House of Gommone. It was always, within these twenty yeem, felly to talk of it; but it is now something a great deal werse than folly. It is impossible, my lerd, for any man to form an idea of any possible -benefit to be derived by the moople from any such change : that is to say, a new Ministry, without a pledge to Reform the Parliament. This measure takes psacedence even of the reduction of the debt: for without this the debt cappet by reduced. The people distike the Ministees; but, for what? Not be--cause they bear contain names and titles, but because they do -castain things which we wish and to be done; and leave undone certain things which we wish to be done. Sidneysk and : Grey (pray forgive me for coup-

canged at these facts, and they ling the words together!) cound have all tended to the same equally well to the ear; abgreat and useful conclusion; stracted from all cognizance of the acts of the man. I have no quarrel with the letters that compose the name of Sidmouth. It is the acts of the man that I dislike; and, of course, I should dislike the same acts in the same degree if they proceeded from yourself.

> Why, therefore, should any body wish for a change of Ministry, anless the new Ministry were to act upon a new system. If my throat be to be out, or my poekat picked, what is it to me, whether the operator be a wice man, or a feel? And what is it to the people, whem they suffer under, so that they suffer? If we are to have no tax taken off; no Six Acts resealed; no men let out of dunguous,; no diminution of Sime cures and Ponsions; if we are to have some of these things under a new Mimistry; why, m Gnd's name. should we call upon the King to change his Ministers? If nothing is to be done to these who have persecuted the Queen; if there is to be no redress, no indemnification for any body, what foels must those be that would waste one single aspira-

tion in order to remove these are all unnecessary; but, until Ministers from their places!

I know that some pretend that the government might be carried on in a milder manner without a Reform of the Parlia-These persons pretond that the Spy System, the Manthester System, and all the other things that we most loudly complain of, are unnecessary. These persons are deluded themselves, or they would delude others. The government, with an unreformed parliament. cannot be maintained without all the means that these Ministers make use of. The employment of Spies is openly avowed. The expenditure of eighty thousand pounds a-year in Seoret Service money, we have. boldly stated in the accounts. New Barracks are continually the Army has recently been angmented by ten thousand touch and go. After all, it is mecessary to have guards and barricadoes, and a species of at the intention of the Ministers

it be reformed, not a farthing of reduction can take place in the annual expence, not a apy, not a soldier can be disbanded.

I have always regarded it as a mark of the grossest folly, or the grossest hypocrisy to talk of what is called an economical Reform. It is more delusion to talk of such reform. And, it is something worse than hypecrisy to affect to complain of the Dungeon Bill, the Banishment Act, or any other of the measures of that description. while the complainant in the same breath calls the Reformers a set of wretches guilty of madition and blasphemy. This is . being baser than the hypocrite himself; for it is assisting him in his views by pretending to disapprove of them. . There has rising up, and we know that been a sort of circular paragraph running through the papers, saving that Viscount Folksmen. And, after all, it is but stone is just come to some, and brings word that the people in the country are "indigment" gens d'armes, to defend the to prorogue the parliament! House of Lords. How then The writer of this paragraph could the thing be carried on does not tell us who those peowithout Spies, Secret Service ple in the country are; whether Monny, and a large Army? Re- they be the free and indepenform the Parliament, and these dent electors of Bounton, who

last spring, and whom he sur- law of nature; we must not only rendered to the care of Sir Thomas Pechell; or whether those people in the country be the corporation of New Sarum, who also sent his Lordship to Parliament at the same time. and who have just sent an address to the King; most loyally pledging themselves in support of his Majesty and his Ministers!

Now, my Lord, is it not a farce: is it not a despicable sham, for men to pretend to disapprove of the conduct of these Ministers when the very means they make use of to get their own seats in parliament. are the cause, and the only cause of the Ministers pursuing that conduct. There may be men; there may be such devils in human shape, as to delight in persecution and cruelty, for the more pleasure of executing them. It is barely possible, too, that there may be men so depraved as to take pleasure in being desected; while the cause of the detectation produces them no ether advantage whatever. .Though this be next to impossible: though it be against reason and experience; though it ing this or any other subject. be in defiance of a love of self As to the sort of Reform that is

sent his Lordship to Parliament | preservation, which is the first believe the thing possible, but we must recognise the notoriety of the fact, before we can believe that the present Ministers have pursued that conduct which we detest in them. from mere choice; from a mere love of being detested. No such a thing. They have a certain system of government to carry They would, if they could, carry it on without being hated: but, they must carry it on or quit their places; and those places they do not like to enit.

The conclusion, therefore, is, that a change of men merely can be of no use whatever : and that, as to make any other change, of any benefit to the nation, without a Reform of the Parliament, is utterly impossible, so it would be folly for any one to petition for a dismissal of the Ministers, unless upon the express condition of obtaining such reform.

This, therefore, is the great obstacle to a change of the Ministry, which obstacle will in all probability exist, until these men have brought the nation into a state, little calculated for discuss-

wanted, I do not know that I am | man liable to beaf arms in dejustified in wasting an inch of fence of the country, including my paper in describing it. Our those who are actually soldiers wishes have long been before and sailors. This is what we, the nation and before the Par-The state of the representation is upon the records of the House of Commons with your name attached to it; and the alterations which we now want are upon the records of the same House, in a petition amongst the many signatures to which mine is one, that petition being presented in February, 1817. We, as well as our adversaries, understand the matter well. But, there is one point, one on which, though it has been often dwelt on, I will here say a few words.

The nick name of Radical has been invented and used for the base purpose of exciting a prejudice against all Reform, at the same time that it is intended to convey an idea that tion do, however, pretend the Radicals want something sometimes, that they are for a more than a Reform of the moderate reform. Commons House of Parliament. gentlemen take care never to Those who have been guilty of tell us what they mean. "And this miserable attempt at mis- they take still more effectual representation, know very well, care never to propose to exerthat, what we contend for is, a cise even this moderation. The House of Commons annually cho-people have never said that sen, and in the choosing of which, they would refuse any thing. a vote might be given by every Le: these moderate Reformers

have prayed for. This is what many of us have been ruined. many of us imprisoned and many of us killed for seeking. This is what we say we have a right to. We have produced authorities and arguments to prove our right, as well as to prove the expediency and safety of the thing itself; and we have been answered by abuse, by reproach, by calumnies, by the dungeon and by stripes. No answer of any other kind have we received; except by some stupid attempts at ridicule, by saucy fellows fatted and decked out by the fruit of our labour, and by the impudent observation that we ask too much, and shall therefore have nothing. Those who make this observa-But these

then make us a distinct propo-| change that system by which be for a change of the Ministry, if the new Ministers would pledge themselves to a reform in almost any shape; and especially if they would break up fifty rotten boroughs, and give the representatives amongst fifteen, twenty, or thirty of the great northern towns and villages: but I cannot insult my own understanding by calling it a Reform in Parliament to disfranchise one villainously rotten borough in seven years, and by calling those Reformers, who, while so many worthy public spirited men are pining in dungeons for their laudable endeavours to put an end to bribery and corruption, can find not one single prisoner, whose prison doors they will exert themselves to open, except Sir Menassah Lopez, who was justly suffering the punishment due to bribery and corruption the most notorious and most flagrant! In answer to this, Lord John Russell may say: "Well, then! " let Castlereagh and Sidmouth " and Canning still continue to " rule you!" heart, Lord John! ther they than you: unless you a distinct pledge upon this subwill first pledge yourself to ject. Let that pledge be given,

I, for my part, should they rule. And besides, Lord John, it is yourself you spite. and not us. Our lot they cannot make worse than it is: yours they not only may, but certainly will. Rescued all together we may be; but they cannot continue to grind us. without reducing you to very dust. The people they can never wholly destroy; but there are those whom their measures may finally totally annihilate.

It appears to me, my lord, that, independent of the cause of the Queen, there are ample materials in play to produce a Reform of the Parliament. The distresses of the nation will of themselves produce this Reform. Whether they will produce it without convulsion is more than I can say. I think it likely that the Reform will take place in the midst of confusion, if it be now put off for any length of time. This fatal catastrophe might be prevented at this time; but if this occasion be suffered to pass, no other will probably be offered. At any rate, it is very certain that With all my the people will not stir for a I would ra- change of the Ministry without

and the Ministers will not be in confess, too much to be expower many days from the time pected. All would be easy: of giving it.

To expect that the people will effect the change of Ministry first, in expectation of receiving the pledge afterwards, is out of the question. If there be an intention to perform, to give the pledge costs nothing. But, the obstacle is, that there is no ground for any man's giving the pledge. He who gives it must. I am afraid, expect to be disavowed by those boroughholders who belong to his own party; and I frankly acknowledge, that I believe, that, before your Lordship gave such a pledge you must make up your mind to be deserted and disowned by every boroughholder in the kingdom. I acknowledge that this is too much for us to expect your Lordship to encounter. The people, the people alone, would carry you through; would bear you triumphant through every difficulty to the salvation of the country. They would enable its hands, that, as an object of you to compel the borough- ambition, a man must be little holders to yield; but, as this short of mad to aim at the Mimust cost you the loss of all nistry. As to the emoluments friendship and connexion with of office, or the patronage of those amongst whom you have office, they could be but of very lived all your life, it is, I freely short duration. So that there

hideous as are the perils of the country, every thing would be speedily put to rights, all dangers would be quickly removed: but, as the borough-mongets have been the great cause of these perils, so I am afraid, they will be the cause of preventing their removal. On their own heads be the consequences. The labouring classes of people in particular cannot experience much addition to their suffer-The opulent and the ings. great now begin to taste of the danger; and if destruction come upon them, let them acknowledge that it is the work of their own hands.

As to any intrigues that may be carried on for getting the Queen out of the country; and for patching up a Ministry upon that or any such basis, they are too contemptible to be worthy of notice. The difficulties of the government are so great, and are increasing so fast upon

appears to be no rational object cular notice. The petition does. offered in the post of Minister to indeed, express an opinion, that any man who takes a just view of our present situation. The commission of First Lord of the Treasury would scarcely be worth the cost of the parchment and the wax; but it is very well worth while for the borough-holders to consider the wide difference that there may be, in the consequences, between a voluntary and a compulsory surrender. There is yet time for the former; but time flies swiftly; and, they should recollect that yesterday never returns. It is yet in their power to conciliate the people; but a time may come when it will be too late for conciliation; and when transactions, which might now be buried for ever in oblivion, may be revived and made the ground of proceedings that would otherwise never have been thought of. However, it is really their affair much more than the affair of the people, who will have a Reform, at no distant day, let the boroughholders do whatever they may.

The Borough of Southwark has, I perceived, petitioned the King to dismiss his Ministers: and the petition is worded in a way, which is worthy of parti- game. A little less haste would

a Reform in the House of Commons ought to take place; but, it has this saving, or, rather, damning, observation, subjoined: " That, sooner or later. " such Reform is inevitable, but " whether such Reform be im-" mediately effected, or not, it " is indispensable, to the wel-" fare, the security and the ho-" nour c. the country, that the " government should no longer " remain in the hands of the " present Ministers." This is the view, which Sir Robert Wilson takes of the matter. This is, I suppose, the view of it taken at Brookes's. But. Sir Robert is a very keen man; that is to say. he is keen upon the scent. Robert is active as well as ambitious. He is not a lazy fellow, who lies snorting out his commands to others, and who thinks all the world made to administer to his pomposity. Robert is willing to bestir himself, and I like him for that. He does not want to cut across, and thus, without toil, come in at the death, and participate unworthily in the spoil. But, the worst of it is, that Sir Robert, in his keenness, over-runs his

have enabled Sir Robert to per- | to be enlightened even though ceive, that the converse of this passage of the Borough Petition would have been much nearer the truth: that is to say: " Whether the Ministers retain " their places, or not, a reform " is indispensable to the wel-" fare, the security and honour " of the country." If we, the people. were asked; if the peopie of the Borough were asked: "Will you have a change of " Ministry and no reform; or, a " reform and no change of Mi-" nistry?" would they besitate a single moment? Would they not instantly say, give us the Latter?

There is something very ugly In this saving observation of this petition. The petition must be considered as the work of Sir R. Wilson; or, at least, as having his entire approbation; and I should not wonder if this particular part was rather a favourite with him. It is, on this account, importantly suspicious. It seems to indicate, that there are men. who think of coming into power without a pledge to give us a Reform; who think of leaving that matter for future consideration. And, if this be the case, it only shows, that there still are in the world men too blind

one rose from the dead to teach them.

Petitions of this stamp may be drawn up, put neatly upon paper or perchment, and sent to the King; but, while the Ministers will pay no attention to them, they will be almost immediately forgotten even by those who live in the places from which they have been sent. To talk of a change of ministry without a Reform is, in short, nonsense. Events will bring the Reform, if it be not assented to before the arrival of those events. At this time, the aristocracy might make it: at a future time it will be made without them. If man always pursued their real, permanent interests, we should be certain which of these the aristogracy will now prefer; but, as this is far from. being always the case, we must patiently await their decision, and, in the meanwhile we shall, I trust, take care to give not the smallest countenance to any change of ministry, not including a Reform in the Commons House of Parliament, to the want of which Reform, and to that alone, are to be ascribed all the calamities that afflict, and

all the dangers that menace, the

I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient And most humble servant, Wis. COBBETT.

THE QUEEN 🐇

AND

MONOURABLE HOUSE.

The following account of the transactions in this famous and unreformed Assembly will need no comment. I take it from the Courier. It is a complete thing, exhibiting in a single view, "the envy of surrounding nations and admiration of the "world." Mind, this Assembly is not composed of Radicals and "Lower Orders." Praymind that!

"At a quarter before two otelock the Speaker entered the House. Many members were present, particularly on the Opposition Benches. Prayers having been read, and the Speaker having ascertained that 40 Members were present, he took the Chair.

"A new writewas moved in the room of Mr. St. Faul for Berwick-usois of weed.

"Two Members then appeared at the table to be sworn, and such ceremony takes precedence of other business. When the oaths had been administered to them,

"Mr. Denman then rose, and was hailed with loud cheering by the Opposition. He was proceeding to address the Chair, holding in his hand a paper. when the Deputy Usher of the Black Rod appeared to summon the House to the House of Immense uproar and confusion then ensued. Opposition exclaimed. " With-" draw, withdraw! "shame!" and the noise was such, that what he said could not be heard. As soon as the Deputy Usher withdrew-

"The Speaker prepared to

leave the Chair, when

"Mr. Tierney rose and observed, that not one word of what had fallen from the Deputy Usher had been heard; and how then did the Speaker know what was the message, or whether he was wanted at all in the other House. (Loud cheering.)

"The Speaker left the House amidst great uproar, loud earls of "shame, shame!" and several of the Opposition Members hissed very loudly as the Speaker was quitting the House. But few Members accompanied the Speaker.

"Many Members remained in the House, but the Speaker did not re-enter it. On his return, he went along the side gallery to his own dwelling; and the Sergeant at Arms took the mace to his room up stairs.

"The Members then gradually separated."

Mr. Denman had, it seems, a Message to deliver from the Queen, in which her Majesty

remonstrated against the pro- clogs on the press, the Act to quite notorious, that the Mito one; and where a majority found to send a Deputation to country! tives of the People" is, indeed, language.

scènes before us!

rogation of Parliament without prevent them from meeting, the, any provision having been made Act to banish writers and pubfor her; and expressed her lishers, and the Act to shorten. confidence in "the Representa- the process to conviction and tives of the People." If I had punishment; these Six Acts. been her Majesty's adviser, she and not five, as they are somewould have left out the three times called; these Six Acts first of these words; for, it is had particularly in view, the the People that her Majesty has preventing of every thing tendto rely on; and that Mr. ing to excite CONTEMPT of Brougham knows as well as I either House of Parliament! do. There was no necessity For doing any thing having this for talking of reliance at all; tendency, it was enacted, that and certainly there was no ne- a man might be banished ! And. cessity of expressing a reliance just after the passing of this on an assembly, in which it is Banishment Act, we behold the pretty scenes lately exhibited in nisters have a majority of three the two Houses! That worthy lawyer, the late Recorder of of three to one was actually Bombay, Sir James Mackintosh, who is brother-in-law of the Queen, the object of which Daniel Stewart, proprietor of was to get her out of the the Courier, proposed a clause. "The Representa- which would have exposed to banishment any one, writing or a sort of equivocal phrase; but publishing any thing, tending: we want nothing equivocal now; to induce people to commit, and, it would be much better felony! This was, I suppose, for the Queen to deal in plain one of this humane worthy's methods of softening the crimi-However, here are pretty nal code! But, Sir James's . The Six humanity does not, it appears, ... Acts, namely, the Act to dis- apply to political offenders; but arm the people, the Act to is confined to thieves, houseprevent them from drilling breakers, highwaymen, and the all themselves, the Act to put new like. No, no! I, for my part, do not

the same, or some similar office, give my proportion. filled by Mr. Scarlett, who now No. no! We are far trates. be under a change, which would produce only effects like these. No. no! Let us have no Shoyhow ministry, for God's sake, Let us have no Mr. Bennetts nor Theodore Hooks. It is quite bad enough to have individual Shoy-hoys. To have a whole ministry of them would be intolerable.

are pretty scenes! It is for the people to look at them, to reason on them, to calculate the consequences, and calmly to await them. We are fools if we new are not cautious. Why should we run our heads against stone walls, or cram our legs into irons! Let the thing work. All that we have to do is. TO SUPPORT THE QUEEN, in all manner of ways, to the utmost of our power. I do not know what plans may be resolved on for raising money for Paul's takes place on Wednesher Majesty's use; but, this I day. There is, or ought to be,

want to see a change of Ministry | know, that I can wear an oldfor the mere pleasure of seeing coat, instead of getting a new Sir James become Attorney-lone, and that I can and will do General; or for that of seeing this, if necessary, in order to rate, we can subtract from Cofacts as a sort of Attorney-Ge- fee, Tea, Sugar, Beer, and Spineral to the Manchester Magis- rits, quite enough for every purpose; and, this is the proper better as we are, than we should way to do the thing; because it cuts two ways at once. I hope the plan will be well formed, easy of execution, well explained; and that it will be general as to its operation. hardly be deemed disloyal to give our money to our Queen. We have given our money to "German Sufferers;" that is to say, to the German However, again I say, here Governments: we have had our money voted to French Emigrants, for whom we are working even yet; a large sum is voted every year to the " Poor Clergy" of the fat Church of England; and, surely, it will not be disloyal in us to save a little out of taxed articles, wherewith to maintain a Queen, to whom we owe more than to all the other public personages that we have ever known, or heard

The Queen's procession to \$t.

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church service in every parish fourth of December, This edievery Wednesday. I hope that the people in the country will hundred corrections, and will be go to church on that day at any rate. It is said, that, in many parts, the people are quitting the church, on account of her Majesty's name being still kept out of the Liturgy. This is the effectual way of going to work; and, it may easily be managed so as to make it perfectly consistent with our duties in a religious point of view. Bishop Van. Mildert (Llandaff) whom the villagers of Ewelme have, it is stated in the newspapers, lately hooted, and pelted with stones, took, in the Six-Acts Parliament, a very decided part in support of the Banishment Bill, which he said was necessary for the protection of " reli-"gion." I wonder whether the Right Reverend Father in God thinks that "religion" has not suffered more since the act was passed than it ever suffered before, in this kingdom!

PEEPS and LINKS.

A new and complete edition of the PEEP AT THE PBERS will of Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices be published on Monday, the and Plough-Boys.

tion will contain more than a printed in a new form, the form and size of the Political Register. and will be sold at the same price.

On the same day, and in the same form, and at the same price, will be published the LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE.

In about six weeks will be published a PEEP AT THE PARSONS! Pull off your hats, you ragged radicals! you " ba-" sest populace," pull off your rusty hats, before you dare to take this Peep!

COBBETT'S GRAMMAR.

Next Thursday, the 30th of November, will be published the fourth edition, carefully corrected, and dedicated to her Majesty, the Queen, of this work, which, as its title expresses, is intended for the use of schools and of young persons in general. and more especially for the use.

MR. HUNT.

The following article will aneak for itself. It is useless to But, base is the waste words. man, who will forget what is here recorded.-What I have so often recommended, "a Peep " into the Dungeon," must be published.

COURT OF KING'S BENCH, MOVEMBER 21.

The King v. Henry Hunt, Esq .-- Mr. Chitty called the attention of the Court to a complaint of this gentleman, as to the mode of his treatment in the gael of Rehester, where he now remains confined under the sentence of the Court. The affidavit on which the application was founded, was couched in these terms >

"Henry Hunt, of Middleton Cettage, in the County of Hants, but now a prisoner in his Majesty's gaol of Ilchester, in the County of Somerset. maketh oath and saith, that on the 15th of May last, he was sentenced, by this Honourable Court, to be imprisoned in Ilchester gaol, for two years and six months, when upon this deponent inquiring of Mr. Justice Bayley, what was to be the nature of his imprisonment, and

added, if the deponent should have any reason to complain of his treatment, that an application to the Court would be attended to. This deponent further saith, that on his arrival at the gaol, on the 17th day of May, at ten o'clock at night, he was placed by the gaoler in a cold, damp ward, or cell, with two prisoners habited in the jail dress, where there were three straw bags placed upon three gaol trucks, one of which was pointed out by the gaoler as the place of rest for this deponent. That for the first fortnight this deponent was allowed neither fire-irons nor fender; that for seven weeks he was confined within the pestilential walls of a small yard, about ten yards square, which materially affected the health of this deponent. the effect of which he still feels. That during this time his friends were excluded, except at three separate hours of the day, and not allowed to see him at all after four o'clock in the after-That in consequence of noon. this prohibition, this deponent suffered great pecuniary losses, his affairs being left in a very deranged state, this deponent not having expected that any sentence of imprisonment would have been passed upon him. That on the 6th of July a body of Magistrates attended what whether it was to be solitary, is called the Gaol Sessions, held the Learned Judge, in reply, in- in the prison, and they made an timated, that the Court made no order, after consulting the keeper such order, neither had the of the gaol, that the friends of Court any intention of inflicting this deponent should be admitfurther punishment than ted to see him in his ward from that of safe custody; and the nine o'clock in the morning till Learned Judge emphatically sunset, with which order this

deponent expressed himself per- | quently locked up for hours tofectly satisfied. This regulation continued to be put in force to the mutual satisfaction of this deponent, the visiting Magistrates, Aaron Moody, Esq. and the Rev. Dr. Colston, as well as the keeper of the gaol and all his has sustained great pecuniary officers, till the 14th of August, when, as this deponent is informed, and verily believes, upon the suggestion of Francis Drake. Esq. of Wells, who is a Magistrate of the county, and one of property that he has saved from the Grand Jury at the Assizes, an order was made (without fortune, occasioned by the perany reason being assigned, and without there being any sufficient cause) to exclude all female visitors from the ward of than any fine the Court could. the said deponent, and that they have imposed. This deponent should only be permitted to see him at the double grating, at the same time and place where felons, convicts, and prisoners charged with and convicted of, unnatural crimes, bestiality, and murder, see and met their associates. In consequence of this harsh and unnecessarily cruel treatment, this deponent's family, consisting of two females, one of them this deponent's lation's agent, stating that the ward, who had come to Ilchester from London to see him, were locked out of the gaol without any notice being given to them or this deponent, or any cause assigned for the same, and in the most brutal and savage manner they were refused this deponent how to proceed access to this deponent, who so as to counteract such illegal was never even permitted to see proceedings; yet, although this ment has been treated in the she was not permitted to have

gether in his dungeon in solitary confinement in the day In consequence of this time. treatment, this deponent has not only suffered great mental torture and bodily injury, but he losses, by being thus deprived of all communication in person. with his family, who have the sole care and management of the little remaining part of his the ravages and wreck of his secutions he has endured: thus inflicting on this deponent a punishment much more ruinous. further saith, that his ward, who is solely dependant upon him for protection and support, became at this time, by the death of her grandmother, entitled to certain estates in Ireland, of the yearly value of 800%. and upwards, which was bequeathed her by the will of ber grandfather, and she having received a letter from her late resaid estates were seized and usurped by a person in no way entitled to them, she came to Ilchester with her deeds and papers, and the wills of her late mother and grandfather, in order to consult and advise with them to take leave of them; deponent informed the said vithat since that time this depo-siting Magistrates of this fact, most cruel manner, and amongst access to him; in consequence other things he has been fre-lof which cruel treatment, this

deponent's ward has already slightest cause of complaint to suffered, and will ultimately suf-make against this deponent. fer great pecuniary loss, as the And this deponent saith, that trouble, difficulty, and expence he hath never violated any of in recovering the said estates the rules and regulations laid will be greatly increased for down for him by the said Mawant of timely proceedings, which were wholly prevented been any complaint made aby the unjust, cruel, and unnegainst this deponent, and that sessary prohibition of the said when this deponent's family and female minor from seeing and friends visited him, they never her sole guardian and protector. This deponent further saith, themselves with the strictest that by an order made at the propriety, and never caused the late Session at Taunton, pur-slightest trouble or inconveporting to be an order of Ses- nience either to the said keeper Sheriff to admit females if they person would not in the reley, of _____, to permit his fa- cessary torture, wrote a letter mily to visit him at the same to Sir Charles Bampfylde, the hours that this deponent's male in case they should come to IIchester for a week or a fort- his family, in whose custody night, which is between the this deponent conceives he lemorning and four in the after- in his answer, a copy of which the Rev. Mr. Whalley, although the statutes 11 and 12 William the keeper of the prison, Mr. III. chap. 10, and 44 Edw. III. William Bridle, unequivocally chap. 10, notwithstanding which declared to the said visiting Ma-statutes, no Sheriff or Under gistrates that he had not the Sheriff has ever been to the

gistrates, nor has there ever consulting with this deponent, violated any rules or regulations of the gaol, but conducted slops with the consent and ap- or his officers, as he declared to probation of the Sheriff of the the said Magistrates; and the county, all female visitors are said Mr. Bridle further declared still excluded from visiting this to the said Magistrates, that by deponent; but it is left by the this deponent's family and fesaid order to the discretion of male friends visiting this depothe visiting Magistrates or the nent, the safe custody of his think proper, upon an applica- motest degree be endangered. tion being made to them for This deponent, unwilling to that purpose; whereupon this trouble this honourable Court, deponent applied to the visiting while there was any possibility Magistrates, Mr. Goodford, of of otherwise gaining redress for Yeovil, and the Rev. Mr. Whal- this cruel, wanton, and nane-Sheriff, a copy of which is friends are admitted to see him hereunto annexed, requesting the Shoriff's permission to see hours of nine o'clock in the gally is; but the said Sheriff, moon, but which reasonable re- is hereunto annexed, has refused quest was peremptorily refused to interfere with the custody of by the said Mr. Goodford and this deponent, in violation of

anid graph since this deponent sentence imposed by the aforehas been imprisoned therein; said and this deponent further saith, more severe than this honourthat be is informed, and verily believes, that neither the Sheriff nor his Deputy, the Under Sheriff, had any thing to do with the making or sanctioning the said order of Sessions made - at Taunton, as neither the She-. riff nor Under Sheriff were present upon that occasion. this deponent is informed, and verily believes, that a person by the name of Edmond Broderip, of Wells, an agent of the abovenamed Francis Drake, Esq. did interfere and prejudice this deponent at the said Sessions; and this deponent further saith, that the said Edmond Broderip has interfered with the custody of the depouent, and that he has had personal interviews with the keeper of the said gaol, and that he has written to the said gaoler, directing him to treat this depenent in the most cruel manner, and for which cruelties inflicted upon this deponent. the said keeper has produced a letter of the said Edmond Broderip. as his justification to the visiting Magistrates, Aaron Moody, Esq. the Rev. Dr. Colston, although the said Edmond Broderip is neither Under Sheriff nor a Magistrate. This demonent therefore saith, that this invidious distinction of excluding females from visiting Habeas Corpus, to shew cause him, a distinction which was ne- why he should not be removed ver before made for any other out of the custody of the said prisener in the said gaol, and Francis Dtake, Esq. and the said as this deponent verily be- Edmond Broderip, or to obtain

Magistrates, ten able Court intended, or the law will admit, and by this conduct of the Magistrates and the said Edmond Broderip, who appears to have gained an infigence over the keeper of the said gaol, in consequence of his being alternately the Under Sheriff of this county with his partners, in violation of the statutes 42 Edw. III. chap. 9. confirmed by 98 Henry IV. chap. 7 and 8, and Henry V. chap. 4. this deponent hath been, and is, by such conduct made to suffer more punishment in this gaol in one month, than his co-defendants aufer in one year in Lincoln gaol. where no such cruel and unnecessary hardships and maltreatment has, as this deponent is informed, and very believes, been adopted or permitted. And this deponent further saith, that in consequence of these cruel acts and some other suspicious circumstances, and especially the recent removal of two bolts. the interior fastenings of the cell or ward of this deponent. whereby he is exposed to attack in the night-time, he is really and truly apprehensive of serious bodily harm. And this deponent therefore prays that he may be brought before this Honographe Court by a Writ of lieves, in no gaol, appears to be an order of the Court to relieve an illegal punishment inflicted him from any other punishment upon this deponent, and a new but that awarded by the Court,

namely, safe custody; and particularly that he, this deponent, may be allowed to have his family and female friends to visit him at reasonable hours the same as his male friends, so long as they conduct themselves with propriety, violate none of the rules of the gaol, and cause no inconvenience to the officers thereof."

Upon this affidavit, the Learned Counsel submitted the case to the consideration of the Court.

The Chief Justice.—What application do you propose to sound upon this affidavit?

Mr. Chitty suggested that a Habeas Corpus might be granted; in that case the Court would perhaps change the place of imprisonment to London.

The Chief Justice.—The Court does not possess the power to alter its judgment.

Mr. Justice Bayley could not see hew a Habeas Corpus could benefit Mr. Hunt; if it issued, he must come to London, and the Court must then remand him.

After some conversation, Mr. Chitty was allowed to take the following rule to shew cause "why Henry Hunt, a prisoner in Ilchester gaol, should not enjoy the same privileges as other persons confined for misdemeanours."

The Chief Justice said, the Court must be satisfied as to the truth of the affidavit before they could make the rule absolute, and directed Mr. Chitty to make the proper inquiries.

MR. CHAPMAN,

AND

MANCHESTER MAGISTRATES.

Court of King's Bench, Nov. 22.

I have only to observe, that this SCARLETT is one of the Whig-Opposition!

Mr. SCARLETT spoke in aggravation of the punishment. The libel was, he said, of a most dangerous character, as it interfered with the administration of justice; and especially at Manchester, where the population were second only in amount to those of the metropolis, while they were so much inferior in information, as to become more easily the dupes of artful and inflammatory writers. In the libel of which the prisoner stood convicted, it was stated, that the Chairman of the Sessions at Manchester received 50l. a week. while the salary of that officer was enly 400l. a year. observed too, in this curious document, that the judges of the land were looking for an increase of salary, although each had already some thousands a year, while an honest industrious weaver had outy 12s. a The Learned Gentleweek. man submitted, that if such comparisons were tolerated, it could hardly be known where they would stop.—As to the Magistrates of Manchester, on whose part he appeared, he wished it to be understood, that they were actuated solely by a sense of the duty which they owed to their character, as well as to the cause of public justice, and by no feeling whatever of

personal resentment. With respect to the allegations in Mr. Chapman's affidavit, he should only say, that he did not find that any such allegations were made, as they might have been, when the criminal information was granted by that Court. But as to the object of that of the other affidavits, the Court would no doubt feel, that a publication was not to be allowed to send forth libels with impunity. merely because that publication was edited by any pewterer or shoeblack.

Mr. Chapman here addressed the Court with great feeling and energy. If it were not, he said, that he did his duty at Manchester, as became a free Englishman, a fair tradesman, and a parishioner, as he should always endeavour to do, the Magistrates of that town, whose character he need not describe, would, he was persuaded, have never instituted the present prosecution against him. But if the imprisonment which the Court might inflict should not put an end to his life, he should not fail to struggle for revenge against those persecutors who had commenced this prosecution against him, because he would not subscribe to their insolent domini-

on, who had pursued him with unrelenting virulence for years. as he could prove by the affidavits of some of the most respectable inhabitants of Manchester. Through those persecutors, he and his family had been reduced from comparative affluence to absolute distress; and he called upon their Lordships, as Christians, as honest men, as free Englishmen, not to consign a fellow subject to complete destruction. whose only offence was to feel for his countrymen, and to reprobate those through whose tyranny and injustice they were rendered miserable. He appealed to their Lordships for protection against his perseon-Those persecutors had already done him quite enough of injury to satisfy the most vindictive spirit. Through the order of the Manchester Magistrates alone, he had reason to believe, he was so grossly illtreated in Lancaster gaol: but he could have shown much more of ill-treatment in his affidavits. if he had not been called upon to curtail those affidavits according to the rule of that Court.

He was sentenced to two months imprisonment in Cold

Bath Fields Prison.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

FROM THE CARPENTERS OF THE ME-TROPOLIS.

I have a peculiar satisfaction in receiving this impressive, loval, and affectionate address from the members of the trade of Carpenters and Joiners of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark, and their vicinities.

My accumulated sufferings have been principally occasionen by the perfidy of that faction which has so long exercised the functions of government, with no other effect than that of adding to the sum of the public burthers, and deducting from the stock of national liberty. If that faction had, as they were morally bound as my former advocates, brought the perjured agents of the conspiracy against me in 1806 to condign punishment, the present conspiracy would never have reared its head. But the present conspiracy has been fostered by the very men who were professedly my defenders against that in 1806. They sacrificed my interest to their love of place, and they have exhibited a memorable example of the corruptibility of public men.

The present system is indeed so vitiated, not only at the extremities, but at the very core; that, like the leprosy of old, it infects whatever it touches, and leaves nothing uncontaminated same feeling which has vibrated within the proximity of its in- in the enterprizing bosoms of

fluence.

There are said to be certain has manifested its force in the

trees which pollute the atmosphere around, and suffer no vegetation within their reach. The extent of their influence is marked by an area of sterility. The corruption of the present system is of this kind. It will not suffer integrity within its confines. If it does enter it must soon depart, or it languishes and dies.

All human institutions have a natural tendency to degenerate from their first purpose, to be perverted in their agency or corrupted in their principles. Hence the necessity of perpetual vigilance, and of timely reform. The word reform has nothing alarming in itself. In itself it only means to remove from a bad state to a better; to get rid of what is morbid and gangrened; and to introduce what is vigorous and salutary. All timely reforms are safe, because they have not to contend with inveterate abuses, or longestablished interests.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF WICK.

I have been much gratified by this loyal and affectionate address from the burgesses and other inhabitants of the royal burgh of Wick.

It delights me to find that the vivid sympathy which the injustice of my enomies has excited in my favour, has extended from the land's-end, in Cornwall, to the neighbourhood of John O'Groat's house at the extremity of North Britain. the fishermen of Mount's-bay,

and other inhabitants of the burgh of Wick. The present state of the public mind in Britain clearly shows that the widespread corruption of the government has still left the mass of the middle and subordinate ranks untainted by its influence: corruption has spared no pains to alienate the affections of the people from the Queen, but corruption itself has, in this instance, been vanquished by the force of public opinion, assisted by the liberty of the press.

PROM THE BAILIFF, JURORS, AND IN-HABITANTS OF BRADING, ISLE OF

I request the Bailiff, Jurors, and inhabitants of the town and parish of Brading, in the Isle of Wight, to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate address.

There is a large mass of morhid matter in the Constitution which has long been operating against the rights of the people and the prosperity of the country. This corrupting influence is, and has, for many years, been in a state of progressive increase, till it has left hardly it with all the technicalities of any sound part in the body po- law; a scrupulous observance litic. have existed with such an in- too sacred to be violated: but corporated mass of corruption, unless the original materials of for the accusation in favour of the Constitution had been of the most solid and durable kind. the observance of every existing The trial by Jury, and the Li-law, both civil and ecclesiastical. berty of the Press, are two parts They not only set aside all of the fabric that have most former laws that would have powerfully contributed to pre-been applicable to the case, but serve the rest. If these were they set about making a law taken away, the liberty we for the purpose of constituting

honest hearts of the burgesses should have left would be so small as to be an almost invisible quantity: tyranny would be predominant: it is now of sufficiently alarming dimensions, but it would then rise into a gigantic magnitude, beneath which the people must crouch as humble menials or obsequious slaves.

> PROM THE WARD OF BRIDGE, IN THE CITY OF LONDON.

> I have peculiar satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate Address from the deputy. common-council, and other inhabitants of the Ward of Bridge. in the city of London.

If any honest individual in his sober senses ever imagined that the present attack upon my honour and my dignity was not, from the beginning to the end, the work of a foul conspiracy, the doubts of such a person must be completely removed, not only by the actual proof which has appeared in the House of Lords, but by that which has not been permitted to be adduced, or which has been clandestinely withdrawn. When my adversaries wished to mar my defence, they fettered The system could not of which they represented as when they wished to make way my adversary, they superseded that to be an offence which was curity, except his deminion is not designated as such by any existing law. Great scrupulesity about unimportant minutia is often found to be compatible with a callous disregard of the most sacred principles and the meet hallowed obligations.

My adversaries employed such latitude in their accusation, that they extended it over a period of six years in time, and more than half a continent in space. But they showed themselves very anxious to confine my defence within the narrowest possible limitations. Public opinion, however, which in the present intellectual improvement of the people and enlightened state of the country is the highest judicature, will not suffer its suffrage in my fayour to lose the benefit of that proof which my adversaries would not permit me to produce:

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF CRICK-LADE.

.I gratefully accept this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of Cricklade.

My rights are a part of the rights of the nation. To invade the rights-of the Queen Consort is to make a lawless inroad into the domain of national liberty. My enemies, certainly, thought incapable of vindicating either my personal honour or my legitimate dignities. They The chivalrous spirit that has have found both superior to their | been inspired by the menaced violent and malicious aggres- oppression of the Queen, is highsions. The hearts of the peo- ly honourable to the moral and ple are my security against the patriotic feelings of the peoevery foe.

established in the affections of hissubjects. That throne which is maintained by force must be associated with the insecurity of fear. To recline on a chair of state, round which innumerable jealousies are entwined. numberless suspicions swarm, is to enjoy the parade of royalty. not only at the expense of repose, but of all that can make life sweet. Care is no less care though it is decorated with gold: nor are the ordinary inquietudes of life soothed into repose by the mantle of imperial magnificence.

FROM THE INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE BURGH OF BANFF.

I am greatly obliged by the loyal and affectionate address. from the convener, deacons, and members of the six incorporated trades of the royal burgh of Banff, in common hall assembled.

I have long been environed by dangers of every species that art or malice could contrive: but I feel that I possess a rampart of security in the affections The people very of the people. justly consider their rights to be endangered by the unconstitutional attack upon mine. The rights of the Queen are those of the nation; and, if an unconstitutional power can be exerted to destroy the one, it may, hereafter, be employed for the destruction of the other. ple. I am truly happy to find No sovereign can reign in se- this spirit so generally prevalent

in the north; and I trust that it ciety, which may be called the augurs the most favourable result, not only for the permanence, but the enlargement of interests are kept in a state of those constitutional liberties, to procure which, so much of the best blood of Britain has been formerly shed.

PROM THE JOURNEYMEN COACH-MAKERS.

I return my sincere thanks to the united Journeymen in the various branches of the Coachmaking Trade, for this loyal and affectionate address.

It is the almost infinite division of labour that renders all the products of human ingenuity so excellent in their kind, so exquisite in their ornaments, and so admirable in their general execution. The subdivision of labour, united for the production of some common object, as that upon a watch, or any other piece of ingenious mechanism, perfects the operations of art while it multiplies its products.

The same subdivision of labour which so greatly improves any one particular art or manufacture, tends, when practised on a larger scale, and in all the different operations of intellectual contrivance of manufacturing industry or mechanical skill, to perfect the whole social scheme.

The detached parts of society, like the detached parts of any particular manufacture, can do little by themselves in a state of the injured and persecuted inisolated existence. It is their dividual. union that strength; and without which, so strongly manifested. While no great effect can be produced. power, inits most gigantic form,

public welfare is composed of many detached interests. If these dissention or disunion, or if, owing to a corrupt, vitiating, and vitiated government. one or two of these detached interests are supported at the expense of all the rest, the general prosperity must be impeded in proportion, and the whole body politic will be in disorder.

This is the present state of society in this country. Some particular interests are supported at the expense of all the rest. Hence the general interest is sacrificed to particular, or the public good to private emoluments. To what is this owing? ---To the government of a faction. The government of a faction always implies the benefit of the few, but the detriment of the many.

PROM THE JOURNEYMEN BAKERS' OF LONDON AND ITS VICINITY.

I am much obliged to the Journeymen Bakers of London and its vicinity, for this loyal. and affectionate address.

The present moral and political aspect of the public mind is highly gratifying not only to every lover of his country but of his species. An individual instance of injustice and oppression has produced in all classes of the community the most determined resolution to protect The sentiment of constitutes their justice and humanity was never The concentrated interest of so- and its most terrible aspect, is

threatening my security, I have | PROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BOfelt not the smallest alarm. With the support of conscious integrity within, and with the affections of the people without, I am not in the least appalled by what malignity may contrive. or enmity may attempt.

The persecuting spirit of my adversaries has produced spirit of a more amiable kind among the people. It has, at the same time, generalized a tone of liberty among the middle and the subordinate ranks of

the community.

The present excitement in the public mind, to which no former period can furnish any thing like a parallel, is a com-plex feeling arising out of the hatred of oppression on one side, and the tone of liberty on the other. Both are kindred sentiments. One adds to the strength of the other. The one will not endure tyranny: and the other tends to establish that political freedom, without which there is nothing elevating in the sentiments or cheering in the social state of man.

ROUGH OF COCKERMOUTH.

. The inhabitants of the Borough of Cockermouth, in the county of Cumberland, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this tribute of lovalty and attachment.

The safety of the Queen is intimately connected with the liberties of the nation. If the Queen is degraded by that SELFISH FACTION which have so long had the ascendant in the conncils of Great Britain. the constitution may exist in exterior form, but that inherent spirit of liberty which alone rendered it an object of homage, because a source of hap-: piness to the nation, would be extinct. The present is a crisis in which, if the people are: united and true to themselves, thay have a more favourable opportunity than they ever him before of establishing the per-i manence of our venerable constitution, and of rescuing not only the rights of the Queen. but the liberties of the neonle. from the grasp of tyranny.

Errors in last Register.—Page 1941, line 19, from bottom, for harm.read, harmony.—1, 17, after and insert not.—Page 1951, after discovered put a comp., mn.—Page, 256, lide 5 from bottom; for parting read pugling.

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CO BBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 2, 1820. Vol. 37.---No. 20.7 Price. 6d

PEEPS.

This has been " a Queen's Week," as the people call it; and; therefore, the printer has been unable to get on as he expected to get on. The PEEPS, as described in my last, will not be published till the Monday after next.

LORD VISCOUNT FOLKE-STONE.

On his Public Letter, calling - upon the People of Berkskire to meet, in order to Petition the King to re-assemble the Parliament without loss of time.

London, Nor. 30, 1920.

My Lord.

Believing your lordship to be an. honest man, a man of good " honour of any political consense, a man not likely to act from momentary impulse, and being pretty suse; that you have " trate of the county of Berks, never acted from mere partymotives; believing also, that you understand pretty well what " is the real state of the affairs of "great concurrence of opinion this distracted country; and knowing, that you are neither " the liberty of now addreslawyer nor stock-jobber; with " sing you.

this belief and this knowledge, it was with no small surprize and regret that I saw, in the public papers, your Letter of the 23d instant, addressed to the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants, of the County of Berks, on which Letter (after having inserted it) I shall proceed to offer you, with great, respect, such remarks as appearto me likely to be useful in the present crisis of our very ticklish affairs.

"GENTLEMEN;

"Though I have not the nexion with you, and though I am known to you only as a. " resident and acting Magis-" yet having occasionally met many of you at County Meet -. "ings, and having on those occasions always found " amongst the majority of you. " on political subjects, I take

" It is not many days since I " House of Commons, and had took upon myself to send to " several Gentlemen, resident in "different parts of the county, " copies of a proposed Requisi-"tion to the Sheriff to call a "County Meeting, for the pur-"pose of addressing the King "on the treatment which the "Queen was experiencing at "the hands of his Ministers. "and of passing such Resolu-" tions as the state of the coun-"try might seem to require; "that the event of this day, "and the scene I have just wit-" nessed in Parliament, do, in " my opinion, imperatively de-"manti that tome further steps "should immediately be taken " by all who value the stability of the Throne and the tran-" authity of the country.

"It: having been -stated by " the Minister in the early part "of the proceedings against | "the Queen, that no provision "portance to require that the " could be made for her Majesty | " while those proceedings were " pending, and it having been "lately intimated to her by " the same authority, that nei-" ther could provision be made, " nor a residence supplied, till "Parliament met for the dis-" patch of business, it does seem " a little extraordinary that the. " Parliament being at that time. " actually sitting, and the two " Houses being to meet, and a " call of the House of Commons " having been ordered for to-" day, that under these circum- " manency of the sigil and reli-"stances a prorogation should "gious establishments of the "take place. But the case is "country I am, therefore, dis-"infinitely aggravated by this "posed to propose; that a re-" fact, that the Queen had pre- " quisition should be presented

" directed her Law Officers to " deliver it; that the Minister " was apprized of this intention, "and that the sitting of the "Commission for proroguing " the Parliament was so itimed "as to preclude Mr. Denman " from presenting it, though he " rose at the very first possible " opportunity for that purpose.

"This, however, is not all. "The Prorogation took place; "but, quite contrary to the " usual (I believe the inveria-" ble) practice, no communica-" tion, of any sort, was made to " the two Houses on the state " of affairs, and the political re-"lations of the country, inter-" nal or external; though, most "indubitably, the events that " have occurred, both at home " and abroad, since the com-"mencement of the Semion, "have been of sufficient im-"King's Ministers should have " advised his Majesty to state to "his Parliament his opinion " thereon.

"Under these circumstances. " and considering the present "agitated state of the public " mind, I cannot but contem-" plate the prorogation of the "Parliament till the 23d of Ja-"mnary as a messure pregnant " with the greatest danger to "the state, to the tranggillity " of the people, and thence to " their liberties; and to the per-" pared a Communication to the " to the High Sheriff to call

ff as soon as possible, for the " purpose of praying the King " to re-assemble the Parliament " without loss of time; and I " take this the most expeditious " mode of making known to " you my opinion, that in case " any of you should agree with "me, requisitions may be im-" mediately prepared, and sig-"natures "procured" to them, "which requisitions may " either forwarded to the Sheriff "direct, or if sent to me, shall, "when collected, be transmitted "without defay.-I' have the " henour to be, Gentlemen, "Your faithful humble servant, "FOLKESTONE.

"Lower Grosvenor-street,

Now, my lord, I entirely differ with you in opinion as to the means you here propose to be adopted. Your objects are, to obtain justice for the Queen : to cause her to be placed in possession of her rights; and to restore the people to a state of tranquillity. These are great objects. The accomplishment of them ought to be desired by us all. We all ought to labour with a view to that accomplishment; and, as being more deeply interested than other men, having more at stake than other men, the nobility ought say, that there is no part of the to be uncommonly sedulous in King's prerogative, the exercise the performance of that labour. of which has given me so much

" a public meeting of the county to the objects of your proposed meeting; seeing that those objects are all proper, and of great importance; most anxiously wishing the objects to be ascomplished; ready to applaud every effort to effect the accomplishment, Lucan hardly express the mortification I experience at perceiving, that the means you propose are not only not calculated to answer the end you have in view, but that, in wheat ever degree they may be efficial cions, they must, if employed, tend to prolong that delusion of persons in your lordship's situation, which has hitherto been such a scourge to the people, and which, if it do not very soon cease, will, in my opinion, bury such persons under the ruins of a fabric of their own pulling down.

The means proposed consist merely of calling the Parliament together. And, now, my lord, what ground is there for supposing, that they, if reassembled, would do any good of any kind? My taste may be bad; my mind may have got an unhappy twist; but I can truly Agreeing with you, then, as pleasure, as that of proroguing

the parliament, if I except that me, it will be, that he will be of dissolving it, which has al- graciously pleased never to call ways given me still more plea- it together again. sire. I like even an adjournment of it; and the degree of this my liking is in direct proportion to its length. Saturdays and Sundays are my most comfortable days, during a session of parliament; and I look for in view? Raster and Whitsuntide as I used to look for the fair-days of the town in which I was born. A new knife was not more charming to me then, than a day of silence at St. Stephen's is now. This taste has increased with my age and experience. I always feel gratitude to the King the people. The parliament, in when he releases "my Lords settling the Civil List at the and Gentlemen" from their labours; and the less the ceremony he uses in doing it, the greater is my gratitude. my passage home, last November, I had fondly indulged the hope of having to enjoy two whole months; but, alas! I learned, even before I landed, that parliament was to meet the very next day but one! " Heave anchor, and let us go " back," was upon the tip of my tongue! God bless his Majesty, I say, for proroguing this par- in its munificence; in its boundliament; and, if he have, on less munificence, it made prothe subject, any petition from vision for both in the settlement

What good, I again ask. would be accomplished by reassembling this parliament? What good of any kind: and especially what good as to the objects which your lordship has

In the first place, I really do not see what the parliament has to do with this matter; or, at least, what it has to do with the matter until regular application be made to it by message from the Queen, or, which is much better, by petition from beginning of the session, made provision for the Queen, just as much as, and, indeed, more than a man makes provision for his son's wife, when he settles an income upon his son. It was not a bachelor King, or a widower King, that the nation was providing for. It did not contemplate the maintenance of a Court, the Drawing Rooms of which should be held by a man. The nation knew that it had a Queen as well as a King; and,

of the Civil List. The Grant is has nothing to do with these: enormous, if we take into con- at least, until prayed to intersideration the present low price fere by the people in the way of of provisions and labour; per- Petition, or till regularly called fectly enormous; and, therefore, upon by her Majesty after fruitwho was to imagine that her less applications to her husband." present Majesty was not, in the It never can be that this opsame manner as her late Maiesty, to have her maintenance out of that Civil List. Upon the late Queen, indeed, the parlia- residence; of these things supment settled, at once, certain plied from any other source manors for her life; made a provision for her in case of her has been granted to the King. husband's death taking place before her's, and did every thing, in short, indicative of the nation's generosity. To make comparisons might be thought odious; but I am very certain nior branches of the Royal Fathat her late Majesty was not, mily, while her Majesty is placed by the people of this nation, held in greater estimation than heavy expence to the nation? her present Majesty; and I well But, there are several palaces know that she was not more worthy of every mark of our respect and affection.

To make these additional and voluntary settlements upon her Queen? Majesty, may require, and, intion of parliament; but, as to the placing of her Majesty in

pressed and ruined people will approve of a separate maintenance; of separate place of than that of the Civil List: which in quantities so abundant, for the use of her Majesty, as well as for the use of himself. There are palaces in abundance; and are these to be occupied by juin hired lodgings, at a new and wholly unoccupied. Why are these to stand empty, while the nation is called upon to furnish a place of abode for their

Supposing, however, that the deed, do require, the interven-intervention of Parliament were necessary with regard to her Majesty's affairs, where is the a palace; as to the providing likelihood that the present Parthe pecuniary means for the liament, re-assembled, under the maintenance of her state and present circumstances and under dignity; surely the parliament the present Ministers, would do

any thing towards the accom- the importance of this measure. plishment of the objects, which The jester, who amused his heyour lordship professes to have mane hearers, and drew from in view? You well know that, in this same Parliament, the Mi-ling the revered and runtured nisters have found a majority in each House, disposed to refuse to do that which you profess to have a desire to see done. Can justice be done to the Queen in your lordship's view of the matter, without placing her Royal name in the Liturgy, and was there not in the House to which your lordship belongs a majority of more than three to one against a proposition for adopting that measure? A measure, the adoption of which is absolutely necessary to the last great and praise-worthy object of your lordship, namely, that of restoring tranquillity to the coun-It is true that many other measures are necessary to the restoration of public tranquillity; but this is one measure; and have not the present Ministers declared, in terms the most explicit, that they will not adopt that measure; and, in approval of that declaration, have they not, in the House of Commons. found a willing majority of more than three to one?

I must diverge here a little, pose that there is nothing in in order to state my opinion as to these acts, and in this Liurgy,

them a horse-langh, in describ-OGDEN: that jester who this delighted the just and human assembly of 1918; this jester also jested about the Liturey: and ridiculed the idea of the benefit which her Majesty would have received upon having her name borne sloft in the voices of millions. Her Majesty's lawyers, with more gravity, but with little, more justice to the subject, argued the matter as a question of religion. And Mr. Wilberforce (" pious to the last!") observed, that, though her Majesty's name were not heard from the mouths of the people, she would always be remembered in their private devotions

Now, my lord, with the leave of the lester, the lawyers and the saint, I shall view this matter as a mere affair of state The whole of and of politics. the Liturgy is, as you well know, the work of man, and that it came into being, and is kept in life, by divers alls of Parliament. We are to supcontrary to the Scriptures; But I man must have been a very into is a part of the law of the country; and it would be monstrous. The style of proclamations: the hypocrisy to suppose that the title of Kings' speeches: The obtaining of the efficacy of the style of petitions; all these, object of the insertion of the this Liturgy. This may, indeed, been found to be necessary, 4860 of the people would be more afficacious in behalf of their Matrapid be a species of blasphemy, seeing that God has expressly declared, that he is no respecter of persons.

: No: the main object of the insertion of the Royal names in the Liturgy was, and ever be. to accustom us. from our infancy; to look up with respect and reverence to the human beings who are thus distinguished. There certainly is nothing irreligious, nothing insulting or degrading to religion, in the prayers for the

we also know that the Diturby attentive observer. who does itself is a human institution. If not know how nowerful historic is in forming the minds of men. people's prayers was the cole hough abstract reasoning deemis them arrogant or falsonie; aff names of King and Queen in these are necessary, and have be in part the object of the law; even by the greatest Putitans but to suppose that the pravers in matters of government. The courts in America are called libnourable; and there are no boll jestles, on account of the repe- dies of persons in power that tition of their particular names, will even there receive any Bat humble vetitions. The febre so the from quarrelling with the Liturgy as to this its mark ! lionene to the Severeign and Mi family. I highly approve of it in this respect. But it is impossible for me to give it this approba' tion, and to see in it a most powerful means of training up the people to profound respect and reverence for those willoare placed at the head of its great affairs: it is impossible for file to view it in this light, without regarding the exclusion of lier several persons of the Royal Majesty's name as the deepest Family. As a matter of po- of injuries to that gracious lies, is is wise to make so Queen, whose character is an marked a distinction with re- libnour to her family, to the sixgard to those persons. That then and to the sax. Piere are minds of children, profound re- thing, of that which has been spect and reverence for her per- at work to effect this change. son; and these means are with- The King has astounded them. drawn from her, though they From their wonder they have: decessors; and herein is double inquiry. These have led to coninjustice arising from odious comparison.

This is the light, my lord, in which I view the question of the ready been a partial desertion Liturary; and this made me, from the beginning, declare, that these consequences may end, it every point sunk into insignificance when compared with that know. of the Liturgy. The people, who never fail to see in its true to the Queen being, then, to light, every matter which is fairly laid before them, have not Liturgy without loss of time. I failed to give, upon the present occasion, proof of their usual How could the re-assembling discernment. how vitally important the ques- to the accomplishment of this tion of the Liturgy is to her Ma- object? Your Lordship canjesty. Even their very habits not imagine that the same have been their teachers here. House of Commons, who voted They have been accustomed, three to one against the placing from the moment they could use of her Majesty's name in the their tongues, to sound the Liturgy, and that, too, when name of the Queen in the per- they had declared that no informance of the most solemn of quiry into her conduct ought to . their duties. It is not easy to take place, would now vote for account to them for this sudden placing her name in the Liturgy, change in this respect. They when the other House of Barlisknow nothing, or at least they ment has, by a decided majo-

the means of inculcating, in the lought never to have known any. were possessed by all her pre- been awakened to reflection and injustice; positive injustice, in clusions in their minds, by no the first place, and then all the means favourable to the stability of the throne and its associate establishments. In many places the consequence has alof the churches; and where is not yet given to any of us to

> The main object with regard place her Majesty's name in the come back to my question: They perceive of this Parliament possibly tend

pass there: and that the Queen same Ministers, to make comought to be regarded as com- plaints to them relative to the pletely acquitted of the charges. | conduct of a certain part of his The Ministers did, in fact, abandon the Bill. They were afraid, his determination to employ the after all, to strike the blow. Like noisy and hectoring shycocks they proceeded to the moment of the onset, and then gave They pulled off the coat; they pulled off the waistcoat, they even proceeded to the third stage, and stripped into buff; but, though numerously backed, and surrounded with bottle-holders, they did not dare to step into the ring. They coolly put on again the shirt, the waistcoat and the coat; got off the ground as fast as they could; but still they retain their friends and supporters. How, then, can your Lordship imagine, that this present Parliament, if re-assembled, would do justice to her Majesty, and would take efficient steps for that other great and laudable object that you have in view, namely, the tranquillizing of the country?

rity, declared that the charges at their declaration, at the openagainst her were well founded. ing of the Session. The King It is true that the Bill did not had been advised, by these subjects; and to state to them' means that a former Parliament had put into his hands in order to crush or chastise the disaffected. This met with the unqualified echo of the Parliament. No conciliation was talked off: no relaxation of the system of sway was proposed: the six terrible acts remained in full force as they do to this hour; and this Parliament stands before us with an act of Parliament in force, which authorizes any justice of the peace to take up and to bind over, not only to answer the charge, but to keep the peace and be of good behaviour in the meanwhile, any man that such justice may deem to be guilty of having written. printed, or published, or of having uttered any thing which that justice may deem to tend to bring into contempt either House of Parliament! This Parliament also sees in existence another In order to see what chance act empowering any judge to there is of their adopting tran-banish for life any man that quillizing measures, let us look may a second time be guilty of

doing any thing, as writer, delusive hope of seeing tranprinter, or publisher, tending to quillity restored to England by bring either House of Parliament into contempt!

Not only did this present Parliament see these acts in existence; but not one single man of either House was found, during a Session of nearly six months, to say so much as one word tending to remove these restraints nnparalleled upon liberties. those well-known which have so long been the greatest and only true glory of the country.

What, then, again and again, I sak; what, then, would be the use of re-assembling, at this time, this Parliament? What hope is there that such re-assembling would tend to your lardship's object of transmillining the country. I pray you, my lord, not to deceive yourself. So long ago as the summer of 1817, far distant as I then was from this scene of turmoil and of peril; I besought your Lordship, with all the earnestness of a real friend, and with all the impressiveness of which I was master; and I will add. with all becoming respect due to your virtuous character and high rank: I besought you, I said a good deal upon that and

any means other than those of conciliation. If your Lordship be not now convinced of the delusiveness of such hope, any thing that I can say must be as bootless as throwing stones against the wind; and if you have arrived at this salutary conviction, suffer me to repeat, what good can you pessibly expect from the re-assembling of this Parliament?

I hold it to be quite impossible : I take it for granted that you yourself think it impossible that the majority of the two Houses should turn about and vote against these same Minis . ters, and thus compel them to place the Queen's mame in the Liturgy, and to adopt measures to tranquillize the people. And if this be so what but mere additional irritation could be produced by the re-amerabling of the Parliament? I am aware that, though you do not say it, you may think that the re-assembling of the Parliament would produce a dispension of the present Ministers, and asspplying of their place by eaber men; and, though I have lately conjured you not to indulge the jest, I cannot refrain from to

Lordship.

carried on according to a cer- then, as now, called themselves scription of persons, who, and member that, in less than affwho alone, understand it, and teen months, they went off with are fit to earry it on. Look at lolling ears, deploying the folly the offices of this government, of the attempt. There may be, and see who are the persons at this time; some of them so that these latter have actually to try the thing again; but. have not only lived upon the who has a character to loose. have edten their way into it; that time, and not unjustly they appear to possess by inhe-justly told, that if they suffered ritance, as clearly as you do these to continue, their own deyour estate. Besides the chiefs, struction would be the speedy there is a smaller breed, who consequence. But, I went furmever attempt to aspire, and who unambitiously and harmonieubly live with the big ones, as mice do with rate: Many of these latter can be traced back so long as that system remainto their great grandinothers.

viving it in this address to your kto pieces! Alas! your Lordship remembers well, that this was This government is not only tried in 1806 by those, who tain system, but by a certain de- Whige; and you also well rethat fill them. You will find desperately hungry as to wish been brought up in the system. they will, I am convinced, find They and their progenitors themselves joined by my man' public stack, or mow, but they The Whigs were blamed, at and have actually bred in it. blamed, for suffering the under-There are two generations of set, the mice of the offices, to them constantly in office, which remain. They were told, and ther. I told them that they must change the system itself; for that, an angel from heaven could do the country no service to their great grandfathers, or ed, which rendered the employment of whole herds of law-Talk of a change of Minis- vers and stock-jobbers necestry, my Lord! Talk of putting sart to carry it on. It was just; anth people out of office, and but it was useless, to complain yet preserve the system un- of the retaining of the mitte. changed ! Talk of ousing these If the system remained, the mice broads without taking the stack were necessary. If carried ba

ried on by the present means. but by the present men and their blood relations. Nobody else in the world can understand its details; and they understand them instinctively.

It was observed by some speaker at the late Southwark Meeting, that nebody could deny that there was a great deal of difference between such men as Lord Erskine and Lord Gray, and such men as Lord Eldon and Lord Liverpool. Nobody does deny it. Nobody wiehes to deny it. And nobody need deny it, in order to make out the position that a change would be of no use of men without a change of system. For, though the two former Lords have most nobly acted in the case of the Queen, and though they both opposed that Bill which has provided the sentence of banishment for us; though they both opposed the banishment, the introduction of which, instead of transportation, Lord Eldon said had spoiled the Bill; though they both most manfully and most ably reprobated the new doctrine, sent forth in Lord, do we come, at last. Sidmouth's Circular, which of the old conclusion, that no good berty of the press; though, in any source without a Reform of

at all, it must not only be car-|short, the two fermer have so many claims to our confidence and to our gratitude for the greater part of their conduct during these last four terrible years; still, I say, that, without a change of the system, and particularly without a change of the Representation in the Commons' House, an administration with these two Lords at its head could take not one measure calculated to restore the country to tranquillity. Nav. I distinctly say, that I should be sorry to see them come into power without such change; and in this, my Lord, I am fully warranted by the conduct of Lord Grey himself, who, in voting for the divorce clause in the Bill against the Queen, frankly and honestly acknowledged, that he was actuated by the desire to make the . thing too bad to be endured. This was not only good policy, but good morality; just as much as it would be good morality for & father to mix jalap in the wine of his son in order to disgust him with the odious habit of drunkenness.

To what conclusion, then, my tself put an end to all real li- to the country can come from

the Commons' House of Parlia-| represent our Sovereign at Fobranches to the trunk, and down the trunk to the root, we trace all the fruit, the ruin, the misery upon a country, once so happy and so free.

Base are the men, who, by their sorry jests, or their vile abuse, would turn us aside from "What," they this inquiry. exclaim, "would Reform give " you sunshine in November, or " make the grass grow in Janu-"arv." No. vou fool-rogues: and we do not ask you for sunshine in November in England: nor would we, if we could, have the grass grow in January. But if you ask us whether Reform would speedily reduce the list of paupers to a mere nothing; if vou ask us whether. Reform would put a stop to the wide spreading ruin of industrious farmers and tradesmen; if you ask us whether it would send to labour, to beg or to starve the laws; if you ask us whether

ment, to which, as along the reign Courts; whether it would give a new spur to industry, encourage real talent and genius, award to the labourer the enthe immorality that have fallen joyment of the sweat of his brow; if you ask us, you foolrogues. whether a Reform would do these things, we say YES, and an infinite number of other things, the want of which is felt by every creature in this kingdom who does not live upon the wages of corruption.

Base are the vermin who, by a sorry mockery of seriousness in asking us what we anticipate from Reform, would persuade us that we should get nothing by the change. If the Rich Ruffians of Coventry had not, by the assistance of a brutal and bloody banditti, kept me from shewing myself within the ame walls with your Lordship, and filled up the seats of that insulted City by such men as Ellice and Moore, your Lordship should have heard, long ago, and in a myriads of wretches who live very distinct and formal manner by jobbing in the stocks in a a detail of the measures necesconstant and daring defiance of sary to make this country vace more worthy of the name of it would render a standing army England. As it is, I perform my in time of peace useless; whe- duty towards my country to the ther it would send men of ex- best of my judgment, and with perience, talent and henour to my limited means, always happy

what will come, no mischief can have done many things, which, happen to either King or people, that I have not endeavoured to prevent.

Of this, my lord, be assured, that with whatever pertinacity you may cling to the Borough of Downton, and to the Corporation of the City of Salisbury, von and I shall live to see the day when the people at large will have their fair share in the representation, and when the Commons' House of Parliament will not consist, in the proportion of THREE FIFTHS, of the cons and other teletions of the Perra!

Furious, indeed, has been the driving downwards of the privileged classes within the last four years. It was this very month, four years ago, that I published that Address to the Journeumen and Labourers, which really formed the dawning of a new em in the minds of the peo-.ple. Powerful, bitter, and cruel have the enemies of Reform been; but powerful, also, are ceason, truth, and justice, supported and urged forward by industry and telent. I confess. that; on our part, we have given

in the reflection, that, let come | not wish to diguise that I myself in themselves considered, would strongly savour of a desire to degrade and destroy. But, and I call my country to witness the declaration, whether all my acts, taken together, and placed in their most exaggerated light, do not fall infinitely short of the provocation, given to me in common with those whose only real offence has been calling for that Reform without which there is neither happiness nor security for the people nor for the King.

I would ask, as I asked the Regent in a letter addressed to him about a year ago, "where " is this to end?" In a yielding of the people! Never! In their extermination? That is impossible. The struggle must go on; or a Reform must take place; and, in still persisting, as I do, to call upon the borough-holdera to yield, I am actuated, I must be actuated, by a desire to see tranquillity and happiness restored without involving them in the natural consequences of unbridled fury. For, as to the people, how are they to suffer from the continuation of the struggle; and as to my particumany proofs of most bitter and lar self, what have I to appreimplicable resentment. I do hend further, short of a censorship; for which, I most solemnly | disposed to disten to it rather single straw.

before your Lordship a much tracer account of your situation then you will receive from any other quarter; and I most reenectfully beseech you not to believe that I speak the sentimenst of those only whom Castlereagh had the audacity to call the basest populace. I speak the opinions of ninety-nine hundredths of the people, excepting those only , who live upon the taxes. I told your Lordship, in July 1817, that there must be a change in the system, and that your only choice lay between a change. coming in such a way as would make the order to which you belong safe under the protection of the gratitude of this forgetting and good natured people, and a shange coming in such a way as to place gratitude out of the question, and to make forimpossible. My opinion being taking address, when I fled from engious wish that you may be against each other. The sunde-

declare, I should not care one than to the quickings of lawyers. and the worse than gaming-Thus, I have, once more, laid house stang of loan-jobbers and stock-jobbers, who, take my word for it, are the real and only conspirutors against your title and estate.

I cannot conclude without asking you, flat and plain, how your Lordship, with all your goodsense, with all your knowledge of the subject, could, not sit silent, but actually lend your hand. in an indirect manner, to a measure, which, if it were possible to carry.it.into:full effect, must, of necessity, leave your sen as landless as the lowest of your labourers: a measure that must of necessity put some loan jobber or steck jobber into Coleshill/House and Longford Castle? What is to deliver you from this terrible measure? Nothing in this world short of a Reform of the Parliament; and astonishing it is to me; that you do not perceive it. metfulness and good will stitutly That , which I said, in any learn in no wise shapged; but, on the the dungeens of Sidmouth, is now soutrary, being greatly strength- upon the are of being fulfilled ened by time and events, I have The land and the sunds must only to repeat the advice which come to open confist. Ghange I then offered to your Lordship, Alley and the squeens of Westand to add an expression of my minater, must be epenly pitted

guised conflict is not far distant. | season of the year, scarcely a I have felt, in common with my drop of wet has fallen on the brother Reformers, the heavy hand of your Lordship and your like; but still, I so deeply detest, I so abhor; I am so hostile in my very nature, to the muck-worm, that I would fain find myself instified in espousing your cause. against the disgusting and allcorrupting creature. However. a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament is what I want, it is what the country has need of; it is absolutely necessary to its salvation; and rather than not obtain it. I will join even with the Muck-worm.

I am. My Lord. Your most obedient And most humble servant. WM. COBBETT.

QUEEN'S PROCESSION TO ST. PAUL'S.

This took place on Wednesday the 29th of November. was what the people call, a " Queen's Day;" that is to say, it was a fine day; and really, if -one were disposed to be super- protection, look at the power; stitious, one might easily ascribe look at the mass of organized to something other than mere and disciplined power that has chance, the very singular cir- been arrayed against her; look

days selected for exhibitions and processions relative to her Maiestv. Upon this occasion it is worth recording, that the Attorney-General began his opening Speech, that most foul and viperous attack upon her Maiesty, which, however, I verily believe was imposed upon him by his instructors. It is, I say, worth recording, that he began this attack just at the moment when a dreadful peal of thunder shook the House, and a flash of lightning filled it with a blaze; and that the Solicitor-General began to sum up the evidence against her just at the moment of a total colipse of the sun! In other times, it would not have required extraordinary credulity to believe that there has been something more than mere chance in all this. At any rate, every one must commend her Majesty for obeying the procept not to forget God, upon this occasion; for, though extraordinary human means have been made use of for her Majerty's emistance, that, in this rainy at the fortress and its band of

swearers; look at Cook, Powell have poured forth their most and Browne: look at the Hann- deadly battalions! The people. verian Government and those of indeed, together with the Press. the nations on the Continent; have had much to do in the look at the Bourbons, the Je-deliverance of her Majesty: suits, the Pope and the Devil: look at these and then say, whether her Majesty ought not to be grateful to God for her dehave read and heard a great deal about persocutions; and, seeing and feeling have not been totally wanting to assist me; but, in looking back to the persecutions, the plots, the conspiracies, employed against her Majesty, I do really think that if you could find any thing to surpass them, you must resort to the archives of Hell itself; and, therefore. her deliverance from all these did, in my sincere opinion and sober judgment, call for a pubfic thanksgiving to God.

His late Majesty made a public procession to St. Paul's to return thanks to God for his deliverance from a state of temporary derangement of mind. The deliverance was one from great suffering and human degradation: but, was the occa- cession, upon this occasion, to sion calculated to excite greater gratitude than the deliverance to it would require ten times of the Queen, against whom the space of this whole Register. the infernal regions seem to A thousand or two of horsemen;

and it is possible, though not very likely that the Doctors had something to do in the deliverance of the late King, However, while the Queen has often expressed her strong sense of gratitude towards the People and the Press, it was perfectly right that she should also return public thanksgiving to God. Her enemics say, that she might have done this in her closet; and the late King might have returned thanks in his closet. The Queen had not only a precedent for what she did, but she followed the example of one, whom the present King, in his first speech, as King, declares that he will keep constantly in his eye as an object of imitation; so that her Majesty has, in this case, the example of her royal father-in-law, stamped with the recognition of her own husband and sovereign.

As to a description of the prodo any thing like bare justice

scores of flags of various descrip- dom, and for both of which her tions; probably half a million Majesty is as far distinguished of spectators; these, together above other females of rank as 'with every possible demonstra- she is in point of station; with fion of joy at the event, of that gracious condescension, she attachment and love towards returned with her carriage left 'her Majesty and of devotion quite open, so as to be seen by to her cause and her person, every spectator, even by such without one single breach of as were upon the pavement. It the peace, and without even gave me singular pleasure to the appearance of a soldier or see her Majesty accompanied by man in arms upon any spot of Lady Ann Hamilton, to whom the whole procession of seven the pleasure upon the occasion could scarcely have been less than that which must have been spoke the praises of the people, felt by her Majesty herself. This Lady has been always the true, faithful and constant friend of the Queen. She has adhered to her literally, " through good " report and evil report." She has set at desiance the frowns of power, and all the artifices of fraud. She has scorned alike the menaces of enemies and the blandishments of friends when either has been employed, or when both have been exerted at once to withdraw her from her generous attachment. Majesty's carriage was followed by some others, and particularhate in her, and which has ly by that of Mr. Alderman greatly contributed to endear Wood, to whom, with Lady her to the nation; with that Ann, the nation owes a great condescension, which is at once debt of gratitude on this acmuch, and will do still more for if the doors had been thrown us; but she could have done open to the public. Neverthenothing without sincere and less, it appears to have been faithful friends, and of those friends this lady and gentleman certainly claim the pre-eminence.

Mr. Thorpe, the Lord Mayor of London, has, upon this occasion, as I dare say he will upon every occasion, acted a part worthy of the Chief Magistrate of this great city. He, together with the Sheriffs and the Livery, showed every mark of honour to the Queen; and took effectual measures to prevent the intermeddling of the Government at Whitehall, by sending of its soldiers into the city. I will presently notice the conduct of a part of the Aldermen. But first, let me observe, that the Lord Mayor and Corporation wanted to have the possession of the Cathedral for the day; in order that they might have the power of preventing such a press of the people into Hughes, who is a sort of substithe danger in which the Queen Doan himself! must necessarily be placed in a How the Corporation didbuilding of such immense space contrive to get the Queen safe and crowded to such a degree into her seat and back again to

Her Majesty has done as it must necessarily have been with the utmost difficulty that the Clergy were prevented from doing this. It would appear that the Dean has the whole power in such cases, and that he had permitted nothing to be done out of the usual course. The Dean is the Bishop of Llan-At last, all that the Committee of the Corporation could obtain was the keeping of the doors closed till twelve o'clock, when they were to be thrown open upon the entrance of her Majesty! Possession, they say. is nine points of the law, and this appears to have been the case upon this occasion; for the Committee, having once got possession, kept it till her Majesty arrived, let her safely in at the grand portal of the Cathedral, and then fastened the doors, to the great displeasure, they say, of the Rev. Dr. it, as might not only incommode tute of the Dean, and, I dare, ber Majesty, but even endanger say, to the great displeasure her life. Let any one consider also of the very Reverend the

her carriage. I am sure I cannot tell: and I am also sure that the thing would have been utterly impossible if it had not been for that universal good humour and satisfaction, which was universal throughout the metropolis, and which never was equalled upon any former public occasion.

Yet even in the City of London there were not wanting men to brood over their discontent, and to spit out their spite. even on an occasion like this. The Queen's Chamberlain, when her Majesty had resolved to go publicly to St. Paul's, caused the same to be communicated to the Lord-Mayor, who assembled a Court of Aldermen to lay the communication before them. Seven of these Aldermen made a vain attempt to deter her Majesty from her laudable and gracious purpose. The means they made use of to effect their object, will appear from the following document, on which, when I have inserted it. I shall make one or two short remarks. "TO THE HON. KEPPEL CRA-VEN, VICE-CHAMBERLAIN TO THE QUEEN.

City, anxious to prevent disor- inconveniences to which the der and confusion within our peaceable and industrious clos-jurisdiction, we request that you see of our fellow-citizens may will have the goodness to lay be exposed.

before her Majesty the enclosed copy of resolutions proposed at the two last Courts of Aldermen, with reference to your letters of the 17th and 18th instant, addressed to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor. and submitted by him to the consideration of the Court of Aldermen.

" The Court of Aldermen first alluded to having been abruptly broken up by Mr. Alderman Wood and Mr. Alderman Waithman, and that held yesterday having been also broken up by the retirement of Mr. Alderman Wood, in order to reduce the number present to less than a quorum, and by the motion of Mr. Alderman Waithman, in immediately counting out Court, and these Resolutions having been thus prevented from becoming a public document, we nevertheless, at this important moment, but without reference to any party or political question, feel it to be an indispensible duty which we owe to our fellow-citizens and to ourselves, to transmit them to you as the individual sentiments of the Magistrates who have subscribed them.

"We regret the delay which has thus been occasioned, because we were not without hope that, on re-consideration. her Majesty might have been induced to change her intention of publicly proceeding to St. Paul's Cathedral, and thus to "SIR—As Magistrates of this have obviated the dangers and

"We have the honour to be, | Majesty, might be pronounced

"Your most obedient, humble servants.

GEO. BRIDGES, lete Mayor. WM. CURTIS. CHAS. FLOWER. GEO. SCHOLEY. SAML. BIRCH. CHRISTOPHER MAGNAY. W. HEYGATE.

" London, Nov. 28, 1820.

"That this Court, charged as Magistrates with the preservation of the tranquillity and order of this city, cannot but express its regret at the intimation of the Vice-Chamherlain of her Majesty the Queen to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, communicated by his Lordship to this Court, of her Majesty's intention to proceed to St. Paul's Cathedral, in a public manner, on Wednesday the 29th inst. as likely to be productive, under present circumstances, of serious inconvenience to the inhabitants of this city.

"That the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor be requested to forward a copy of the above resolution to the Vice-Chamberlain of the Queen, in order that it may be communicated to her

Majesty."

To the great satisfaction of the public, her Majesty's condescension did not go so far as to permit her Chamberlain to take even the smallest notice of this. at once, children and impudent been extremely anxious to precommunication, which, if we vent dangers and inconvenience could forget the letters of Lords to the peaceable and industrious

to be without a parallel. had these Aldermen to do with the matter, any more than her Majesty had to do with the squabbles and the counting out of their court? The Court of Aldermen did not agree to the Resolutions. Was not that enough? What had the Queen or her Chamberlain to do with their rejected Resolutions ? They were as much nonsense to her as the Bill of Pains and Penalties now is. These clever fellows, Messes. Bridges, Curtis, and Heygate, must protest, must they! In imitation, I suppose, of the Duke of Newcastle, the Dake of Clarence, the Duke of Northumberland, and other protesting worthies of the House of Peers! Mr. Birch would have done a great deal better, I think, if he had been preparing, for her Majesty's repast, a good batch of pastry; and I could, if I had a mind, assign a more suitable employment of the other worthies, whose names are here recorded, sacred to laughter for ever.

These worthies seem to have Liverpool and Melville to her classes of their fellow-citizens,

such dangers and inconvenience at alla and to the neaceable and industrious in particular 1. None of them were compelled to come to the procession; they might all stay away, if they pleased; if none but peaceable citizens came, what harm could they do ; and if no harm happened to them, what danger would they have to experience ?

. Midas shaking his ass's care, once proposed a premium for a discovery to prevent the blind from being spies. In this day of anymongaring, we may have some Midas arise who will want to find out blind men to pursue this laudable occupation; but if a gonieror should be wanted. nobody. I think, will go to seek him amongst these horror-anticipating Alderman, who however anticipated in ugin. There they were sitting all day, waiting in their magisterial robes; but there they sat alone, tranquil as the ratten weed on the lake, and wholly undisturbed in their profound regitations, except by the distant shouts of ", God, bless, the Queen!"

To turn from this disgusting subject, let us, before we dismiss this article, just observe, that; this procession, together to do the uthtomin his power.

Why should they apprehend with all the circumstances belonging to it, will, amongst other of its effects, produce an effect upon the nations of the Continent, and especially upon the councils of those who depend upon the helping hand of the present Ministry of England. To enumerate all the good effects that will arise at home and abroad from this attempt to destroy her Majesty, and from her Majesty's triumph, one must set down to reflect upon the matter for weeks. The whole of the civilized world will feel the beneficial effects of these events: and though the people and the press of England have done much, let us never forget, that her Majesty came and broke the chains of both. She could have done nothing effectual without the press and the people; hot the people could have done nothing without her. In such a case, the party that makes the first move has the greatest misrit, and, upon this occasion, her Majesty made the first move. I was her wise and gallant meslution to come to England and face her enemies, that has he to every thing which we now behold. To her, therefore, our thanks are due; and to support her, every Englishman is bound

COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS, or and the state of rived for my to make to the par struggill that because to the their tion an explicit, asolemn and a really send as senses. Such of a formal Destaration of the usual batterilung been suraced possible for any name in his senses of things can last long. Indeed, the very supporters of borrows tion ayou, that warrent change ily take place, But, while all agrice, that therei must be a change, Wertrudew dare tound ready to declars what it is that they, expects especialistical the manner as will drive wat

homethabelest with the Rec fonderno have repeterith ex-Pendi handeled cond belong wether the weed them of resto But, this expression; thide in his welly plan, i has been buried under à masso of but, at présent, my intention is co temporary matter, sand our statements in support of our

THE REFORMERS of where students in und stable The time enems, to be the bound bur bears and when the views and intentions. It is him in the bruge te are aut to inter gine, that because we citative to believe, that the presentators understand wither havire of this causer the whole haron hears clearly diddersound let which! though an error flatural encuch! of home description must speech is sufficient error, tagent, more brown For these reasons, and many. others that might be stated, he appears to me, that we was olight" to send with a Declarite tent of the description subdies हुन्ग्रेश: 'सेतल, प संस्था ट्रेनिस्टिंगेटो number of bouresheld with the id dpinion, the como wint is the means i The Filater adoles for शाहरुसामुक्ते शार्ति है किस्तु के किस्तु का किस्तु के किस्तु के किस्तु के किस्तु के किस्तु के किस्तु के किस्तु tiroumstantes information to prevent what I now "fittend" to invite all who may choose to views line ween distingured by join me, to did at some diffe the misreplese nightons of the night place onle Condon). In. agents of our malignant and or some day before, New Your powerful effemiles. Besides, the Day. " and my bor to sent and It is high opmion, "that " claims, the several writings in from this meeting, a Dectara which our principles and designs iton might, out this time, be have been ant forth, lie constoor spirit forth both were aded here and there, and are no vantage to the cause of Par-

that to change, the Ministry mons', House, would produce no possible good. And, yet, is it not indescribable disgreceto this great country that this present Ministry should remain in power! Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, indeed, acknowledge, that they could not remain in power without the support of the Reformers: and, yet, to have that support they affect to fear to adopt the means; they affect to fear, that the adoption of those means would be dangerous to the whole fabrick of the government.

This, therefore, is the time for us to appeal to the nation; and to appeal to the nation; and to appeal, as we easily can, that those fears, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament, is the only means of preserving the fabrick.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the about amongst their neighborhoods in which I propose to

deed; is the course of the kingdeed; is the course of the kingdeed; is the course of the kingdeed, It is new clear to most
on any occasion; but, when we
men, and, I believe, to all men,
that to change the Ministry
without changing the nature of
the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce no

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the Country. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to draw together a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the groodness of our came.

If it were thought desirable to circulate the Declaration widely, a hundred thousand might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps, however, the best way will be to publish it without any subscription, and to sell it very cheap indeed to persons who may be disposed to hand it about amongst their neighbours, especially in the country.

munications upon the subject bu post (No. 269, Strand); but, the postage must be paid; or, I shall be, as I already should be, exposed to enormous plun-WM. COBBETT. der.

CHANGE OF MINISTRY...

The following article is from the Morning Chronicle of this day, 80th of November. It is not; perhaps, demi-official; but it is worth the reading: and worth some attention from us Where the reader Reformers. has gone through it, he will find a remark or two of mine on the 6th paragraph, to which paragraph I beg him to pay particular attention, and also to the eighth paragraph.

" 1. The Courier maintains that ' there is not the least truth of any change of Ministers being in contemplation; and observes, also, 'we need not feel any reluctance in asserting that neither Lord LIVER-POOL, nor Lord HARROWBY, nor Mr. Canning, have tendered, or mean to tender, their reeignation.'

I shall be glad to receive com- nation of all the Ministers to remain in place (on which we shall reserve ourselves for a future day), has thought fit to assume the existence of an eager wish on the part of the Whigs to get into office. We know not what part of the conduct of the Leaders of that party could lead to any such inference. The Whigs have certainly shewn no eagerness hitherto to get into power; nay, they have more than once felt themselves compelled to decline the offers which have been made to them on that subject. They relinquished their places when they could no longer retain them without an abandonment of principle; they have refused to return to office, because they felt they could not do so without a compromise of principle; and the natural inference is, that they will never consent to accept of office on any terms inconsistent with principle.

" 3. But when the present situation of the country is considered, the idea that any body of enlightened statesmen would seek for office from interested motives, is beyond measure absurd. Nothing but a high sense of the duty which they owe to their Country and the Crown could possibly induce the Whigs to undertake the administration of affairs, at a time like the present. Of this we may, however, be certain, that if, from such a state of duty, the Whige should ever consent to accept of "2. But The Courier, not con- office, they will only do so on a tent with protestations as to the clear understanding that they harmony which prevails in the shall conduct the affairs of the Cabinet, and the firm determi- country on such principles, as

may allow them to entertain a tation, however, in declaring, rational hope that they may thereby restore energy to Government, and popularity to the without these points at least be King; and that they will, beforehand, take care respectfully to make these principles known to his MAJESTY. TO PURE MAN AND

1 4. Among the points on which it would be necessary to have a clear understanding,

are oness between to 5. The necessity of an immediate and general retrenchment

of expenditure, alogo of lallan

" 6. An Inquiry into the abuses that have crept into our Financial Administration, our Commercial System, our Representation, and our Judicial Pracsymmetries they have

7. A distinct determination not to abet or countenance the projects of Foreign Potentates against the internal Reforms of

independent Nations.

" 8. A Restitution of all Constitutional Privileges to Catholics and other Dissenters; and

" 9. A distinct understanding, that as the ex post facto Bill of Pains and Penalties was thrown out, to the universal joy of all men who reverence law, no attempt should be made to revive the prosecution in any shape. hine unbound wind

"10. Unless these points at least are conceded, no Whig Ministers ought to accept of office. This is our own opinion. and we state it as such, having had no consultation on the subject with any individual of consideration in that party, and knowing nothing of the deter- a Reform of the Parliament. Asmination to which they may to this Catholic work, I, for one,

that in our minds no honest man can consent to accept of office, secured."

You see, there is nothing talked of here about Reform of Parliament, but a slight mention is made of an intended inquire into abuses, that have crept into bur representation! Crept, have they! Faith, they have not crept. They have stalked in bolt upright; and they have been justified, too, upon the plea of their being; as notorious as the sun at noon day! We have not forgotten this; nor have we forgotten the release of Sir Menassah Lopez, while the jails no longer afforded dungeons sufficient for the Reformers, without sending them to hundreds of miles distant from their homes. These are no creeping abuses. This proposal to inquire, indeed, is creeping enough. It is like going about partridge shooting with a lan-The Devil take such thorn. creeping, I say! And so we say all.

This proposition, even to inquine, makes only a single imperfect phrase of a paragraph .. whereas " a restitution of all. "constitutional privileges to "Catholics;" this famous old tub to the whale makes a dintinct head in this string of prepositions and proposed benefite : to the country! None of your tricks! None of your bub-bubboos! This is like the negroslavery reform. Any thing but have come. We have no hesi- will always oppose any thing

tempted to be done for them, until there be a Reform of the Parliament. I am for doing every thing for the Catholics. and for all the dissenters in religion; but it must be after, and not before a Reform of the Parliament. I am not for having a parcel of Catholic members in the Houses of Parliament to vote against every proposition for Reform, which would certainly be the case if Reform did not walk into the Houses before I will, therefore, join with Lord Eldon, Lord Liverpool, and even with Lord Sidmouth, against what is called Catholic emancipation, unless that measure be preceded by a Reform of the Parliament; because I know, that, if the Catholics were to earry their point before we obtained a Reform, they would go very far towards cutting our throats, if they could come within reach of them, to prevent us from getting a Reform afterwards. I again say, that I most anxiously wish to see the Catholics put upon the same footing with ourselves; but I will, to the utmost of my power, endeavour to prevent them from obtaining a bribe to assist in keeping us in slavery; that is to say, to keep us with- Folkestone. In the first para-House of Parliament. So, none falsehood, that we ourselves disof your party; but you can even laws to inflict the penalty ly, I can tell you for fact that unanimity of votes; but the as-

done for the Catholics, or at- your party, if they should get into place, will get in against the wishes of the people; will be baited like badgers while they are there; and will soon be kicked out again, neck and heels, to be kicked and cuffed, hooted and reprobated and scorned. A Reform of the Parliament is what we want; and this we will have, or your party shall have no peace or security in the possession of place and DOWER

ANOTHER FETCH!

. The felllowing is a letter from the Morning Chronicle of this day, 30th November. They assail us in all shapes, and irki some as it is, we must notice their attacks. The Gentleman treats us here with a quotation from Mr. Craven's letter to Libral Liverpool, and thinks that because her Majesty complains of the conduct of the Ministers, she wants as to petition the King to remove these Ministers, without receiving any pledge that others will do better. But, in fact, there is not one single argument or observation in this letter of the Chronicle, which I have not anticipated and fully answered in my above inserted letter to Lord out representatives chosen by graph of this Whig letter, we ourselves to sit in the Commons find repeated, the stupid old of your tricks, Mr. Perry! You agree as to the sort of Reform are speaking in the absence of that we want. If this were true, all authority; perhaps, you may it would be of no weight,; beknow nothing of the intentions cause laws are never passed; guess; and if you guess right, of banishment or death, by an sertion is false; it is notoriously false, too, and if this gentleman do not yet know what we want, it is the more necessary that my plan (which will be found in another part of this Register) for a declaration to be issued by the Reformers, should be put into execution as soon as circumstances will permit.

Pray, reader, look at the third paragraph of this Whig letter. Mark the absurdity of the man. What does he think is to chase the pestilence from our atmosphere short of a Reform? As to his asking us to reflect on the possible ravages of the storm; cannot that storm be at once prevented by a Reform of Parliament; and without that Reform is not the storm sure to However, I have no come ! time for argument with this gentleman; nor is argument with him necessary. The short and long of the matter is this: there must be a reform of the Parliament; or the Ministers must go on and the storm must come.

One word more, and that is, to caution every man who wishes to live to see better days, to stir neither hand nor foot to put out these Ministers unless their successors will pledge themselves distinctly to bring in a bill for the reforming of the Parliament. I need say no more to men who think upon the subject; and as to those who do not think, as they always have been, so they always will be, the prey of inipostors; but, thanks be to God and the Queen, there are very "TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

"Sir,

" 1. At a moment when the abhorrence and detestation of Ministers appear to have reached their climax, and when the unanimous expression of national feeling would sweep them in a storm of indignation from the councils of a Sovereign, whose confidence they have so lament? ably abused, I cannot but question the judgment of those who, unquestionably possessed considerable over the minds of the many, would divert their attention to remote abuses, the means of remedying which not two in twenty are perhaps agreed upon, instead of permitting the populat feeling to flow in one great uninterrupted channel of supplication for the removal of those men from power, against whose daring assaults the highest station in the realm is no security, as the lowest is not proof against their malice. Lord Wm. Russell and Mr. Hobhouse have declared that they desire no change of Ministers, as they are satisfied no real good could result from such a measure. The latter, indeed, accords his concurrence with a dictum of Mt. Pitt's in 1784, 'that under the present system no Minister could could do any good, or could in fact come into administration without becoming a bad Mivi-It is somewhat singular that this language should have been held at a Meeting called to consider the propriety of congratulating her Majesty on the defeat of her persecutors, and fow men who do not now think. to pray the dismissal of the Ministers with whom that persecu- to resist any measure of Retion originated, and which per- form, and whose political exsecution her Majesty expresses a listence depends on their mainconviction will never while those Ministers remain in The Queen's place and power. own words will best convey her opinion on this subject—' The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country. have reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties. should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.'—Answer to Lord Liverpool's Letter. Her Majesty thus clearly points at the authors of the late unhappy events, as still the obstructors of accommodation; their removal is therefore as essential to her honour. comfort, and, indeed, security, as to the peace and welfare of the kingdom, and safety of the throne.

" 2. Fully agreeing in the necessity of Purliamentary Reform, I am yet at a loss to discover how that can best be accomplished by permitting those men to remain in office whose principles permit of their making the most formidable and effective use of the power with ever from our skies their threat-

cease taining the corrupt system complained of, in all its rank luxuriance. The inventors, aiders. and supporters of the Unholy Alliance, the conspiracy of Kings against the liberties of their aubjects, are pledged to do so, and their zeal is stimulated by the applause of approving despots. Supposing then, this Administration dismissed and another formed, composed of men of proved talents and integrity. whose long and unwearied exertions as champions of our liberties, lay just claim to our esteem, confidence, and gratitude. Has Mr. Hobhouse so ill an opinion of mankind, as to suppose that such men would become as implacable and dangerous foes to Rational Reform as Castlereagh, Sidmouth, Canning, and the rest of the Tory crew? If he indeed entertains such an opinion, let us turn our eyes inwards, and begin the reform of men before we attempt that of their institutions.

" 3. 1 am, however, disposed to believe, that Gentlemen who profess these sentiments, do so under a conviction that the evil will work its own cure; that the clouds which are daily darkening our political horizon, it' suffered to accumulate, hurst in a tempest that will purify the political atmosphere. But when they check the all? powerful popular breath which might at this moment, united and wisely directed, chase for which corruption supplies them, lening, inauspicious and pesti-

lens vapoure, let them, I say, reflect on the possible ravages. of the storm, which no good or wise man can anticipate without horror and alarm. Ministerial men have long laboured in vain to get up what they would term Lovel Addresses. Let the people now pour them at the foot of the Throne-let the whole mation express their devotion and loyalty to their King, with their prayers for the dismissal of men, who have shaken in their folly the most sacred muniments of his Throne, and brought into question and discredit institutes the most ancient, and functions the most venerable and respectable. I am; Sir wear most obedient servanti "TIMOLEON"

LET US LAUGH! ... The following is taken from the Morning Chronicle of a few days ago! Whether the Old Gentleman be Mr. Perry himself, who, the other day, took care to remember to forget to insert my name in a speech that he reported; whether this Whig be this Mr. Perry, who thus endeavours to keep up the cant about "the Seditious;" whether it be some superannuated brother, I am sure I cannot tell; but, at any rate, it is no sedition to laugh at him.

"To his majesty the king.

" SIRE.

"As an Englishman, I have a right to address your Majesty, so that I shall deem no apology for this letter necessary. And I prefer addressing your Majesty through the means of a public Journal, since you yourself, when, nearly twenty years ago, I had the honour of a personal acquaintance with your Majesty; told me, 'That as long as a free press remained in this country, its Mönarch could not be cer-

ropted by flattery.'

- "Though I differ from many of my Whig friends on the question of the Queen's guilt, I am willing to confess that the personal attachment which I still entertain for your Majesty may have warped my judgment, and I must add, that the question of Guilty or Not Guilty has nothing to do with the consideration of the Bill of Pains and Penalties! So odious—so disgusting—so unconstitutional is that Bill, that every man who is attached to the Hanoverian succession, and to the free Monarchy, established by the Whigs, in these realms, must loath and execrate it.

The inexpediency—the impolicy—the unconstitutional nature of that Bill ought to reuse your Majesty to exertion; and compel you to look about you for a new Ministry—nay, more, to had over the present Administration to condign punishment. I am sure that your Majesty must be much altered since I had the honour of your acquaintance, I you did not see both the impolicy and unconstitutional insture of the proceedings of your

Ministers. You were wont to must own that I dould not abhe most liberal in your sentiments; most kind, generous, and humane in your nature. I believe your to be so now. I could adduce, indeed, an instance of your humanity and kindness which occurred very lately. must, therefore. have been through inadvertency that you permitted your traitorque Ministers to bring forward this odiens: measure. Loall your Ministers traitorous, for having involved: the country wing the smost thre warrantable disturbantes, and for having exposed your person to the odium, if not of the best, of the most numerous part of vour subjects. The veriest: Torv cannot more sincerely dament the resecrable carricalunes of your person, and falsehoods of your conduct which have been invented by the esditious some can we blame the poor wreiched for this conduct? Who gave the opportunity-who gave, them the plea, but those wretched Ministers who have overwhelmed the country with debt, and by this unconstitutional Bill aided the cause of irreligion: and immorality? I therefore address your Majesty, in order to give you the most friendly advice dismiss your Ministers take again to gowr counsels the friends of your youth, and you will certainly become the most beloved and popular Monarch. I can persopally vouch for your amiable manners, your kind beart, and your many vintues. I have not forgotten them ... I have ever re-

prove your conduct.

"Take to your codnactiv Lords Landdown, Grey, How land, and Erskine, once again. Call back Mr. Tierney, that true and genuine Whig in the Lower House; and those 'true' disciples of your old friend For. while they save their country. will bring to light the many and excellent qualities which I know you to possess. I beseed vour Majesty not to think that I have and interested views; sides the death of my old friend the was mortal Fox. I have mediciade little with politics, and I am now so advanced in years, that koun only write this by the aid 'of art • : amanuousia. COMMON STR

" Desirous to live in ratifement, and to prepare for my latter end; I court not publis favour or appliance, and methingbut the most conscientions amolives, and the most sincere attachment to your Majesty, zould make me write this. The same reason will prevent my signing my name to this letter; but your Majesty skill /knoke whod: am, when I inform you that it is written by one, who; when the thought-himself a ruined num, received an abonymous letter containing a considerable sum of money, which was sent, though the discovery was not made for five years after, by your Majesty. Think me not, therefore, megrateful, though nobody move thoroughly hates, and has less. scruple in blaming, the iniquitous measures of your Majesty's Government. No one is more tained the affectionate gratitude ready to acknowledge, both in to you personally—though I public and private, your wonderful talents and excellent heart .- | jesty, and ruining the best in-No one more sincerely laments, that through the impolicy of your Government, your character has been so belied and exposed to insults and misrepresentations. as false and unfounded as they are foul and calumnious, than your grateful and dutiful subject. "AN OLD FOXITE."

ANSWER TO LORD LIVER-POOL's LETTER.

My Lord,—I have been honoured by her Majesty's commands to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's letter of vesterday, and to state that her Majesty cannot for a moment misunderstand its real purport.

The Queen perceives that the King's ministers have resolved to prevent Parliament from assembling for the dispatch of business at the time to which both Houses had adjourned. The iustice and wisdom of the legislature would at that period. bevond all doubt. have restored her to the full enjoyment of those rights which the Constitution has vested in the Queen-Gonsort. The ministers plainty show that such is their belief, and they are determined, for some purposes of their own, to delay the redress to which she is entitled.

In a measure thus alike contemptuous towards Parliament and the nation, the Queen perceives a still deeper design. is impossible to doubt that the authors of the late bill have formed the project of trying in some other shape their baffled scheme of degrading her Ma-1 the bill was pending the Queen

terests of the august family to which she belongs. Descated in their first attempt—disgraced in the eyes of the people-consigned to the contempt of all Europe—deserted by the most rational and respected of their own adherents-they meditate a new attack on the honour of the Queen. Their speculations must be founded on the hope that the public sentiment, so loudly and universally expressed. will at length be wearied and exhausted, and that the Queen herself will no longer have patience to resist such cruel and endless persecutions. But her Majesty owes it to the British nation to declare, that she has the firmest reliance upon their support as long as she is the victim of oppression; and toherself she deems it due to add. that no harassing treatment on the part of the King's ministers will ever shake the duty she owes to this generous people. She has also the strongest conviction that the King's highest interests are at the present moment as much betrayed as those of the state, by the evil counsellors who are now once more plotting her destruction.

To the offer of money with whichLordLiverpool has thought proper to accompany his notice of the intended prorogation of Parliament, her Majesty has no answer to give but a direct refusal. Nearly ten months have elapsed since his late Majesty's death, and no parliamentary provision has been yet proposed for her. As long as - . saw the propriety of accepting the advances made for her accommodation; but she will not accept as a favour from the ministers, what a due regard for the honour of the Crown would induce Parliament to grant as a right; and she is still more averse to impose upon the people the unnecessary burden of finding a palace for her, when the national munificence already provided royal residences for all the Princesses who fill her exalted station.

The Queen expressly commands me to add, that her Majesty, as well as the King and the country, has reason deeply to regret that the persons who have involved all those parties in their present unhappy difficulties should still have influence to prevent that adjustment of differences which the Queen regards as essential to their common interests. Her Majesty has never entertained a doubt that the King, if left to the guidance of his own sound judgment and honourable feelings, would at once listen to the Queen's claims upon his justice, and to the united prayers of his loyal people.- I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's ebedient humble servant.

R. KEPPELL CRAVEN. Brandenburgh-House, Nov. 18, 1890.

ADDRESS OF THE CITY OF LONDON TO THE QUEEN.

" TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

" The dutiful and leyal, Ad-

City of London, in Common Council assembled.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY.

" We, his Majesty's most leyal and dutiful subjects, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the city of London, in Common Council assembled, desire affectionately to offer to your Majesty our sincere and joyful congratulations upon the triumphal refutation of the foul charges brought against your Majesty's character and honour. and the exposure of a conspiracy still more powerful and detestable than any of those of which your Majesty has formerly been the object.

"That the investigation into your Majesty's conduct, however unconstitutionally instituted and unfairly carried on, would terminate in the establishment of your Majesty's innocence, we confidently anticipated, when we lately offered our assurances of regard on your Majesty's return to our country. But we feel the greatest reason of rejoicing at the fulfilment of our expectations, when we consider the detestable but formidable means employed by your accusers to achieve your ruin; means against which, but for the power that guards the oppressed, no character could be secure. And while we contemplate with unspeakable horror and disgust the loathsome speciacle of the power of sovereigns, and the servility of courtiers, the influence of ministers and the treasure of kingdems, employed in dress of the Lord-Mayor, Al- hiring spies and slanderers, cordermen, and Commons of the rupting servants, fabricating obwretched perjurers, erecting secret tribunals, perverting justice, and withholding the means of defence, we admire the undanneled courage, inspired by conscious rectitude, which could encounter, baffle, and defeat such wighty and infernal machinations.

well knowing that every freshly proof of the innocence of the wictim. of false accusers serves but to redouble their males, and aware of the character and condition of some of those who indertook to sit in judgment on your Majesty, we have left no surprise, and trust your Majesty will feel no concern at their evotes, and delarations; the first minister of the crown himself has shown what value is to be attributed to them.

"Our enraest hope, therefore, is, that contemning the baseness of courtiers, and feeling that the only accurity for the prince, as well as the humblest eitizen, is in the freedom, the intelligence and the spirit of the needle, yound highest rivid house forth continue to reside amongst them, in the full enjoyment of your, dignity, and in the emeroise of every virtue that can elsim and secure the esteem and affection of a generous nation.

(Signed)
"Hy order of the Court,
"HENRY WOODTHORPE."

: If a which her Majesty was pleasact to retain the following Autower:

unfeigneithe obliged to by this that Ham principally indebted loyal, and missing for my present adentity from the form; the Lond-Mayor, Address principal archive against a grantic combination of such a grantic combination.

ment, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled:

That powerful conspiracy which solely mensoed my destruction is finantied in she dust. The father of accusation which it had raised on the basis of gaud and fatschood, has been demolished! It has been shattered by the touch of trusts, until the whole is vanished into empty air.

The victory which we have obtained is a subject of rejoicing on various accounts: but particularly because it is the victory of the best principles over the worst. It is the victory of truth over falsehood; of integrity over milignity, in its most revolting aspect and most hiddons form.

But what is in the highest degree satisfactory is, that it is a victory by which the most valuable rights of the nation have in some measure been secured, and by which a more free expandion has been given to the principles of liberty.

If my enemics had prevailed, the people, who are now hered, would have been despited. Their oppression would have been indefinitely increased, and what can be more intolerable than oppression aggravated by contempt?

It is to the good feelings and good principles, to the sympathizing tenderness, and the garnerous support of the propie, excited and energized by the all-powerful agancy of the press, that I am principality indebted for my present adonty from the priss of such a kineatic compi-

may as never before threatened and I was convinced that, as the security of an individual.

Though I am far from believing that my presence in this country can be so conducive to the national welfare as the nation seems to suppose, yet, when that sentiment is so warmly cherished and so extensively diffused, I feel it a duty to make it the rule of my conduct, and to conform my will to that of the community: whilst my residence in this country is the earnest desire of the nation, my heart will never oppose itself to that desire. 1000 20

The considerations of health or convenience will yield to that of the general good.

The people have made many sacrifices for me, and I will live for the people.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

PRON THE INHABITANTS OF ST. JOHN, WAPPING.

The inhabitants of St. John, Wapping, in the county Middlesex, are requested to accept my cordial acknowledgments for this loyal and affectionate address.

When I determined not to negociate with my enemies at a distance, but to meet them face to face in London, I was conscious that, as long as I claimed no more than my just, constitutional rights, I should receive the resolute and steady support of the English nation. I knew the rancour of my adversaries; but principles are immortal. Inbut I also knew the force of dividuals differ at different times, public opinion in this country; and under different circumstan-

long as that opinion could be freely expressed, I should be protected against injustice and oppression, and had nothing to dread either from open violence or insidious machinations, uibros

A short time convinced me that I had not erroneously calculated upon the generous sympathies of the English nation. The people every where exhibited the most lively sympathy with my sufferings, and the most intrepid zeal in the vindication of my rights. A sort of chivalrous feeling seems to have pervaded the kingdom.

All history teaches us that nations are subject to intervals of enthusiasm on religious or political topics. Enthusiasm in geperal is a violent effervescence of blind feeling, of a vague and confused kind, without being attached to distinct ideas, or capable of being comprehended in any definite terms. But the enthusiasm which is now felt is something of a very intelligible kind,-It is a strong excitement both of the mind and heart, in favour of law, of justice, and humanity; all equally violated in the person of the Queen.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE AN-CIENT BOROUGH OF SUDBURY.

I am unfeignedly obliged by this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the ancient borough of Sudbury.

Every freeman ought to be more attached to principles than to individuals. Individuals perish,

ces; but principles are the same The unjustifiable attack upon in all periods, in all regions, and my rights has caused them to every diversity of contingencies. rise up, not merely in detached Truth and justice do not change instances, but in numerous botheir nature according to any dies, in every part of the kinggiven longitude or latitude, ac-dom. cording as the atmosphere is town and village swarms heavy or light, or the thermome-with the patriotic vindicators of ter high or low. Particular the Queen's rights, and of the principles may have partisans, nation's liberties. The rights name was the watch-word of an individual? union. They are now, happily for them and for mankind, more attached to principles than to individuals, and more enamoured of permanent and definite truths, than of fugitive and empty sounds.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF TEWEN

I return my sincere thanks to the inhabitants of Tewkesbury and its vicinity, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The defenders of constitutional liberty were never so numerous as at the present period.

Every city, borough, but partisans do not make prin- of the Queen rise in importance ciples. Principles exist inde- in proportion as they are conpendent of party. Truth is not nected with the liberties of the less or more truth, because it nation. Liberty is the greatest happens to be rejected by one of all blessings; for without it great individual, or embraced no other can be permanent or by another. The people of this secure. Who would wish to country were once the slaves of have his property or his life deindividual authority; a mere pendent on the arbitrary will of

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Sold by W. BENBOW, 969, Strand,

Printed and Published by W. BENBOW, 969, Strand: Price Sixpence Halfpenny in the Country.

This has been a week of law, and, when the reader considers. the full import of that awful word, he will not be surprized, that, PEEPS and every thing else have been suspended for another; week.

RUMP CONSPIRACY.

TO THE

OF WESTMIN STER.

On the Trial which took place in the Court of King's Bench on . Tuesday last, before the Chief Justice, and a common jury; the subject of which trial being an action brought by Tho-, mas Cleary against Mr. Cobbett.

London, Dec. 7, 1820.

GENTLEMEN.

You and I are not only old acquaintances but old friends. Some of you have grown up to manhood since the commencement of our acquaintance; some addressing you is, to draw your of you know less of me than attention to the conduct and others do; but, as I think it pro- character of the Rump and office bable that circumstances may agents and associates. Here has render it useful, I shall here been atrial, recollect, gentlemen. take the first step towards a re- Here we have, not only Mr. newal of your acquaintance.

For several years I have lamented that this great and public spirited city should, in a great measure, have been held in a species of bondage by a little knot of persons, whom I have, for a long time past, called the. Rump, and whom I will not, upon, the present occasion, more par-A ticularly characterise; because it is my intention to address you more at length in a short time. and in a manner by the resorting, to which I hope to convey my sentiments to you all, and to; obtain a rather particular attention to what I intend to address to you.

Men in general, and particularly Englishmen, love fair play, My sole object, at present, in Brougham's attack and my de-

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fonce; but the charge of a Chief ster men; a jury of tradesmen, Justice and the verdict of a Jury. not one of whom did I ever be-Here is, above all things, evi-fore see in my life, to my knowdence given on oath by two ledge, gave him FORTY SHILmembers of the Rump, and by LINGS! Wright and Jackson two of their agents and associates.

Now. Gentlemen. I have to beg you to look well at this evi-land that I had solely to rest upon dence, as you will find it in the report of the trial. Read the evidence with attention, consi- the jury. der well who and what Wright and Jackson are. Look well at the evidence of Adams in particular: and then reflect that this Adams has, for many years, been one of this little knot of persons who have had the chief management of the political concerns of this great and important city.

Recollect. Gentlemen, that Cleary complains that, in consequence of my writings against him he has lost the confidence and even acquaintance of numereus persons who, before, thought well of him. He further complains that divers persons have in consequence of those IN USING VERY STRONG writings, refused to have any transactions with him, and even Now, remember, Gentlemes, to hold discourse with him. For that this decided opinion of his reparation of which grievous in- Lordship applies not only to juries he prays for demages to Cleary and to Wright; but also the amount of two thousand to that of Place, Adome, and the pounds; and a jury of Westmin- whole of the Rump; and that

Bear in mind, too, gentlemen, that I put in no formal justification; that I called no witnesses; the good sense and honesty of the worthy men who composed

As to the trial altogether, it will speak for itself; but suffer me to remark, because the remark is of great importance as to public morals and public kappiness; that the Chief Justice, in his charge to the jury, while he reproved my having stigmatised Cleary as a forger, observed that it was impossible to believe that I could have given my consent to the publishing of the letter if I had been present in England, and that if I had confined myself to the charge of breach of private confidence, ! should have been JUSTIFIED TERMS OF REPROBATION.

you, gentlemen, soberly and candidly to consider these things; and if you do so consider them. I am satisfied that there will want nothing more to rescue this illustrious city from such a degrading political jurisdiction.

I cannot dismiss this letter without availing myself of the opportunity of expressing my best thanks to the gentlemen of the Bar, present in court at the time of the trial. Those gentlemen might be suspected of having no very friendly feeling to- tification under the conviction

it is an opinion which ought to | wards me; but I must say, make Adams ashamed of him- and I say it with peculiar satisself to the end of his life. faction, that, if I had been the -Gentlemen, look at the brother of some of them, and evidence given by Adams upon the father of the rest, they could eath; look at the opinion of the not have discovered, as far as I Chief Justice; look at the de- was able to judge from their cision of your honest fellow-ci- countenances, greater interest tizens the jury; and then reflect in my behalf than they did. By that this Adams has been one hints conveyed along to my of a little group of men, who sons, who sat one on my right, have been intermeddling in the the other on my left, they rengreat political affairs of West- dered me very great assistance, minster; and not only inter- in the cross-examination of the meddling in them. but even witnesses, and also in the mamanaging them so far as to be nagement of my defence. The the estensible persons to de- truth is, they were Englishclare who should be your repre- men; and they very quickly sentatives in Parliament, and saw how base and how foul a who should not! I beseech set of men I had to contend against. It is not in human nature to behold such conspiracies without horror. In the midst of this general feeling in my favour, there sat Mr. Brougham, a solitary exception! He had begun the day's work by representing me as a cruel, hardhearted, unsparing, inveterate. and implacable man; and I am sorry to be compelled to believe, that he quitted the Court, boiling over with mor-

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to my side the hearts of all present except those of his client and his witnesses, and that of himself. He was more than on advocate in the case: he had not command enough of himself to forego this very improper opportunity of seeking for retaliation on another score; but I believe I may say that he found himself totally disappointed in the attainment of his When I saw him arrayed against me, I was ready to say, in the language of a warrior mentioned in the | He Scripture, " Is it peace?" soon convinced me that it was not peace; and I hope that I convinced him that he is likely to gain nothing by a continuation of the war.

I am, Gentlemen, now, as
I always have been,
Your sincere,
And faithful Friend,

WM. COBBETT.

of my having gained over COURTOFKING'SBENCH, DEc. 5.

to my side the hearts of all lord CHIEF JUSTICE, AT WESTMINSTER.

CLEARY v. COBBETT.

This case excited an unusual degree of interest, and the Court was excessively crowded at a very early hour. The defendant appeared in Court to conduct his own cause; and, after a short period passed in trying a question of no public interest, this case was called on.

Mr. CHITTY opened the plead-This was an action for ings. The declaration stated libel. and was founded upon five several libels, and it was only necessary to direct their attention to the first count, which charged that the plaintiff composed and wrote a certain letter, reflecting upon the character of Mr. Henry Hunt, and read at the Westminster Election such letter, stating that it was Mr. Cobbett's, and that Mr. Cobbett charged him (the plaintiff) in his Register, with forging that The other counts reflect upon the conduct of the plaintiff in this transaction. The defendant says that he is not liable, and the damages are laid at two thousand pounds.

Mr. Brougham.—Gentlemen of the Jury—In opening the pleadings, my learned friend had occasion to tell you who it is that defends this action, and it is only necessary to name William Cobbett, in order to bring before you a person, who is, perhaps, the man of all others engaged as a writer in a daily or weekly paper, whose attack upon the

character of an individual is most inconsistency. [Mr. Brougham to be dreaded; a man whose talents it is hardly possible to over-rate, except by saying, that great as they are, they are equalled by the zeal with which he has ever exercised them; and that zeal, great as it is, still less remarkable than the want of scrupulousness with which he has so zealously exercised those powers. But though the name is enough to tell you who defends this action, it is necessary that I should state to you who it is that brings it, and who that individual is against whom those talents have been thus zealously, so little scrupulously, and so unremittingly exerted. He is a gentleman comparatively little known to you, a native of the sister kingdom, a person of good family, filling the situation of a respectable practitioner in the law, and now a member of one of the Inns of Court, for the purpose of qualifying himself for a higher station. After residing for some time with us, and taking part in the political circumstances of the day, he occasionally exercised the right of his elective franchise as an elector of Westminster, zealously, I believe conscientiously, I am sure rightly, and never wrongfully with respect to any individual whatever. Mr. Cleary became connected in the band of political union with Major Cartwright, an individual with regard to whose opinions on such subjects no matter what sentiments were entertained, who was univerinflexible integrity, unimpeachable character, and undeviating say that it was written as far

was here interrupted by a very general laugh.] I beg Major Cartwright's pardon, I meant consistency; I had not the slightest intention of imputing to him what is certainly applicable to others, whose inconsistency is as remarkable as the Major's immutability. I was stating to you, Gentlemen, that Mr. Cleary became devoted to the opinions of Major Cartwright, and after an intimacy of some standing between them, during which he had enjoyed a large portion of that hospitality for which the Major is distinguished, it happened not unnaturally that Mr. Cleary should have been found the foremost in the ranks of his Accordingly, supporters. find him one of the most active of the Major's friends at the Westminster Election. While in the discharge of his duty in a public capacity arose the discussion, out of which these publications proceeded. other of the candidates was Mr. Hunt, and it pleased Mr. Hunt to attack Mr. Cleary in a way, in which he thought the largest latitude of discussion at contested elections could justify. Mr. Hunt read a private letter, written to him in confidence by Mr. Cleary, intended for his eye alone, and baying used it in this way .-Cleary read another letter in retaliation, purporting to be a letter from Mr. Cobbett, but which Mr. Cobbett now disowns. It will be hardly necessary for me sally admitted to be a man of to read this letter, as it will be read hereafter, and I shall only

ly acknowledge that to me at great talents on a subject, howleast it is difficult to discover ever unworthy: I say that all why Mr. Hunt should complain such readers must be aware of of Mr. Cleary's conduct, after the sudden changes that the the use which he had so unjustly made of a private letter of Mr. Cleary's; but why Mr. Cobbett should complain of this. , against whom Mr. Cleary had said not one word, but on the contrary spoken of him as the stay and prop of their common cause, in terms not merely respectful but reverential, that Mr. Cobbett should turn round with vehemence, I will not call it ferocity, is not easily accounted for, at least, it would not be easily accounted for on any other mode of conducting an argument than that which those politicians so pertinaciously pursue. The letter which had been thus read by Mr. Cleary, undoubtedly represented Mr. Hunt to be a very different person from that gentleman, whom Mr. Cobbett was then, at a considerable distance in point of time I admit, in the habit of eulogising. But, why should Mr. Hunt, of all mankind, be rendered unmanageable by such treatment? Was this the only instance, and was he the only man whom Mr. Cobbett had violently abused. and as speedily afterwards lavishly praised? It was not, you will recollect, Gentlemen, the retraction of a single year, or a single month, or a single day on the part of Mr. Cobbett, and all who are in the habit of ministering to their own pleasure by the perusal of this Gentleman's sion; sometimes varying the productions, for it is most un- form, and very often using the questionably a pleasure of a cer-lidentical words, so that from

back as April, 1808. I certain- tain kind, and see the display of opinions of this able writer undergo with respect to the characters of public men and public measures. Almost every number of The Weekly Register is distinguished by this variation.

> The Chief Justice-We are confined at present, Mr. Brongham, to those parts of the publication which are set forth as libels upon the plaintiff in this

action.

Mr. Cobbett-My Lord, I wish that the most extensive scope may be allowed to the Learned Gentleman.

Mr. Brougham—It is certainly my wish, my Lord, to confine myself within those limits which your Lordship justly observes ought not to be passed over. Well, then, Gentlemen, because Mr. Cleary produced this letter, which Mr. Cobbett had written, because he had used it in the manner which I have already described. Mr. Cobbett proceeds to attack him as what? As the person who forged, or caused to be forged, the letter so read by Mr. Cleary; and as you know what Mr. Cobbett's manner is, knowing the levity with which things of so public a nature are apt to be read, and how soon they are forgotten, to dwell systematically upon the same subject, and never once to let go his grip until he has made his impres-

force; in that his peculiar manner does he heal in this case with his unfortunate victim-until every one who reads Mr. Cobbett's Register necessarily mixes up the name of Cleary and forgery, until they at length become associated, and the purpose of the calamny is thus completely accomplished. After having dwelt on this, the most pernicious of all these libels. it would be useless for me to occupy your time in alluding to the others, which however serious or severe, are less calculated to do mischief to the plaintiff's character. But I may tell you, that I have not stated the worst part of this libel, because you will find in another part of it that which alone was wanting to complete the calumny: the motives of the for gery are there assigned. After talking of a petition which had been signed very generally as the leffect of his own exertion, Mr. Cobbett proceeds to state that this forgery could have originated in no other motive that he could divine, than that of a reward from Sir Francis Burdett, his opulent and base employer. So that this charge involves the basest and the worst motive by which the vilest man on earth could have been influenced. And now I ask you, Gentlemen. if ever a worse libel was published than that which I have now described to you?—I shall not occupy your time in upon the peculiar

the very repetition they acquire interests of this case had I read those libels to you, and simply asked you what would you have felt had you been their object: and what would you have given that none such had ever been written of you, and then-calling upon you to try by such a oriterion the case before you? But as Mr. Cobbett is here to defend himself, it becomes necessary to say a very few words with respect to the charge itself. You will observe the great advantage that defendants are placed under who deal in general abuse, in vague and undefined censure. which is incapable of justification; but here is the case of a defendant charging an individual with uttering a forged letter, knowing it to be forged. and the evidence is within his own reach to substantiate that charge. If the letter is not Mr. Cobbett's, he had an opportumity of justifying upon the record, and thus defeating the action at once, by proving that it was a forgery, and shewing that Mr. Cleary had uttered it. knowing it to be a forgery. What has he done? he has merely pleaded the general issue, thus admitting that the letter is not a forgery, though he has hitherto repeatedly denied that it was his hand-writing, and has asserted that it was forged by Cleary, for the purpose of gaining a reward or a bribe from his base employer. Now, gentlemen, to anticipate what may be the line of his defence would be quite impossible. shade of criminality by which it All topics are open to him; but marked, and, perhaps, I I trust that you will not listen should have better consulted the to him on one topic, should he

happen to dwell upon it. If you, Are we to be told that the only hear any thing said about freedom of discussion, if one word escapes him about the liberty which every honourable man of the press, do not shut your prizes more highly than all ears against it; but hear it for other earthly boons, is to become the sake of free discussion, for the sport and sarcasm of every the sake of Mr. Cobbett, and for the sake of the liberty of the press; and no advocate of that freedom of discussion, of its champion or individual? If Mr. Cobbett can its liberty, will require less than leave any doubt on your minds I do, namely, that it should be that such a law would not be restrained by no other fetters fatal to the press, give as small than truth. Gentlemen, I will give to Mr. Cobbett, and to all who write for the public, the amplest means of attacking all opinions, of violently assaulting those establishments under which these opinions have been cherished, they shall have the use yourselves in my client's situaof every weapon they please tion, and say what would you for the purpose of eliciting truth without stint or control. I will not quarrel with the weapons they use any more than I will with the subjects which they attack; their vulgarity shall pass for strength, their ribaldry shall be wit, their buffoonery playfulness, they shall libel all men as well as all things, they shall month after month, or day after day, blacken or illustrate those characters they please; there must be but one limit to their range, and that is truth-one control to their aberrations, and that is falsehood. They must not range **nader** the dominion of that spirit of mischief, but if they assert, they must be prepared to prove, and if they do not prove, they must be held guilty, not of invective, but of calumny. " before the people of Eng-

property which is not defended by law is character, that this coward calumniator? Are we to be told that an unbounded license is allowed to fritter down the fair fame of every honest damages as you please against him, but if all he says tends only to confirm you in the conviction of a contrary opinion, then I only ask that you should revert to that criterion to which I have before alluded. not give, rather than suffer under such unmerited calumny? I only ask that you should award against the defendant such damages as you would give to one whose peace of mind, not to say whose health, has been incurably injured by these publications.

THE LIBELS.

From Register, of 5 September, 1818.

" Now, though you doubtless " would not forge a Letter for "so base a purpose, I declare "that you have re-published "a forgery; I declare this " to be a forgery; I accuse "Cleary, before the people of "America, as I have done

"land, of having forged this "gery of my hand-writing; " letter, or, which is the same " and this he does from no other "in point of baseness, of having possible motive, that I can obtained it from a man who divine, than that of a pecu-"had forged it, and which man "niary reward from his opulent "he well knew to have been "and base employer." " guilty of forging my writing name, for fraudulent From Register of 5 Decem-" and " purposes, many times: Mr. Cleary " now appeared in a new cha-" racter, instead of shunning ob-" servation, he courted it. He "expressed great gratitude to "me; and, he accused Sir " Francis Burdett of desertion " and cowardice. Yes, that " very Sir Francis Burdett whom " he now endeavours to uphold " by blackening the character " ferior animals, as to justify so " of my friend, and that too, "through the means of a for-

ber, 1818.

"Cleary, we are told, was "mounted on a white chargér: " emblem of purity! He should "have had a pillion behind " him for his forging associate. "That would have capped the " climax of purity, though God " has not given to Man a do-"minion so absolute over in-" horrible a degradation of the " honest charger."

" Baronet.-My dear and faithful friend, thou reason'st well, It must be so. * (Sits down to write.) Here! (rising) This potent checque to Coutts's swiftly bear: The means, far more than ample, you'll find there, To drench my householders and deck their wives: To make them, 'gainst Hunt's mob, expose their lives, And, 'gainst himself, to arm with dirks or knives: And if the ruffian come to seek me out, You'll swear, dear Cleary, I have got the gout. " Cleary.—We'll Hunt, my Liege, attack by forgery, And make him black as -" Baronel.——Hell, you'd doubtless say; Ah! dearest Cleary, that's the only way!

But, who'll believe?

Tis Cobbett's name we take. " Cleary.—

" Baronet.—The sound, dear Cleary, gives my nerves a shake.

But, can you blacken absent Cobbett too!

" Cleary .- We'll try, my Liege, what your bank-notes will do With Walter, Stewart, Perry, all the tribe, No man of whom who will not take a bribe.

" Baronet.—Bless'd paper-money, last and best supply; That lends corruption swifter wings to fly ! +

^{*} Play of Cato. + Pope's Satires.

That from the poll makes men like Cartwright flee, And fills the senate's seats with men like me!

" Cleary.—My Liege, I haste your wishes to obey; And blacken'd Hunt shall rue the provocation Given by his ruffian band. Into His affairs most private will we enter: His debts and dues, the treatment of his wife. And his amours at every stage of life; And though he still may act the here's part, We're sure, at least, to wring a woman's heart. Adieu! my Liege, and---- (going.)

" Baronet.—One word, dear Cleary. Twere well, indeed, to talk of debts and dues, Of wife neglected, and e'en of living With another's wife; but, if a child he have By wife of bosom friend, for maintenance Of which he money gave, and then re-took, At hazard of exposure of the dame: In such a case, it were not wise the act To hold aloft to public scorn.

" Cleary.--Ecod! To horse that's blind a wink's as good as ned! And now I go to bother, lie and bribe; To forge myself, or hire a forging scribe; To make our 'England's Glory' brighter shine, And fix you in your seat by right divine."

"The challenge of the little (" been descried by the Baronet. "contemptible reptile, Cleary, " and who had called him in " was however, the thing which " my hearing, and that of an-"had most offended him. He "other oredible witness, by all "had seen this creature, the "the names descriptive of a "mere cat's-paw of the Baronet." deserter, a coward, and a mean "He had seen him stuck upon "wretch; this Cleary, that the " the white charger, but he did " not, till he saw me here, know " senting his memorable peti-"the political history of this "tion, by pretending it was too "Cleary; this challenger of you; "humble, and by saying, 'I'd "this would have been hang- " see them damned before I'd "man of the unfortunate re-" present such a petition to "sisters in Derbyshire. Wor-" them; this Cleary, who "thy agent of the Baronet!"

"the Baronet's authorised agent | " see thee damned ere 1'd call " in the work of founding coun-" 'thee coward!' This Cleary, " try Hampden Clubs, who had " who, after reading my attacks

"Baronet shuffled out of pre-" laughed heartily at this shuf-" fle, which I compared to the From Register, 26th Dec. 1818. " bullying shuffle of Falstaff: 'I "This Cleary, who had been " 'call thee coward, Hal: I'd

"upon the Baronet, and after |" you up against Mr. Hunt; but "witnessing his intrigue with "as soon as it was discovered " the Rump for putting forward |" that Kinnaird would not pass: "Kinnaird in order to keep "as soon as it was discovered you out; this Cleary, with all "that the people would not this knowledge of characters, "listen to Kinnaird, then Clear "and of the real views of the "ry, having negociated your "parties, becomes the open, " the avowed, the brazen-faced, "the shameless agent of the "a seat at all events, and to Talk of miracles, " Baronet. "indeed; of miracles wrought | " sarv." " by fasting and praying; what " are these compared with a " by men rose for the purpose " handful of Bank-notes! The " very act of joining the Baro-" net, this act on the part of " Cleary, who had spoken of " him as of a coward or traitor. " was base enough; but to be-" come his chief agent in the " annoying and assailing of Mr. " Hunt, was truly detestable. " However, this man must be " regarded as being of himself He was a " nothing at all. "mere hired Secretary of the "tion? Nay he did not at-"Hampden Club; and he has "tempt to do nearly so much; " now been the mere servant of " and yet Cleary would have "Burdett as completely as old " John the porter is the Baro-" net's servant. To view this " Cleary in any other light would | " be not only ridiculous, but it "would be to do great injus-"tice. Cleary is a thing here " to-day and gone to-morrow. "We must not, therefore, suffer "the sins of the Baronet to be ! " carried away by such a scape-"goat. Cleary has been the "agent, and nothing more "than the agent. When the "Rump had resolved upon Kin- |" down to act as the hangman "naird, they detached Cleary "of those whom the Baronet "to affect friendship for you, "had first stimulated to action "and to aid others in setting "and then deserted."

" resignation, becomes the agent " of the Baronet to procure him " calumniate Mr. Hunt if neces-

" It is undoubted that the Der-" of obtaining their rights by "force of arms. And this is "what Cleary calls robbery. " murder, and rioting. So that "after all the big talk about " resisting oppression, we come "to this: that if men are de-" feated in their attempts to re-" sist, they ought to be hanged " as criminals. What did Bran-" dredth do more than was done . " by the Whigs at the Revolu-" been his volunteer hangman."

" They were a set of men de-"luded and deceived by us. " And it was we, and not they, " who ought to have been hang-" ed and beheaded. It was, in "this case, you, my dear Sir, " to hang whom the Reformer, " Cleary, ought to have volun-" teered his services."

"That the fourth assertion is " true I have no doubt. I have " have no doubt that Cleary " would have cheerfully gone

EVIDENCE.

JOHN WRIGHT swore that the letter, which was produced, was in Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing; that he, Wright, was Mr. Cobbett's agent in 1808; that he then received the letter from The letter was then read as follows. It is addressed to Mr. John Wright, No. 5. Panton-square, London.

"Botley, 10 April 1808. Plenty to-mor-(,row.

" DRAR SIR.

" I send by the Gosport mail,

" a parcel of copy, "Go to the Committee by all " means. Let us suffer no little " slights to interfere with our " public duty. That is the way " with those only, who are ac-"tuated by selfish motives. " shall be in town on Thursday "night next, or on Saturday " night. The former will, I "think, be the day. If I find " all to be good men and true, "we will make such a stir as " has not for some time been All the " made. gentlemen " whom I meet with are loud in " Sir Francis Burdett's praise. " His motion about the cashier-"ing of officers, has gained " him thousands of valuable " friends. So bent was I upon "calling for a purgation of " that damned House, that I "was resolved to petition " ALONE, if any one would " have presented my petition. "The nation is heart-sick of it. ney-General, and also to the " It is impossible for both fac- late Mr. Whitbread, he swore " tions united to calumniate our he had not. He acknowledged

" ought, and do not mix with " men of bad character. There " is one Hunt, the Bristol-man " - Beware of him! He rides "about the country with a "wo-, the wife of another "man, having descrited his " own-a sad fellow! nothing " to do with him .- Adieu.

" WM. COBBETT.

"P. S.—I will write to Sir " J. Astley. I am very sorry for " his misfortune indeed. I want " very much to see some man " who has planted upon a large " scale. Cutting upon a large " scale is the order of the day " here."

The part in Italicks is the only part that appeared in the New York papers, as having been read on the Hustings; the only part put into the London papers; and the only part seen by Mr. Cobbett, when he asserted it to be a forgery. The person, to whom the letter was addressed, was not mentioned.

WRIGHT, on his cross-examination, said, that he gave the letter to Place, one of Sir Francis Burdett's election-committee, called by Mr. Cobbett, the Rump. He acknowledged that he had shown to the Romp two others of Mr Cobbett's letters; but, he said, that it was only with a view of proving the correspondence in the postmarks. Being asked, whether he had offered to show Mr. Cobbett's letters to the Attor-" motives, if we proceed as we that he had shewn a letter of

about'a year ago...

The letter was produced in Court amongst others in a vo-

lume. 7 WRIGHT said that this volume consisted of letters of Mr. Cobbett to the witness. said he had carried it into Court, last winter. He swore that he did not see the volume turned over upon that occasion by Mr. Gurney or by any body else. He put the letters in a volume as a guard. He was at the hustings when the letter was read by Cleary. Could not hear whether it was all read. Did not know whether it was all put in the newspapers the next day. Did not hear his own name mentioned on the hustings. knowledged that 'the original letter had been kept and exhibited at Samuel Brookes's, glassman, in the Strand. Said, that he had been applied to to let Mr. Cobbett's son see the letter. and that he had refused. Gave as a reason, that he feared it would be snatched. Said it was kept and shown in a double glass case. Did not know whether Mr. Brookes and the whole of the Rump would have been able to prevent it being snatch-Denied-that he ever threatened to show Mr. Cobbett's private letters if Mr. Cobbett did not refrain from exposing certain peculiary attempts of the witness.

JOHN PAUL swore to the hand-writing of the letter, and said that he saw it, amongst others, some years ago.

Mr. Cobbett's to Mr. Brougham, for publishing his Register white. he was in America; and that, he received, for his trouble, as third part of the profits. Thatthe libels produced were sent to him by Mr. Cobbett; that he published them under the authority of Mr. Cobbett. On cross-examination, which was very long, he acknowledged. amongst other things, the following; that he was introduced to Mr. Cobbett by Lord Cochrane; that Mr. Cobbett never wronged him or offended him or given him an ill word either verbally, or by letter: that he was acquainted with Wright and with Cleary, during. Mr. Cobbett's absence. Being asked whether he had ever shown Mr.Cobbett's manuscripts (previous to publication) at Brookes's, in the Strand, he said he might have done it. Being asked whether he, with Wright, Cleary and others, were not looking over a parcel of Mr. Cobbett's manuscripts at Brookes's. one day when Sir Rd. Phillips. dropped in, he said he did not particularly recollect; but would not swear that it was not so. Being asked whether, upon the receipt of a Register, containing. animadversions on the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, he did not hold a council, or consultation, at Major Cartwright's house, when he submitted the said manuscripts, to the Major. and to Mr. Parkins, he answers ed that this was the case. Being asked whether the results was not that the manuscript should be put into print and. published, he answered that. WILLIAM JACKSON swore such was the result. Being that he was Mr. Cobbett's agent 'asked, whether, at the very time

he could not recollect: said that swered. der them as solely at his own himself as being invested with made an assertion to this effect, full authority to leave out whatanswered them in the affirmatice. Being asked, whether he had not, without any leave Lord Cochrane had from Mr. Cobbett, inserted in the Register a letter from Cleaanswored in the affirmative. Being asked, whether he had not written for Cleary, or assisted Cleary in writing (during) the absence of Mr. Cobbett) a pamphlet addressed to Ma-knowledged that he got it from jor Cartwright, containing bit- Wright.—He said that it was ter reflections on Mr. Cobbett's taken to the Rump Committee; conduct and character; being and that after that, he gave it asked this, he threw himself on to Cleary for the purpose of the protection of the Court; and being read upon the hustings.

that this intimacy existed be-squestion tended to render the tween himself, Wright, Cleary witness liable to an action, he was and the Rumn; at the very time, not bound to answer it.—Being or about the very time, also, asked whether he had not when he might have shown joined Cleary in an affidavit, by some of the manuscripts at means of which a warrant was Brookes's, and when Sir Rd. obtained from the Chief Justice. Phillips might have dropped in to seize Mr. Cobbett, carry him there; being asked, whether, to a lock-up-house, hold him to at, or about, this very time, he bail and to make him justify bail, did not write to Mr. Cobbett, a on account of this action of letter, in which he congratulat- Cleary; being asked this, Mr. ed Mr. Cobbett upon having Brougham interfered, and the tickled the Rump; being asked Chief Justice determined that this question, he answered that the question could not be an-Being, then asked, he might have done it; would whether he himself had sworn not swear that he had not done that he published the Register it. Being asked whether Mr. for Mr. Cobbett's benefit, with-Cobbett had not written him a out stating that it was partly letter to use his own discretion for his own; being asked this, with the manuscripts; to consi- Mr. Brougham again interfered, and the question was not aldisposal as to publication or not; lowed to be answered.—Being whether he did not consider asked whether he had ever he said that he might have done soever he pleased in order to it.—Being asked again whether avoid the danger of the law; he had ever received any probeing asked these questions, he vocation from Mr. Cobbett, he said he never had.—Being asked whether he did not know that mended him to Mr. Cobbett as a person of SINGULAR FIry in answer to Mr. Cobbett, he DELITY, he said he did not know it.

FRANCIS PLACE of Charing Cross) swore to the hand writing of the letter.—On his cross-examination he achis Lordship said, that, as the -Being asked whether the

did not recollect.—Being asked made of Mr. Hunt and the whether it was mentioned upon Lady, as intended for publicaaddressed to Wright, and that it was written ten yeare before. he answered that he could not recollect.—Being asked, whether the whole of the letter was published the next day in the newspapers, he said he did not recollect; being asked who it approving was that sent the letter or any know.—Being asked whether he Committee, said he was.

WILLIAM ADAMS (Curhis cross-examination, he swore the Committee (now called the tested election for Westminster. Being asked whether the whole letters being read at the hustings, he said he believed they did. Being asked, whether he l considered the promulgation of this letter as proper, he answered in the affirmative.—Being asked whether he considered the letter as a public one or a!

whele of it was read, he said he | part, wherein mention was the hustings that the letter was tion.—He was asked, "do you "say upon your oath, that you " regard that part of the letter "wherein Mr. Hunt and the. "lady are mentioned, as intend-"ed for publication?" answered, "Yes, I did." Being asked as to his reasons for of the reading letter of the bv part of it to be published in the he answered, that he thought, newspapers, he said he did not it right, after he had seen the attacks of the writer on Sir F. was a member of the Rump Burdelt.—Being asked whether the letter, as published in Cobbett's Register from the New rier of Drury Lane) swore that York Evening Post, was the he had seen the letter in 1808; same as that which was given. that it had then been brought to Cleary to read, he answered, by Wright, and shewn to the that, he had never read Cobbett's Westminster Committee.—On Register since it began to attack Sir F. Burdett.—Being asked, that the letter was brought to whether having, from feelings. of delicacy, ceased to read Mr. Rump) in 1818, during the con- Cobbett's public writings in 1818, the same feelings of delicacy had induced him to begin of the Rump approved of the reading Mr. Cobbett's private. writings; being asked this. question, he appeared to say something which was amidst the laughter of the auditory.

W. MOLYNEUX (a printer) swere that he printed the Registers containing the libels, and private one, he answered, that that the manuscript from which he considered part of it to be he printed was, he believed, in intended for publication.—Being Mr. Cobbett's hand-writing. On asked which part, he answered, his cross-examination, being askthe part relating to Mr. Hunt, ed whether he ever saw Mr. and the Lady.—This question Cobbett write, he said, Yes. was put to him in various shapes, once. "When ?" - " About several times, and he repeatedly "three years ago." "Where?" asserted, that he regarded the "In Catherine-street, in the

"Strand." "What !"-" An on Major Cartwright, on Sir " Order on Tipper and Fry for " paper." "You say, on your " oath, then, that you saw me " write an order for paper on "Tipper and Fry !"-" Yes." "Then I will ask you not one "other question." The witness then got down, in a furried manner, and then stepped up again and uttered the words: "at least, I believe."

[Here Mr. Brougham closed his case. Major Cartwright was in Court before the trial began. and continued there 'till it was ended; but he was not called by Cleary. HANSARD, the printer, had been subposnaed by them, and also Dolby, in the Strand; but neither of them were called. The Chief Justice then called upon Mr. Cobbett for his defence, which consisted of a speech which occupied exactly two hours; and of which the following is the best outline that we have been able to collect from the newspapers; and considering the variety of the topics, the rapidity of the utterance, and the interruption which was so frequently given by the laughter prevailing in the Court, it is quite surprizing that the gentlemen who make reports, should, with all their talent, have been able to give any thing so near to the truth. great deal they have certainly complaints. It is, nevertheless,

F. Burdett, or on any persons cordially engaged in the cause of Reform: it becomes him to observe, that every word of this sort imputed to him in that paper, or that may be imputed to him in any other paper, has been so imputed without any foundation whatever. He must in fairness add, that the Report in the Courier, is, as far as it goes, candid and true.

DEFENCE.

Mr. COBBETT had not the vanity to suppose that he could conduct his defence with half that effect with which it would have been managed by many gentlemen whom he saw around him; but the jury must have perceived that he had a particular description of men to deal with; and perhaps he should not have prevailed upon any gentleman at the bar to handle those men in the way which he had been compelled to do. Mr. Brougham; who had been selected upon the present accasion for what he (Mr. Cobbett) could not help calling a premeditated attack upon him, had thought fit to compliment him with the possession of very considerable powers, probably in order to induce the jury to believe him a hard-hearted, left out, for which, perhaps, the wicked, bloody-minded fellow, desendant ought to offer them who would rip (for that Mr. his thanks rather than make Cobbett believed had been Mr. Brougham's 'expression'). any bis duty to observe, that, in the body to pieces; and it was in Need Wimes, he has been very some cort to get rid of that unmalignantly misropresented implication that he now and that every word of surcusm was trespassing upon the time

of the Court. deal in such aspersions, and he (Mr. Cobbett) was not prepared to say that he should answer that gentleman in the way in which he ought to be answered; but he would do his best, before he entered upon the case, to remove some of the imputations which so much pains had been taken to produce. The learned Counsel had begun by his feeble efforts, as he had thought fit to term them, to describe the man whom the Jury had to deal with. The Jury must have expected to see a sort of monster drawn forth into the light; but he trusted he should convince them, one and all, that among the many libellers who had attacked him (Mr. C.), Mr. B. by no means deserved the least distinguished situation. Mr. B. had ascribed to him talent and zeal, and had said that he was to be dreaded. To be dreaded! dreaded! was not a very high compliment to tell a man that he was to be dreaded. Some of the persons, however, who had stood in the witness-box to-day could have told the Jury, could have given satisfactory evidence, that he was not a person to be dreaded; but that he was too gentle, too liberal, too generous, and too easy to be duped; and, moreover, of all those facts Mr. Brougham was well aware. Mr. Brougham had described him as

It was very easy lisher of his own writings; he for a practised, disciplined bar- had been a writer for twentyrister like Mr. Brougham to eight years in England and in America; and yet, with all his over-zeal-and he wished to Heaven some people had recently shown as much zeal as he was taxed with; but, with all his excess of zeal and lack of scruple, he had never, in the course of twenty years' writing in England, been subjected to an action for libel, until the present action had been brought by a set of conspirators; and conspirators he would prove them before he had done with them. Mr. Brougham ought to have known that; indeed he did know it: and therefore his zeal. for once, for his client had caused him to overstep that which he knew to be true. In England. he repeated, he had never had an action against him; and, in 'America, only one; that was for a libel upon a physician. physician (father, by the by, of the present American ambassadorin London) had alledged that he lost practice to the amount of 20,000 dollars per annum; and 5000 dollars damages had been given against him (Mr. Cobbett); but the people had paid the money; and he (Mr. Cobbett) had done a service to the country by rescuing the people from his inexorable lancets. Twenty years had he been writing in England; he had not suffered the grass to grow under his feet, scarce a week had passed but he had written somea man without scruple; as a sort | thing; and yet he had never of libeller surpassing all other before had an action against him From first to last he had for libel. There was not a been a writer, and often a pub- Newspaper, not a Magazineno. not even the Evangelical- views; even the Edinburgh that could say as much; and, to Review, with all its clish-mamark him out as a libeller! The claver, had not been free; but learned Gentleman had drawn it had crept out of consequences a picture both hideous and by those softening arts which minal prosecutions! Well. In so well how to adopt, while the first case of criminal prosecution against him in England. the MS, had proceeded from a Judge; it had been handed to him by a Member of Parliament; it had been certified to be true by a Margnis and another Member of Parliament. Agreeably to the original contract between the parties, the Judge not coming forward to prove the truth of the libel (as he might have done, because there was an action also on the same libel), the MS. was given up; there was a trial at bar, where the Court was prepared to hold that the smallest alteration of the MS., even of a letter, would have prevented a conviction; the Judge was convicted: and instead of two vears' imprisonment and a fine of 1.000l.. and securities for half a dozen years, and so forth, the Judge got a snug pension of 1,200l, a-year for his life. As for the prosecution by the Attorney-General, he (Mr. Cobbett) could only say that it had done him no harm. It had given him leisure indeed, and he had written and revised many things during his confinement. He had gone into prison sound; and he had come out sound; · and his seven years of recogni-

But there had been cri- the northern Gentlemen knew southern stupid fools ran their heads into a gaol. With respect to the protection of private character, that subject had been improperly introduced .-Cleary was not a private individual; he was a public character, a political character; be had been mixed up with Major Cartwright, whom he had hoped to have seen put into the ber by Mr. Brougham. the associate of Major Cartwright!-yes, as a bug might be said to be a man's bed-fellow., In the speech of the learned Gentleman, the plaintiff Cleary was described as intimately connected with Major Cartwright, and as having been introduced to him by a great number of friends, all of whom regarded Cleary as an enthasiast in the cause of Reform. He was to be not only a brother, but a bed-fellow, of the Reformer's. If, then, the connexion between Cleary and Major Cartwright was to be put into the fore-ground of the plaintiff's case; if that was to be made a leading part, and to form a chief ingredient in the plaintiff's claim for damages-how did it happen that the venerable Major, who was then in Court, had not been put into the box as a zance had expired. Look at witness? He (Mr. Cobbett) had the Times and the Chronicle, flattered himself, that, however and the other newspapers; look tight bound the rest of the wilat the Magazines and the Re-Inesses might prove, the oppor-

tunity would still remain to him, appointed under secretary to the of extracting from Major Cart- Hampden Club, at the subscripwright the true history of the case. It had been represented that the friends of Cleary had succeeded in prevailing upon Major Cartwright to receive and adout the plaintiff, as qualified to move in the first ranks of reform. It was also represented that he was quite disinterested. and looked to no other reward than the success of the common Now had the evidence of Major Cartwright been called for that individual, whose evidence was all important on this particular, they (the gentlemen of the Jury) would perhaps have heard a different account. Major Cartwright would have proved more: he would have informed them that Cleary was anything but a private chavactor; that, as to what had been said about invading family happiness, Cleary was the last man whose private circle or whose domestic fire-side was liable to interruption. In order to show how improbable it was that the harmony of this man's home should be disturbed by the writings in question, he would for a moment or two advert to his first appearance on the stage of English politics. In the year 1812 he came over from Ireland, where he had been clerk to a scrivener, and became what the French called sous se-Instead of imitating many of his worthy countrymen in industriously sweeping the learned gentleman either to recrossings, or aiming at the post, ject or to take for granted the for which he (Mr. Cobbett) did circumstances now stated, and not mean to dispute his qualifica- by referring to his ownepleasure tions, of a tight little fellow of merely, in the exercise of that

tion office of which the defendant had seen him stuck up like Matthew at the receipt of For what he did. custom ! or did not, in that office, it could be proved by Major Cartwright, in direct contradiction to the plaintiff's statements, that he received pay. His (Mr. Cobbett's) son had also been subponned, and why was he not put into the box? Had he been he might have confirmed or supplied the testimony of the Major, and have satisfied them as to the purity and disinterestedness of Mr. Cleary. 'In the paper of March 6th, this patriotic Irishman was fairly stated to have complained, in his (Mr. Cobbett's) house in Catherine-street. that the Club owed him money. although he had since sworn that nothing could be offered to a gentleman like him, and had also sworn that he was a gontleman.

Mr. Brougham objected to this part of the defendant's address, as including facts not supported by evidence, and which the Court, therefore, would feel itself bound to restrain, as matter tending to preposees the minds of the jury.

Mr. COBBETT said he had no control over the learned gentleman, nor did he perceive why the learned gentleman should endeavour to control him; it was at the discretion of the a footman, he contrived to get discretion, he would perhaps be

but following the fashion of his | professions, own part of the country.

Mr. Brougham insisted on the validity of his objection.

The Lord Chief Justice remarked that the rule was ex-

tremely clear.

Mr. COBBETT resumed.—He was truly surprised that the learned gentleman should be so full of objections, after the full swing which he had himself indulged in. He had been about to proceed with his account to the Jury of this Cleary's progress after his arrival in this country. It might be easily supposed that he was soon enlisted under the banners of Major Cartwright, and little wonder would arise, at hearing, that he very soon after assumed the capacity of an apostle of reform, with a bundle of lectures in his pocket. and, in the comfortable conveyance of a horse and gig, he commenced his travels through the country.

The Lord Chief Justice.-" I think. Mr. Cobbett, you are now descending too much into particulars."

Mr. COBBETT assured the Court, that his only object was to satisfy the Jury that the plainsiff was unworthy of any da-

mages.

The Lord Chief Justice.-" My only doubt is, whether you are not entering more minutely than any supposed necessity of him to restrain the defendant, the case requires, into circumstances which the Court and Jury cannot receive upon your unsupported statement.

Mr. COBBETT said his intention was to show that this very Cleary had, notwithstanding his

declared himself ready to be the executioner, and had perhaps led to the execution, of the unfortunate men who perished upon the scaffold in Derbyshire.

The Lord Chief Justice.— "I cannot listen to this; what relevancy has it to the question

before the Court?

Mr. COBBETT said, he was prepared to show, that the plaintiff was paid for travelling, with a view to the institution of country Hampden Clubs. Of these societies, as well as of all other political clubs, he had never disguised his disapprobation. For his own part, he had never. during the whole course of his life, encouraged or assisted the formation of one single nest of this kind. The plaintiff had told his family, prior to his own going abroad, and to the Westminster election in the year 1818, at their residence in Catherine-street. that Sir F. Burdett was a deserter from the public cause; that he was a coward and a mean fellow. and had not paid to him (Cleary) the money which he had been This fact, also, the promised. Major might have established in evidence, had he been called on the other side.

The Lord Chief Justice here observed, that no justification had been put on the record; it was extremely unpleasant to but the Court was bound to act in all cases upon general rules.

Mr. COBBETT declared he had no wish to consume unnecessarily the time either of his Lordship or of the Jury.

The Lord Chief Justice.

"My time is nothing; I only others to persuade Mr. Hunt to desire that the principles upon | yield his pretensions; but faith, which the Court acts should be Mr. Hunt would not resign. elearly understood."

Mr. COBBETT, adverting to what the learned Counsel had said with respect to the Westpresent controversy originated man of the unfortunate Derby observed, that if Major Cartthat Cleary was not the person this controversy, or the provocaentitled to complain, as he was tion received by Cleary, he, actually the aggressor in publish- | who was at the time in America. ing a private letter, improperly had no contern whatever with obtained from a treacherous it, and it was obviously unjust, lising a particular candidate at feel, that he should suffer for that election, and involving the conduct of others; yet him (Mr. Cobbett) in a quarrel Cleary, with the consent. or Cartwright had been adduced as Rump Committee, thought proshewn that which the Major him. justice to admit, that he had al- made of him for having called ways and decidedly disapproved the letter alluded to a forgery, of these political clubs, to promote the establishment of which Counsel, that he had (as much Cleary was specially employed. He disapproved of such clubs. because he could not help regarding them as so many little nests, over which the agents of minster Election, alluded to in this case, it would be recollectwell as Sir F. Burdett .-- Cleary them he

Thence a controversy arese. and Mr. Hunt thought proper to read a letter of Cleary's, in which the latter expressed his minster Election, at which the readiness to become the hangpeople, who composed one of wright had been placed in the the nests formed by himself, and witnesses' box, as he should over which Oliver threw his net. have been, he could have shewn But whatever were the mists of agent, for the purpose of scanda- as a jury of honest men must with this candidate. If Major rather at the instigation of the a witness, he should also have per to inflict this suffering upon To-day, as well as on would no doubt have had the other occasions, complaint was and it was urged by the Learned as) been guilty of charging Cleary of uttering a forged note. But here he must observe, in order to repel the impression which the Learned Government might at any time Counsel sought to make, that cast their nets. At the West-there was a very material difference between uttering a forged note and a forged letter. ed, that Major Cartwright and Learned Gentleman dwelt with Mr. Hunt were candidates, as the dexterity of an advocate. upon the crime of uttering a was at the outset an advocate forged bank note, which was a for the Major, but he afterwards felony, but in candour, what ioined the standard of the Ba- comparison was there between ronet and the Rump, and to an act which incurred the peendeavoured with linalty of death, and the uttering

a forged letter, to which no pressed forward by the mempunishment was attached? If his bers of the conspiracy, while (Mr. C.'s) son had been put into the breach of confidence was the box, he would have deposed thrown into the back ground. that he had applied long since to see this letter, in order to see whether it were genuine or not, as some of his friends had said it was. Only a part of this letter was read at the Westminster hustings by Cleary, and from that part he had no recollection of such a letter. and this could not excite any surprise, when it was remembered that the letter purported to would have been fully explainhave been written so far back! as 1808. If the postscript as to Sir Jacob Astley had been published, that circumstance might able action. Adams had dehave brought it to his recol- posed, that he thought the lection, and if so, he should letter meant for publication! have no hesitation in avowing but who that read the whole of it. But that a letter written in it could entertain such an ima hurry, about ten years before pression? Place did not go so it was adduced at the hustings, far as Adams, saying, that he should have escaped his me-thought this letter only meant mory, was not matter of surprise. for the consideration of the But it was evidently a blame- Committee. The letter cautionable matter publicly to read a ed that Committee against Mr. letter of this nature with re-Hunt, who was, as it stated, spect to an individual with travelling about the country whom he was at the time living with a certain female, who was upon friendly terms—whom he not his wife. Now, upon this was then, indeed, recommend-point he could not forbear from ing to the confidence of his expressing his approbation to a country. Place or Wm. Adams, of the lately set up by Col. French, on Westminster Rump, or their co- a similar charge against him. conspirators, thought it fair or That officer pleaded the affecnot to make such a use of a tion and fidelity which he had private letter, he must suppose experienced for a series of years, that the Learned Counsel, as from the female with whom he well as all honourable men, was accused of associating, and could not help regarding such his plea made a due impression a breach of private confidence in his defence. Still he would as a most atrocious act. But not be understood to plead for the charge of forgery was alone the association of Mr. Hant with

There were, however, forgeries of omission as well as of commission: and it was indisputable, that the publication of a mere extract of the letter alluded to did amount to the crime of forcery, for in a garbled state that letter was not his. But had his son, whom the other side had summoned as a witness, been put in the box, this affair ed. However, as the case appeared, the publication of this letter was clearly a dishonour-Whether Francis certain extent of the defence,

the female alluded to. he would ask whether Sir F. Burdett, who had for some weeks enjoyed the hospitality of Mr. Hunt, under the same roof and in the company of this female, were entitled to make that association the subject of public censure? But other persons should have been silent upon this subject as well as Sir F. Burdett. Was it possible, indeed, that any other persons than Wright, Jackson, Cleary, Adams, and Place, could approve of the propagation of such scensure? Could those who condemned the conduct of Majoechi, Demont, and Ompteda, approve of such a breach of confidence as that of which he had, in this instance, so much right to complain? What was there more hateful in those Italian wretches, than in the men whom we have this day seen in the box? Had the Jury looked at their countenances? And had such a set been seen at Dover. would not the honest people there have flung them into the sea? The learned Counsel had alleged that Ompteda had bro ken open the locks of the . Queen's private drawer; but the Baron could not have expected to find Bergami there. . No. If Ompteda had broken the locks, and he could readily believe an Hanoverian Minister willing to do any thing to which the devil himself could be disposed, he must suppose him to do so with a view to find the Princess's letters. But. if there had happened to be a

But I have picked locks, for he might have obtained private fetters by the same means that were resorted to in this case by Place. Adams, and Cleary. We had also heard of Vilmereati and Coloned Browne, and, with regard to them also he might say something, if he were not interrupted.

> The Judge observed that Mr. Cobbett had gone far enough

for his purpose.

Mr. COBBETT resumed, observing that these two personages had seduced the clerk of the Queen's law agent to give up some of her confidential papers, and thus more accurately imitated, rather than formed the example for Place, Adams, and Cleary. Thus the reprobation which the learned Counsel so profusely, but so justly, applied to the Milan Commission, might be transferred to the conspiracy of which he had reason to complain on the present occasion. The learned Counsel had said that his client was so much agitated by the alleged libels. that they were but too likely to interfere with his capabilities to become a practical barrister. to which object his present studies were directed. Now, considering the scarcity of the gentlemen of the bar, and the difficulty of procuring law for love or money, he must say that he should feel seriously responsible if he had the misfortune to occasion a deduction from that learned profession of such an eminent personage as Mr. T. Cleary (a laugh)! It was held Wright in her Royal Highness's to be a crime, even by poachconfidence, Ompteda need not lers, to destroy young birds; he be, if he really had crushed a lawyer in the egg! (Loud) laughing, in which the Court and the Jury cordially participated). He should be really sorry to commit such a crime. although so frequently and so severely provoked by Cleary; for this personage had published several libels upon him before his return from America, in the composition of which libels his faithful agent, Jackson, refused to say that he did not assist. One of those libels, which was the principal, was addressed to Major Cartwright, as the publication purported, by the Ma-Cleary, indeed, jor's consent. boasted that he had four or five times killed him (Mr. C.) with his pen while in America; and the first communication which he received from that literary warrior upon his return to England, was a challenge to fight a duel, threatening him with a stamp of cowardice if he refused to attend to the challenge, but complacently adding, that if he himself were too old to meet the challenger, that challenger would meet his eldest son, for whom he professed a great regard.

Mr. Broughamobserved. that there would be no end to this latitude if the defendant were

allowed to proceed.

The Judge said that if the defendant did not mean to adduce evidence to these statements, they must be thrown out of the consideration of the Jury.

Mr. COBBETT said that Cleary had sent him two challenges, under the shelter of supposition, the first on the 28th of Septem-Irecited all the misconduct with

and how criminal, then, must ber, and the second shortly afterwards, in which he stated, that he (Mr. Cobbett) had done him no harm, and yet but a few days elapsed when Cleary made an affidavit before his Lordship that he had suffered an injury to a certain extent for which he (Mr. Cobbett) was held to bail.

Mr. Brougham again protested against the statements which Mr. Cobbett was making, observing that he understood Mr. Cobbett intended to produce no

evidence.

Mr. Cobbett maintained, that the interruptions of the learned Counsel were not justifiable.

The Judge said, that it was his duty to tell the defendant that he was not at liberty to state that which he did not mean to prove.

Mr. COBBETT observed, that he was not stating any thing but that which was quite notorious.

The Jungs remarked then. that the notoriety precluded the necessity of the statement.

After some further controversy-

Mr. COBBETT said, that he would put the cases to which he had alluded hypothetically, for the consideration of the Jury, which the Judge admitted, as the Counsel for the plaintiff had put many cases hypothetically, to which he had not attempted to adduce any evidence. Brougham, however, contending that he was entitled to comment upon hypothetical cases. this position was not admitted by the Court.

Mr. COBBETT proceeded, and,

which he charged Wright and Jackson. He men-indeed he had always told his tioned that he had Wright from a prison, fed and letters he might have written. clothed him, and considering he felt confident that he had him as a creature of his own, communicated confidentially for several years. He regarded him as grateful; although, finding him supple, he ought not to have trusted him. In the course of his connexion with him, however, he wrote to him probably 2000 letters upon the most confidential matters with regard to his family and business, and upon turning him off when he had good reason to suspect him, this man retained all those letters. instead of giving them up as became an honest man. To Jackson he was introduced by Lord Cochrane: To him also he gave that confidence which his unsuspecting nature was but too Yet this man, liable to grant. to whom he never gave any offence, was found to use his own he had said a word about Mr. Register for the purpose of publishing attacks upon his character, and to league with his Mr. Hunt's situation. known enemies, Cleary, Wright, Place and Adams, with a view to injure him. Of Molineux, who was also a member of this conspiracy, he should only declare, as he could most solemnly, that he never wrote the order to the impossible to mistake the learned stationers, to which that witness deposed. What then was to inferences which he wished to be thought of the turpitude of this corps, or what security could learned gentleman's allusion 40 there be for any man or his fa- his supposed versatility of onimily, if such breach of confidence nion, he admitted that he had s that of which Wright stood changed, but it was generally convicted could possibly be sanc- from good to better, or at least tioned? But he cared not a from bad to good-while the farthing about this man's expoleraned gentleman's chopping

Cleary, sure of his private letters. released children. For whatever foolish never written any thing which could justify any one in saying that William Cobbett was not an honest man. But, when he said this, he meant the scries of his letters; all, and every part of every one. The hearned Counsel had shown his wish to dwell upon the letter read at Covent Garden hustings as a proof in his conception, that he (Mr. C.) was not consistent in his principles or opinions of mont but notwithstanding this letter. written when he knew nothing of Mr. Hunt, except from common report, he would say that that gentleman possessed great merits, although the learned Counsel showed such a disposition to abuse him.

> Mr. BROUGHAM denied that Hunt: he should indeed; be ashamed to abuse any man in

> The Junck said, that he did not hear the learned Gentleman mention Mr. Hunt.

Mr. COBBETT admitted that Mr. Hunt was not named in the way of reprobation; but it was gentleman's allusion, or the. have drawn. Adverting to the

about was quite of a different tion of damages; the impudescription. as appeared from his renunciation of his written pledge in favour of Radical Reform, which he had lodged in the hands of that faithful gentleman. Mr. F. Place (one of his own witnesses this very day!) who thought proper to give it to the public. What was the sense of this talk about inconeistency? Which of the Jury had not changed their opinion of things, and especially of men? Which of them had not had a clerk, or a servant, whom they had once praised, and afterwards found worthy of reprobation? Othello praised Iago in the middle of the play, but, as last, he called him. " cursed. damned, Iogo!" just as he (the defendant) did with regard to Wright. But what evil genius, what malignant spright, could have instigated the hon. and learned gentleman to adopt this cant about inconsistency! Him. whose shocking inconsistency, whose change from good to bad, had been so completely exposed by the venerable Major, and who, in pretending that his wretched client was connected with the Major, really appeared to be actuated by motives somewhat vindictive, seeming resolved, in repayment for the lash laid on his shoulders by the Maior, to fasten his client on the Major's back for the remainder of his life! This was a conspiracy as foul as any they had heard of lately, although gainst "the peace of our Lord not so important as to the par- the King, his crown and digties against whom it was di- nity." But now it appeared that rected. Now, as to the questithere was a law somewhere,

dence, the audacity of such a man as the plaintiff asking for damages, was unparalleled. The plaintiff had begun the attack; he had poured forth pampMet after pamphlet against him (the defendant), to which he had made, by the by, no reply.

Mr. Brougham-I must make the same observation as I have made before. If Mr. Cobbett has any evidence to prove this, I have no objection to his arguing

upon it.

The CHIEF JUSTICE observed. the defendant should confine himself to what had proved, or what he intended to

prove.

Mr. Cobbett proceeded .-The plaintiff had taken him to the Judge's chambers. He (the defendant) did not impute to the Judge that he had acted unfairly; Judges were but men; they were obliged to believe men on their oaths; but this was a very extraordinary pro-The Jury knew that, ceeding. according to the new law, or according to the modern interpretation of the law, when a man now-a-days was prosecated for a seditions libel, he might be brought before a Justice of the Peace, who, according to an oath made before him, might bind the party over till the time of trial, and mean time to keep the peace. That was tight enough in all conscience; yet that was for an offence against the State; aand if he had been learned in Cleary had gone to a Judge to the law, he might have been able to fish it out for them, that, if a paper were written against a man, which he chose to call a libel, he might go before a Judge, and swear that he had sustained injury from that publication, though he had the moment before declared that he had received no damage at all, and at the same time swear, that the person who had written the paper was going to leave the country; it was law, that on the strength of these declarations the writer might be carried to a lock-up house till he gave security to answer for it as if for a bona fide debt. This was the first time he (the defendant) had ever heard of such a law, and he believed it never had been law in England; that ingwar into the bosom of private at least for an hundred years such a thing had been never heard of. swear that he did not know that life? And he, the mild Mr. he (the defendant) had issued the prospectus of a Daily Paper; that he had, in conjunction with his son, taken a house in the Strand for that purpose; and that he was living with his family at Botley. All this was well known to every one who read the newspapers; and no man did or could suppose that he had come across the Atlantic. and would then immediately go back again. His intention of staying here, and his plans of business, were as notorious as the Queen's going to St. Paul's on Wednesday se'nnight'; his office was as notorious, at least, man or his client:---He begreed as St. Clement's church in the they would not give their sainc-Strand: Yet, knowing all this, tion to the basest treachery ever

swear that he apprehended that he should quit the country. Was ever act so malicious or base? It was then spread the next day." through all the respectable newspapers, that Cobbett was arrested for debt by Cleary.

The CHIEF JUSTICE.—This is. not stated in evidence.

Mr. Brougham.—Mr. Cleary made the usual affidavit of debt.

Mr. Cobbett, Lit might be presumed, from the circumstances of the case, that it must have got abroad. It did, in fact, get abroad; it was published in the country papers, and, among the rest, in the Hampshire Parson's Paper, where it was read by his (the defendant's) wife, at Botley. Talk of carry? families! Could any act like this be ascribed, to William, Cobbett Jackson would not in the long course of his public Cleary, came to be protected against the furious William Cobbett! Feebleness was often taken for mildness; -but they should recollect that the feeblest animals were often the most malicious—rentiles the "most crawling were the most vendinous. He begged the July to look at the whole transaction honestly, from the beginning to the end; that they would not be made the instruments of robbing him and his family. though he would rather that should be the case buckle to the learned gentlethink once again of the coun-produced. Never was there so tenances of the witnesses before much assertion and so little proof their decision: afterwards, no doubt, they would be glad to forget them for ever (a laugh.) He begged them to mark with reprobation this abominable system of espionage, this spy systent, to shew the natural abhorrence of Englishmen at what was base, and to let their decision stamp the infamy of those who had been guilty of such a breach of private confidence.

The Chief Justice summed up the evidence, and charged the

The Jury retired for about three quarters of an hour, and then brought in their verdict: -Damages, FORTY SHIL-LINGS. .

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWERS TO ADDRESSES.

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE PA-RISH OF ST. MARY, ISLINGTON.

My cordial thanks are due to the inhabitants of the parish of St. Mary, Islington, for this loyal and affectionate address.

If my adversaries had felt any regard for a free government, they would never have set aside all the forms of the constitution, and trampled on all the rights of individuals, for the purpose of gratifying the purposes of power or ministering to the appetite of revenge.

My enemies have now done their worst, and we are at liberty to contemplate the case of casuistry, which may conthey have attempted to esta- found the simple and puzzle the

known: he begged them to blish, and the effect they have -such an accumulation of eriminating remarks, and such a variety of even specious evidence! If we take away from this mountain of accusation all the circumstances that have been misrepresented, all the minutize that have been exaggerated, what do we leave it but an inflated mass of the most palpable falsehoods and glaring perjuries that ever were heaped together by power, instigated by unmitigated malignity, and assisted by unbounded wealth 3

In the midst of the many painful circumstances connected with this unparalleled proceeding, there is one on which I may congratulate the country: it has produced a degree of excitement throughout the community of the most virtuous and ennobling kind; -it has called forth the most generous sentiments and the most disinterested efforts. All the great principles, a regard for which most elevates the human character. are on the side of my advocates. Truth, justice, humanity, and that which they never fail to accompany-liberty, are marshalled in the same ranks against falsehood, cruelty, and oppres-The best principles of human nature are conflicting against the worst; it is not a mixed question, in which there is any obscuration of the wrong, or any ambiguity with respect to the right: it is not a question oppression, in which power is trample upon labouring to right: hence all the moral sentiments of the people are on the side of the Queen. The Almighty has, from the foundation of the world, issued his prohibition against injustice, and he has inscribed it in very legible characters on the human heart.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VIL-LAGE OF CRIEFF, IN THE COUNTY OF PERTH.

The inhabitants of the village of Crieff, in the county of Perth, are entitled to my cordial thanks for this loval and affectionate address.

All the ex-post facto laws are so unjust in themselves that they have, at all times, been deservedly reprobated. There is no principle upon which they can be supported; and they have usually no other origin than the desire of individual oppression. They are laws made not even for a particular case that is contemplated, but for a particular case that has actually happened.

of a good law is, that it is made before the offence is committed which it designed to punish.— Every good law has a prospective tendency. It must, of course, precede the offence. To punish by a retrospective law, is, in fact, to punish without law; for it is just the same thing to

wise; it is a case of individual and Penalties has been so universally condemned, and reprobated, that no warmly party in the state will ever attempt a similar outrage upon the venerable fabric of the constitution.

> When my adversaries deprived me of the prayers of the church, they little thought that they were erecting for me a more hallowed sanctuary of supplication in the hearts of the people.

> PROM THE INHABITANTS OF MIDDLE-TON. IN LANCASHIRE. A

I return my unfeigned thanks to the inhabitants of Middleton. in Lancashire, and its vicinity. for this loval and affectionate address.

My innocence must always be my highest honour and my purest satisfaction; but I know the temper of my adversaries too well to believe that my innocence alone would have constituted my security, if I had not, at the same time, been so enthusiastically greeted by the sympathies of the people, and so energetically supported by the spontaneous efforts of the press. One of the necessary adjuncts When I landed at Dover, the minions of corruption were seized with a panic, from which they have never since recover-They were conscious, that while the people were transported with a noble enthusiasm in favour of a persecuted Queen, they would relinquish their dissentions on topics of inferior impunish without law as to punish portance, and would unite with by a law which was not made her against their common enetill the offence was perpetrated. mies. The cause of the Queen I think that the Bill of Pains soon became the cause of the

Queen, because they were convinced that the Queen was animated by a sincere desire to the public welfare. promote The steady support which I have received from the people must ever attach me to their interests; and how can I ever senarate their interests from those of liberty?

FROM THE PRESHOLDERS AND WEAVERS OF EAST COKER, ODCOMBE, AND BAST ORINNOCE, PARISERS ADJACENT TO THE TOWN OF YMOVIL, SOMERSET.

. I am much obliged by this loval and affectionate Address from the Freeholders & Weavers of East Cokert Odeombe, and Chinnock, parishes adjacent to the town of Yeovil, Somerset.

I cannot be insensible to the warm affection and the animating sympathy of which, under the direction of Providence. I have become the object, in all parts of the kingdom. I am, at the same time, conscious that I have done nothing to merit so many tributes of the people's loves. My circumstances de not permit me to be a benefactor to the country in any other way than by boldly yindicating my own rights, and those of the people, against the arbitrary encroachments of our common enemy. If despotic power be the greatest of human calamities, to check its inconduct to repel its aggressions, is so far to strengthen individual security and to promote the public weal.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF LANARK. I gratefully accept this loyal the Press which best secures the

The nation showed a and affectionate address from the determination to defend the inhabitants of the loval borough of Lanark and its vicinity.

I must ever revere the names of those whose intrepid exertions have rescued the country from the voke of servitude: these are the men who, if any, merit the gratitude of posterity: these are they who transmit the most valuable inheritance, not only to their children but to the whole community—the inheritance of liberty. The inhabitants of Lanark, who are perpetually beholding the scenery in which many of the gallant exploits of Wallace were performed, must imbibe those generous sentiments which such associations naturally inspire. This address shows that the spirit of liberty has caught their affections and is glowing in their hearts.

Religious liberty must ever go hand-in-hand with political. Where tyranny exists, it will be perpetually borrowing, or attempting to borrow, aid from the mysterious trickeries of superstition. The free circulation of sentiment on religious totopics will, of itself, produce that independence of mind which is highly favourable to the interests of civil liberty.

The Bcots paid dear for their religious liberty—they purchased it at the expense of the most grievous safferings. They must well know the value of that for which their ancestors paid so high a price; they must be well aware that the slavery of the body followed the slavery of the mind; and that in the present state of man it is the liberty of

free circulation of epinions, and is, consequently, the best friend to intellectual and personal, to civil and religious liberty.

PROM THE INNABITANTS OF MARGATE.

I feel much pleasure in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Inhabitants of Margate.

I trust that the present conspiracy against my honour and my rights will, indeed, be the last. So large a portion of my life has been infested with the inquietudes which this conspiracy has occasioned, that I cannot, I trust, be deemed presumptuous in hoping that this effort of malignity will be the last that I am doomed to experience on this side of the grave. But, if the present conspiracy be the last, it will not be because my adversaries have relented in their vengeance, or softened in their rancour-because they have been changed from persecutors, or civilized into Christianity-but because the people of England have united in my defence with so much ardour of zeal, so much constancy of attachment, and so much intrepidity of resolu-My enemies must, length, be impressed with this conviction, that they cannot degrade the Queen without enslaving the people.

FROM THE INMADITANTS OF THE BO-ROUGH OF HUNTINGDON.

I have felt an unfeigned satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the inhabitants of the Borough of Huntingdon.

My enemies have long covered their tyrannical projects, and their selfish views, under the plansible pretext of religion. The word itself has stood them in great stead; though with them it has been nothing but a word. It has served as a mask for every species of iniquity. for, what act of cruelty and oppression is there, which it has not been invoked to justify? But the age of vague phrases is' passed! Mankind have begunto know the true meaning of words, and are no longer to be cheated by a sound. know that the better part of religion is charity; and that it was contrary to every feeling of charity to omit my name in the prayers of the Church. single act has done more to make the hierarchy despised and the Church deserted, 'than a thousand infidel publications. It has shown the stuff of which the hierarchy is made, and that' the knee of submission is bent to Cæsar in cases in which God! only ought to be obeyed.

The press has lent me its most strenuous aid in the conflict of my enemies. It has been at once my spear and my shield. It has been my instrument; of attack and of defence. It has been my safeguard as well as that of the constitution.

FROM THE ENHABITANTS OF THE SO-ROUGH OF BEVERLEY, IN THE COUN-TY OF YORK.

I cordially thank the inhabitants of the Borough of Beverley, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The national character cannot

receive any taint from the con- can exceed, if it can perallel, unjust, and barbarous, as that impurity of its motives, the The nation have raised their voice against it from one end of the kingdom to the other. It has been condemned by almost every individual in the middle ranks, of both sexes, and of all The proceedings of my enemies have received the applauses of none but the most corrupt part of the community.

This illegal and unconstitutional measure must lower the judicial character of the country in the estimate of the good and wise, not only in this, but in every country in Europe. No impression can be more fatal to the reverence in which the judicial character ought to be held, than the opinion that the persons by whom it is exercised are the instruments of malevolence, or the menials of power; that they are the compliant creatures of sordid interest, or of mercenary expecta-

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF WEST HAM. IN THE COUNTY OF ESSEX.

The inhabitants of the parish of West Ham, in the County of Essex, are requested to accept my unfeigned thanks for this loyal and affectionate address.

A large part of the history of mankind is only a sad recital of crimes. But of all the crimes in history that have individual malignity for their origin, or individual suffering for their end. not one can be produced which the inhabitants of the town of

duct of my enemies. For base, the present conspiracy, in the conduct has been, it has not barbarity of its means, the vilbeen approved by the nation. lainy of its agents, the multiplicity of its artifices, the refinements of its aruelties, combined with the length of time during which it has existed, and the unceasing eagerness with which it has been prosecuted.

The people of this country have acquired such a hold on my affections, and such a claim on my gratitude, by the generous ardor and the enthusiastic attachment with which they have supported me in such arduous trials, and against such an overwhelming foe; that I must consider my rights as their rights, their interests as my interests, and even their wishes as my own.

I have expressed no sentiment in favour of civil and religious liberty of which I have not been deeply convinced of the truth, and feelingly conscious of its importance. My heart is, and I trust ever will be, warmly interested in promoting the welfare of this country; but I should not only be untrue to all my former professions, but an enemy even to my species, if I did not most affectionately cherish the principles, and as far as I have power, most zealously promote the interests of civil and religious liberty.

FROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF KILMARNOCK.

My cordial thanks are due to

Kilmarneck for this loyal and af- submission to the laws, will not fectionate address.

Of the faction by whom I was once supported, and afterwards betrayed, I have since experienced the unceasing persecution. It is no excuse for them to say that, in the present attack upon my honour and my rights, they are acting with a sort of involuntary volition, or are mere instruments in gratifying the vengeance of some power that is enveloped in hideous obscurity. The purposes of that malice, which they consent to execute, they make their own. They identify themselves with iniquity, of which they become the instruments, And what honourable mind is there that would, for a moment, consent to be the obsequious tool of a malignant purpose? What virtuous mind would suffer the lure of present emolument to make it the perpetrator of an act which he disapproved? The mildest censure that can be passed upon this faction is, that there is nothing which they would refuse to do for the sake of retaining their places, or gratifying their selfishness.

FROM THE VARIOUS LODGES OF THE ORDER OF ODD PELLOWS.

I cordially thank the officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows for this loyal and affectionate address.

Loyalty is the unremitting as-

sanction inhamanity or oppression in any of its forms. officers and brothers of the various lodges of the order of Odd Fellows will not yield their assent to any principles of conduct that are adverse to justice, or in opposition to liberty.

The principle of benevolence was implanted in the breast of man, as the means of perfecting the social union. In proportion as this principle is predominant in any assemblage of persons. the social union must be improved; and if such a principle could be universalized, it would supersede the severity of legal restraint, and the rigours of penal law. The happy effect of this principle, when it pervades small unions, or incorporations of men, is a presage of the blessed results that would ensue, if it were diffused through any large portion of the body politic. What, then, would be the glorious effect if this principle were predominant in the councils of nations?

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE BAST BARONY PARISH OF GLASGOW.

I am much obliged to the inhabitants of the East District of the Barony Parish of Glasgow, for this loyal and affectionate address.

Power is at first gradual in its encroachments--it then proceeds with more gigantic strides. The faction that has sociate, and benevolence the been so long making successive pervading principle of this an- inroads upon the liberties of cient and estimable fraternity. the people, has at last dared to Their loyalty is a sentiment insult the honour, and attack which, while it implies their the rights even of the Queen; this moment, the last refuge of the Constitution had been of the public liberty; if this faction, which is so hostile to the principles of liberty, shall succeed accomplishing the degradation of the Queen, what individual is there who will not, hereafter, be liable to the yoke of servitude?

The people have hitherto forgotten their own internal divisions in their profound sympathy with my sufferings; -this is such an amiable trait in the national character, as ought to he perpetually remembered .-Should the union which now so happily prevails amongst the

middle and subordinate ranks of the community, not experience any disastrous interruption, the Queen is not only safe, but the cause of the constitution must triumph over that of corruption, and the interests of liberty be established upon a rock.

PROM THE INHABITANTS OF THE VIL-LAGE OF CHOLSEY, IN BERKSHIRE.

I sincerely thank the inhabitants of the village of Cholsey. in Berkshire, for this loval and affectionate address.

There is a large mass of morbid matter in the Constitution which has long been operating against the rights of the people and the prosperity of the This corrupting incountry. fluence is, and has, for many years, been in a state of progressive increase, till it has left hardly any sound part in the between high and low-bebody politic. The system could tween rich and poor; all are not have existed with such an alike in the law. That equality,

the rights of the Queen are, at | unless the original materials of most solid and durable kind. The Trial by Jury, and the Liberty of the Press, are two parts of the fabric that have most powerfully contributed to preserve the rest. If these were taken away, the liberty we should have left would be so small as to be an invisible quantity: tyranny would be predominant: it is now of sufficiently alarming dimensions, but it would then rise into a gigantic magnitude, beneath which the people must crouch as humble menials or obsequious slaves.

> FROM THE CLERKS IN THE PROFES-SION OF THE LAW.

I return my unfeigned thanks to the clerks in the profession of the law, residing in the Metropolis, for this loyal and affectionate address.

The better the laws of this country are understood. more clearly must it be perceived that, in the measure which is still pending in the House of Lords, they have been flagrantly violated in order to deprive me of my matrimonial rights, and my constitutional title dignity.

Laws are made to be observed; and, in a limited monarchy, the observance of the law is as obligatory on the monarch as on the most humble of his subjects. Where obcdience is required, the law knows no partialities: it makes no distinction incorporated mass of corruption, which can never be realized in no chimerical supposition with cline in the scale of national to that submission respect to the laws, which is binding on every member of the state.

If any individual were to go into a court, and, as a preliminary to the prosecution of his suit, desire that all the laws which make against his cause should be set aside, we should deem his insolence an approximation to insanity. But yet my adversaries have not only made this demand; but, strange to tell, it has been admitted in the court in which it has been made!!!

PROM THE MALE AND FEMALE IN-HABITANTS OF THE TOWN OF PORTSMOUTH AND THE ISLAND OF PORTSEA.

I have much gratification in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the male and female inhabitants of the town of Portsmouth and the island of Portsea.

The maritime prosperity of Britain has always been dear to my heart. I have exulted in reading the triumphs of this great naval country upon the ocean. I have deeply sympathized with that pride which Britons feel when they talk of a Jervis, a Nelson, or a Duncan.

maritime My fondness for affairs, and my predilection for the honest virtues of the sons of the ocean, have induced me, at a former period of my life, to Queen; nor ought it to be for-breed up many young men for gotten that a minister of the

the circumstances of life, is lyinced that Britain must, degreatness, in proportion as she leses her mayal pre-eminence. But the people of England ought never to forget that the power of the British navy is greatly dependent on the prosperity of British commerce: and that this commerce itself is infinitely connected with the interests of liberty. Commerce will not long remain in that country from which liberty has vanished. A nation of slaves can never be great either in commerce or in arts. In proportion as Britain loses her liberty, her commerce will decline; her naval strength will be diminished; and her former glory will become gradually extinct.

> FROM THE BIGHT INCORPORATED TRADES OF THE CITY OF PERTH.

I have great satisfaction in receiving this loyal and affectionate address from the Convener. Deacons, and members of the eight incorporated trades of the city of Perth, in the Convener's \ court assembled.

The indignities which I experienced when abroad were excrescences from that great trunk of conspiracy against my honour and my rights which has taken such deep root in this country, and has spread its branches far and wide over the continent. The nation has been insulted in the person of the the naval service. I am con- Pope dared, in an official instrument, to deprive the Queen of moral retribution is at hand. InEngland of that appellation to with she is lawfully entitled. There have been times when such an insult would not have been suffered by any Ministry; seeks them where they were and, when, if it had been endared by the Ministry, that Ministry would not have been endared by the people.

The mistry would not have been endour ways of Providence are not as our ways! but they are always.

The malice of my enemies has in favour of moral rectitude in

done its worst, and the day offtheir ultimate results.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTE

LONDON, SATURDAY, Due. 16, 1820.

TO THE ELECTORS OF WESTMINSTER.

First; on the Trial in an action of Wright against Mr. Cobbett, Second, on the late Westminster Meeting, and on the conduct of the Rump and the Members for the City on that oceasion.

London, Dec. 18, 1820.

GENTLEMEN.

. Lhave never liked to obtrude my private concerns upon the attention of the public; but I have been compelled to do. so more, perhaps, than any other man that ever lived. compelled ; because it is, in fact, compulsion when it becomes necessary, in order to prevent the weakening of the effect of will regard me as much remy public exertions. How many duced in point of power. times have my antagonists, of have never appealed to various descriptions, enjoyed LAW to protect me against catheir, day or week's exaltation lumniators. I have relied upon at i what they chattered them-truth and time and talent. selves win my everthrew! How Rump do, I am told, exult exoften have they even said that ceedingly at having obtained a they had sound me for ever predict on Monday last, the ele-And how often have they been wenth inst. against me in favour sorely disappednied. Ide suppose of Wright, with a THOUSAND that, amaking upon a moderate POUNDS DAMAGES. compatation, more than twenty have now, they say, sunk me thousand bitter and mancious in good earnest! Never was a

against me, while it is pretty notorious that I have had, at one and the same time, open enemies arrayed in tremendous powers, and pretended friends, carrying about in their bosoms fittle efts and sloe-worms to sting and annoy me. Yet I have passed through all this; and I believe there is no spectator of the present political scene, who libels been published man so often sunk! This is no

sinking. This is what the sailors | gard to my wish to shift the recell merely "shipping a sea;" that is to say, taking a wave on board, which only gives the vessel a "heel," but by no means prevents her from keeping on her course; and, gentlemen. you will see that this, like every other "sinking" that I have experienced, will be at last a mounting in place of a sinking.

This trial has brought certain things to light; that is to sav. has made them evident; has produced proof of their existence, of which existence we had before only conjecture and suspicton for our guides, or rather as the grounds of our conclusions. The matter of the trial itself, as well as the speeches of Mr. Scarlett; the conduct of the witnesses, and of the abettors and supporters of the thing altogether; these all demand some attention; and I beg leave to trouble you with some short observations with regard to them.

In the first place, with regard to the alleged libels themselves, I have only to repeat here what I stated during the trial, namely, that here the thing cannot drop. I shall by and bye speak more fully upon his place of abode, and imputes

sponsibility from my own shoulders to those of my eldest son, and I shall also speak the foulness of his imputations with regard to that son, who, upon his own oath, tendered himself as a defendant. offer no conjecture here as to the reasons which induced Mr. Scarlett, and that client who is so well worthy of him, and of whom he is so well worthy, to be so extremely pertinacious in wishing to have me, and me only, for a defendant. I declared, and I declared the truth, that I was neither printer, publisher, nor proprietor of any one of the articles for which I was sued; and, in my view of the matter, the evidence fully bore out this declaration.

Now, gentlemen, observe that, there were three Registers the first published in January 1817; the second in March 1819, and the third in January 1820. With regard to the first, I would not swear that I did not write the article, but I should be full as reluctant to swear that I did; with regard to the second, which puts forward Wright by name, points out what Mr. Scarlett said with re- to him certain specific crimes, I

libel. With regard to the third. it merely calls Wright the tool of the Rump, and is no more a libel than any part of the Liturgy is a libel. Part of it was dictated by me to my son John. He said he thought the whole of it was; and I do not know whether it was or was not,

It is the second of the three. to which I wish to draw your attention. I sent home to my Son William an article entitled "Crown and Anchor Farce:" and a farce it certainly was. At the exhibition of that farce, it came out that this Wright was the man who had communicated to Cleary a private letter of mine to read nicator of the letter; but I en-

wrote no part of that which Mother, who were boiling with constituted what is called the impatience to have something done of a more direct nature. My sons, therefore, put their pens to work, and produced that which has, at length, led to this judicial proceeding.

This is the true state of the The motives to do the thing, and the doing of the thing also were fairly, and with a scrupulous regard to truth, stated by my Sons in their evidence. was also truly stated by my son William, that he acted wholly for himself and for his own benefit, during my absence; that is to say, after he himself arrived in England from America. He truly stated, that it was left entirely to himself, either to on the hustings at Covent-gar- publish or not to publish any In commenting upon the thing that I might send him. farce. I alluded to this commu- Whatever I sent or might send. he was to consider as his own: tered into no particulars with to be altered, amended, or regard to him, and I neither wholly rejected, according to named him nor pointed out his his own judgment and taste. place of abode. If you will look And observe, that the evidence into the Register here alluded that was produced to shew the to, you will find pretty satis- contrary of this, was a letter factory proof of this fact; for in from me to my faithful Jackson, one part of it I say that I will who had been recommended to " take another opportunity" of me by Lord Cochrane, as a man shewing who and what this man in whose hands I might trust But this manuscript by no my life; the evidence was a means satisfied my Sons or their letter (another private letter!)

from me to this man, saying that my Son (who was then going home) would take charge of all mi affthre in England, and espetially those of a literary natrate! What evidence was this? Judena was then the publisher: and this was merely telling him that he was to be so no longer. However, it was concluded that my Son published under my directions, and that I was responsible for whatever he did!

Dolby, indeed, swore that he heard me say, after I came home, that all that I had written about Wright was true. Bear in mind that Dolby had been sued by Wright at the time when I came home; that he was preparing to justify; that I had the books and other documents; that it was very natural for me to say that I would prove the truth of schat had been published; but was it natural for me to say (even if the thing had been so), that I myself had written the thing? Dolby swore, that I said I would prove the truth of what I had written about Wright. Dolby being asked, whether I had said, that it was I who had written the article in question, said, "and; but, if you had said "the contrary, it would have in the Strand, with the other

" excited astonishment in every one present."

This was the evidence. This evidence of Dolby and of Jackson was the only evidence to prove, that I had caused the publication. I shall, by and by, speak of the law of the case in this respect, but, I must first explain the real facts a little more fully.

The article consists of three or four facts loosely stated, without dates and without precise sums being named. Now. observe, I had all the books and other documents with me. I. therefore, if I had written the article myself, had all the means of making a grand array of particulars, and I leave you to guess whether I was likely to have forborne to do this. When the action Was commenced against Dolby; or, at least, when it was coming on for trial, it was necessary for my son William to make affidavit that the proofs were with me, and that he expected me home before December. Such was the truth; and I arrived at Liverpool the latter end of November, bringing the books and documents with me; and there I was at the Angel Inn

gentlemen who were witnesses | plenty of leisure for the percoming on in December last; but, when we were all prepared, Wright suddenly withdrew the Record, and then commenced his action against me. instead of commencing it, as he ought to have done, against my son who alone had employed Dolby who had never had any communication with me in the course of his life, but who had been paid by my son to be the publisher of the Register, for my son, and not for me! Dolby had written me a letter to America: but I had not even answered that letter.

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From these facts, which are all indisputable, it must clearly appear to every man that I did not even write the statement with respect to Wright, for, as I said before, if I who had all the books and documents with me, had written the statement, it is manifest that I should have gone into particulars of dates and sums, which my sons were unable to do for the want of You must those documents. needs think that my desire was stances I could have written the strong enough to do the thing article and sent it, for publicawell; and having all the do- tion, and still have retained in cuments in my hands, and my own hands these books and

in the case, at the time when formance, it is impossible that the action against Dolby was I should have missed the opportunity. Besides, can it be supposed possible that, if, I had really written the thing, which I must have known would be published in February, on early in March, 1819; can, it, be supposed possible that I, knowing that I myself could not come home until the fall of that year; can it be supposed possible that I could have sent home such an article to be published, and to be published by my day San. too (for as to Dolby, I wall. knew, that he would not make himself responsible); can it be: supposed possible, I say, that I should have sent home such. an article to be published by my own Son without at the same time sending the books and documents; which are spoken of, too, in this year. article? Is it possible that, after having for so many years refrained from saying any thing at all about this man, notwithstanding so many provocations: once more I ask you is it possible that, under all these circumdocuments, though there never | been making due preparations, was one week passed without her Majesty arrived. there being a ship coming from New York to England! You importance than mine; and as no more to do with the matter than any of you.

There is another fact, which is. I think, conclusive. The article talks of big drops of stocat, on a cold winter's day, rolling down Wright's fore-Now, the transaction bead. alluded to took place in the summer. I, who had the papers with me, know the time, and should, of course, not have made use of this little colouring. have stated the right time; or, at any rate, should not have pot winter instead of summer.

But, it is asked why I did not new justify and go into the whole justification. I was not aware of the forms of proceeding. To prepare, arrange and here. have every thing in order in come a public character, he is that regular and scrupulous manner which the law, very wisely, requires, demanded a is now seen furnishing them great deal more time than I had with the means, which (as to bestow. The Coventry elec- Adams swore) were made use tionalmost immediately succeed- of in order to counteract my atat the time when I might have It was a long time pretended; it

was a cause of a vast deal more will say that it is impossible, you may have heard, perhaps, and will conclude, that I had I have taken some little part in that cause. At any rate, the fact is, that I never did, and never would bestow an hour nor even five minutes upon this thing. I knew that I was neither writer, printer nor publisher: and I was not to be persuaded that any jury was to be made to believe that I was either; and even if they were, I was determined to run that risk rather than enter into a justification upon this loose pub-If I had stated time, I should lication, destitute as it was, of all the particulars necessary to bring the matter fully and fairly before the public.

But, now Mr. Scarlett, Wright and the Rump will be furnished with a real defendant. I said that the matter could not stop Wright has now benow proved to have been in connection with the Rump. He ed the bringing of the action; tacks on Sir Francis Burdett!

read the letter in REVENGE for Mr. Hunt's having read a letter of his; but now we have it upon the oath of Adams, over and over again, that the Rump got the letter from Wright, and gave it to Cleary to be read upon the hustings; for what! Why, because I had attacked Sir Francis Burdett: and in order to shew my inconsistency! And while Adams swore this, he smiled so sweetly upon Sir Francis, who had been summoned, as I suppose, as one of the witnesses for Wright, and who sat by the side of Mr. Brougham just opposite th witness box. Away then with has had the modesty to assert the story about my letter being in open Court, that the connecread by Cleary in revenge for tion between me and Wright Mr. Hunt's having read a letter began by Wright's lending me of this hero of the Here we have it proved, that Cleary was the produced in Court a private letmere instrument in the hands of ter more than twenty years old! the Rump, and that the main object was to take vengeance on me for what are called my " attacks" on Sir Francis Burdett!

Wright, therefore, is, as I said before, a public character in He belongs, in Westminster.

was pretended in print over and | body; that nice little snug corover again by Cleary, that he poration, which has been kind enough to take upon itself the office of regulating the political concerns of the City of Westminster; and especially that part of its concerns which relates to the choosing of members to represent that City in Parliament. This being the situation of Wright; being so closely connected with this Corporation. my son will, doubtless, think himself bound, as speedily as convenience will permit, to de justice to this celebrated personage, from whom came the letter, or, rather, the part of the letter relating to Mr. Hunt and the lady. Besides, Mr. Scarlett white twenty pounds; and, as proof of this, the careful personage He produced, I think, between four and five hundred private letters, some of them not more than three inches square! all carefully put into two books! What a careful personage! How regular in the preserving and some measure, to that celebrated arranging of papers! How fit

to be keeper of records to the | ters, and which answer contain-Rump!

Mowever, his no less worthy advocate and eulogist, Mr. Scarlett, having represented him as lending me twenty pounds: Wright having acknowledged. apon the trial of Cleary, that he. Wright, about a year age, shewed a private letter of mine to Mr. Brougham; this same Wright having upon his oath declared that he gave the letter to the Raimp to be made use of in order to counteract my writings against Sir Francis Burdett: the Baronet himself having been brought into Court npon this occasion; Wright being manifestly the source from which were drawn what were thought to be the means of anmoving me and of giving pain to my family in my absence; the letter having been exhibited at Brooks's in the Strand, where it was to be seen, according to public advertisement: Brooks's in the Strand having been the house where was exhibited, or left to be shown, the copy of a private letter from Sir Francis Burdett to me (the original of which I never got), purporting to be an answer to a private letter from me to Sir Francis, relating solely to pecuniary mat- at least, his good opinion was a

ed an injurious misinterpretation of the meaning of my letter to Sir Francis: these things standing thus; Wright being thus closely connected and mixed up with all these matters and all these parties, it is right, it is fitting, it is just, it is absolutely necessary, that he be known in his real character, in order that from it you may judge correctly on the subject. Of himself he is little. As a proof of my having thought little about him or his actions. I never, for seven long years, after he ceased to be in my service, made even an allusion to him; though, on many occasions, most earnestly implored to do it. I heard that he was seen very frequently with Sir Francis Burdett, with Lord Erskine, with Mr. Vansittart, and even with Lord Castlereagh. supposed that it might be (as I still suppose it was) about the printing of their speeches in parliamentary debates, or some such matter. At any rate, it was no business of mine, and I left those gentlemen to do as they liked. As to my private letters, if any one could read them, that man was unworthy of my notice, or,

thing which it was my duty to a part of a private letter, for no above parties have taken the fraternal hug. Let me and reflected upon them by his friendship.

Having now placed the main matter fairly before you, I shall next advert to some circumstances that transpired at the trial, and to some of the singular notions and doctrines put forth upon this occasion by Mr. Scarlett, having first, however, requested you to go back with suits.

You will be pleased to bear forgery. in mind that, as it now appears in evidence (for I have never forgery was nothing in such a vet seen the original letter myself), a private letter of mine vate confidence, and the indewas read by Cleary on the hust-scribable baseness towards the ings of Covent Garden, at the lady. Towards myself it was

hold in contempt. But now, one has sworn that the whole Wright assumes another place! was read. A part only of it at He now stands surrounded and any rate was published in the completely mixed up with the newspapers the next day. The parties above mentioned. They former and the latter parts of it are of some public importance; were left out. My name was they put themselves forward in put at the bottom, the date an ostensible manner. He be- was put at the top, and the longs to them; with him all the name of the person to whom it was addressed was not mentioned. The letter in this state (in mine undergo all the disadvan- print) reached me in America. tage to be expected from his en- I declared it to be a forgery; mity; and let all the above and I now declare it to have parties participate in the honour been, in that state, a forgery; because if you leave out a part of any written thing, you, in fact, alter the thing; it is not the same thing; it is a counterfeit, it is a forgery. Besides, in this case, and as far as relates to my declaration of the thing that came out to America, and was first published in London, all the circumstances which would have led to a recollection of the me to the origin of these law letter, were left out; so that I naturally regarded it as a

However, the imputation of case. It was the breach of prielection of 1818. I should say bad enough, and especially as

the circumstance of distance of | and that the immense multitude letter from me to Cleary. In the hubbub of the moment, perhaps the far greater part of the people so understood it, and as Wright's name was not mentioned, how was any body to un derstand it, as being a letter to any body but Cleary? I had Wright in the box, on the trial with Cleary. He swore that he was on the hustings at the time; but he would not swear that the whole of the letter was read, nor would he swear that his own name was mentioned! Adams was also at the hustings, and he would not swear that the whole of the letter was read; would he swear that Wright's name was mentioned. In fact, Gentlemen, it is as clear know that Sir Francis Burdett as day-light, that only a part of had? I reminded Adams of a Wright's name was not men- would have brought to his retioned; that the date of ten collection an instance of partiyears before was skipped over; cularly intimacy with that gen-

time was kept out of view in the that stood before the hustings reading at the hustings. Seve- were led to believe that it was ral persons who heard the read- a letter that had come to Cleary ing have declared to me that from me; and that I was speakthey have no idea of any date ing of Mr. Hunt and his way of being mentioned. One gentle-life, in terms of the strongest man told Mrs. Cobbett (who reprobation in private, while I arrived in England soon after was, in public, holding him the letter had been read) that forth as a man worthy of admihe had understood it to be a ration, and in particular of the support of the Electors of Westminster.

> This, therefore, was a most atrocious act towards me and towards Mr. Hunt; but what was it then, Gentlemen, with regard to the lady? She, at any rate, had not "attacked Sir " Francis Burdett!" She had ' said nothing against him, and done nothing against him! She had not been guilty of the unpardonable sin in vengeance for which, private letters, ten years old, were to be raked up and promulgated. Adams said, upon his oath, on the trial with Wright, that he had not been acquainted with Mr. Hunt since the year 1808; but did he not was read; that circumstance, which I thought

tleman, even in 1816. It did mulgation was calculated to not, but, at any rate, Sir Francis produce. I by no means accuse Burdett, himself, was upon a very intimate footing with Mr. Hunt from 1810 to 1815, this was five years out of the ten that had passed since the letter was written. He had been at Mr. Hunt's house for a fortnight or three weeks at a time. He had been out shooting with In short, they had Mr. Hunt. been very intimate. He knew the lady very well. He had very frequently been under the same roof with her; and after all this, the Rump Committee bring out a letter, written by me before I had ever seen the lady, and before, I believe, I had seen Mr. Huht more than two or three times; and they publish a part of that letter, in which I, without sufficient time to deliberate, had alluded to that lady in a way in which no human being can suppose I ever would have alluded in any public document or speech.

Now, look at this transaction, then, as connected with the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett upon the occasion.

him, and I never have, of having given even his assent to the reading of the letter. But, he who has complained so bitterly of breach of private confidence, in a case of his own, and, indeed, so justly; he that could then be so feelingly alive in his own case, ought to have had some feeling for the lady in this Granted that the deed case. was done, before he knew any thing about it. I sincerely believe that it was so; but ought he to have been silent upon the. subject after the deed was done? Could he hear of this deed being done by the Rump and Cleary without shunning them as he would shun a pestilence? Could he endure to sit in a seat in Parliament obtained by such men and such means? Did he think it consistent with his honour still to lean on this despicable Rump for support, to ride in a car preceded by Cleary on a white charger, while a banner with the word " purity" upon it waved over his head? He knew Remember, Gentlemen, that the what pain the promulgation of Chief Justice declared the prothis letter was calculated to give mulgation of this letter under to the lady. He knew very such circumstances, to be an act well all the effects that this pro- worthy of the severest reprobation; and remember also, that, | indeed Wright declared, too, Sir Franciss Burdett not only Crown and Anchor farce in the succeeding November, he expressly exculpated the Rump and Cleary from all blame in the transaction, and even notiown lips that a fac-simile of power to circulate widely and tained with hospitality and kindness!

Is it my fault if these things be revived? Is it my fault if that this was the root of all the that which never ought to have evil. Of both these law-suits. taken place was not speedily tergotten after it did take place ? Oh! no! it is Wright and the not less furious upon the Rump, and Cleary and Jackson, Rump; and I venture to anthese are the workers up of the ticipate other consequences of matter. I am here, as I have a vast deal more importance to been all through the' thing, more than one of the parties. purely upon the DEFENSIVE. The branches which have come . The beginning was the promul- from this root have already exgation of the letter. Wright tended pretty widely, and yet I gave the letter; the Rump re- fancy that we are not got yet ceived it and gave it to Cleary; nearly to the extremities .and Adams, one of the Rump, Amongst the good consequences now declares upon his oath, as will be the total extinction of

after the commission of this act that the motive for the publication of the letter was to councontinued to receive the calteract the effect of my "atresses of the Rump; but, at the " tacks upon Sir Francis Bur-" dett." So that, to this we come at last, the lady's heart was to be wrung; she was to become the subject of scandal with every scandalous tongue in the fied to the meeting from his kingdom; she who was innocent of all offence against Sir! the letter would be published; Francis Burdett, was to suffer thus doing all that lay in his this in order to get vengeance on me because I had dealt my to perpetuate the stigma upon blows upon the Baronet! And, that lady, under whose roof he if you can, in the annals of mahad been received and enter- lignity and cowardice, and any thing to equal this, I beg you to refer me to the page.

I beg you to bear in mind of some most furious assaults upon the Baronet; of some you that I think that worth a great deal.

Gentlemen, Mr. SCARLETT said, upon the trial, that I endeavoured, by the means of shuffling and cowardice, to get out of the responsibility. I asserted then, as I repeat here, that I was not the defendant: but, at the same time, there was no attempt made to deprive the plaintiff of a defendant. On the contrary there was my Son, who was writer as well as publisher, and who, of course, admitted by his own oath the full extent of responsibility. There could be no danger that I could save myself from that to which he would not be exposed; and who but a monster can believe, or pretend to believe, that I wished to escape from pecuniary difficulties, by imposing them upon him? The thing is ridiculous as well as monstrous.

I have truly stated, before. my reasons for declining to go into a justification in the trial of this action. But suppose it to have been a mere whim , or a mere desire to put the thing off, on account of the Jury or any thing

the Rump: and I confess to He takes three terms to endead vour to set aside a trial in which he has been the loser, after, by the bye, having had an opportunity to defend himself in per-And, has any body evet imputed shuffling or cowardies: to him? He has availed himself. of his power to employ lawvers. in order to change the scene oftrial or to obtain time, and whocalls him a shuffler or a coward. on this account; nor was it the least amusing part of the proceedings of the day to hear him a larded with compliments from the same pair of lips out of which every species of abuse cameri foaming upon me. I never said during, these, three terms that there was a shuffle or a jugolegoing on; I never cried out coward, and said that it was a mere trick to deny the letter -in one county that was acknowledged in another county. There was the letter; it was writteh by Sir Francisc it was sent to 4 Brooks to be published; Brooks !! published it; Sir Francis-owned it, and well he might, for it was ". the best production of his that !! ever saw. The matter was clear to all through. He did not attend the else; pray, have not I as good the publication in London; buts. a right to indulge myself in this he sent it to London; he was in -way as Sir Francis Burdett has? Leigestershire when he wrote it; "

he must have put it out of his a verdict, the evident tendency hand in Leicestershire; and what signifies it whether it was tried in Leicestershire or London? Yet, do I call it shuffling; do I call it cowardice in him to make use of his purse (in the employment of lawyers and attorneys I mean) to endeavour to put off the evil hour? Certainly I do not. A man is to take every advantage in such a case, which is offered to him by the forms and delays of the law. But then what sort of person is this? He is not to be attacked by the pen. Vengeance of all sorts is to be resorted to in the repelling of such attacks. Private letters are to be brought forth and read and garbled; he is to be permitted to publish his own letters in answer to private letters, and those answers are to contain misinterpretations of the letters which they profess to answer: he is to send forth through the Rump, such publications as the Leicestershire letter; he is to have all the credit of great boldness and resolution and devotion to the country; he is to be canonized while yet alive as a martyr in have three terms, and half a shall see a further proof by dozen lawyers, for the purpose and by. of endeavouring to set aside

of which is, to send him to a prison; and after all this, he is to sit and receive the extreme unction of flattery from the very same mouth, which is the very next moment employed in vomiting forth upon me the charge of shuffling and cowardice, because I endeavour to shew that my Son, instead of myself, is the proper defendant in an action for damages! Why this person is by far the most sacred that I have ever heard of. The King is nothing to compare to him. The King can do no wrong, to be sure. One person, and one only, has contended that the King can commit no act of immorality or of folly: and really to this length the flatterers of the Baronet would seem to carry his privileges. Even what I am now writing will be called " an attack upon Sir Francis Burdett;" though it is absolutely necessary as an answer to the stupid imputations of his eulogist. There is no length to which this wretched Rump do not seem disposed to carry their flatteries with regard the cause of freedom; he is to to this gentleman, of which we

Not only is this sacred per-

sonage to be allowed, without | if the delays of the law; if any himself of all the advantages which the delays of the law afford him; but he is, in the meanwhile, not to have a word dropped, if he keep aloof from the scene of action, and remain as quiet as a mouse, while Major Cartwright, who is placed in exactly the same state of peril. boldly and fearlessly puts himself forward with more activity and energy than ever. What a contrast might have been drawn here during the last six months! How often might I, if I had been so disposed, have dwelt upon this contrast! How clearly might I have shewn, that my former " attacks," as they are childishly called, were neither more nor less than the historical statements correct in substance, and only a little exaggerated in the colouring! Yet, during those six months, I have not alluded even to the tranquil state of Sir Francis, or to his absence from the scenes of action. I have seen, as well as other people, the great difference between his conduct and that of Major Cartwright; but not a syllable have

imputation of blame, to avail or if all of these could preserve him from a prison, he had a right to avail himself of them: but his eulogists; and those who reciprocate countenance and support with him, are not, because I endeavour to throw the burthen of an action upon the real defendant, and thereby to best means obtain the causing justice to be done to all the parties; his eulogists and supporters, who bring forth my private letters in vengeance for my pretended "attacks" upon him; these people are not, ; upon such grounds, to accuse .. me of shuffling and cowardice, without my bringing forth his conduct in illustration of, my, arguments in defence against . the imputation.

But, since these " attacks' have been so much talked of; .. and as they are now put forward again as a justification for , the ransacking of a man's private letters written ten years, before; since this is the case, since this stalking-horse has been again brought forward in order to hide all the baseness of the transactions at the Westminster Election; since the I, in print, said upon the sub- Rump, Cleary, Wright, and ject. If retirement and silence; Jackson, are all to be placed

behind this stalking-horse, letting also time to reflect, was a us, gentlemen, see a little what man with a mind too honourable those terrible "attacks" were, and enquire whether they were treachery of which he had seen well or ill founded. I say that such an ample exhibition. the manner of them was more harsh than I, upon reflection what I said; yet the delicacy of and with time to cool, could Mr. Scarlett's mind could sugwish. I am ready to say, and I have very often said this same thing, and to repeat it as often as may be necessary. Mr. Scarlett said, in his reply, that I expressed my sorroto for these "attacks," and begged pardon of the Baronet. I contradicted him at the moment." I told him that what he was stating was not true: What I did say, gentlemen, was this: that the attacks, as they had been talled, upon Sir Francis Burdett, were things which ought to have been forgotten as soon as possible; that they ought to have been obliterated from the memory, and that, for my own part, I had by no means fell a desire to renew them; that they would have been forgotten or unjust. long ago, had it not been for the workings of a little, dirty, med- " attacks" were made ! during dling mischievous crew, who two periods; the first between sought a gratification of their May 1847 and May 1818. This own" base passions in keeping set of "attacks" (were founded, them alive; and that I thought, on the public conduct of Sir after all, that the Baronet, hav- Francis.

not to reprobate the acts of

This is as nearly as possible gest the imputation of cowtardice to be applied even to this instance of my candour and liberality; though it must have been manifest to every man that I had been actuated bv no motive other that of wishing to do nothing that could by possibility tend, under his present peculiar circumstances, to deprive him of any portion of public feeling which might exist in his favour. However, since these pretended and much-talked of "attacks" are again brought forward as the means of annoyance to me, I am imperiously called upon again to advert to those " attacks," and to inquire whether they were in the main just

Now, gentlemen, observe these. The second set of

" attacks" began after May dence in that case, justified very white charger; after the Baronet had given his full countenance to that transaction by saying that Cleary was not blameable, and by announcing, simile of the letter would be Francis had caused to be pubshewn in manuscript at Brooks's) a private letter from him to me, relating to money which I owed him; after he had caused to be published this answer (no copy of which I ever received from him); after he had caused to be published this, together with my private letter to him relating to the same debt. and which private letter to him contained a frank statement of the whole of my affairs: it was after all this that the second set of attacks began. Was it possible for them to be much too harsh? If the Lord Chief Justice was sound in his doctrine when he said, upon the trial with Cleary,

1818, and ended in the summer severe terms of reprobation; if of 1819. This last set of " at- such was the opinion gravely detacks" took place, you will ob- livered by a Judge in his charge. serve, after the reading of my what bounds, I pray you, were letter upon the hustings; after to be set to the terms in which Cleary had ridden upon the I was to "attack" Sir Francis Burdett, after that conduct of his of which I have just given you a description?

Therefore, gentlemen, electors of Westminster, who suffer at a public meeting, that a fac- yourselves to be sported with by a Rump Committee, you are. published; and also after Sir in estimating those things which are called "attacks" upon Sir lished (first having had it Francis Burdett, to leave wholly out of the question all the "attacke" which have taken place since the election of 1818; for, whatever they have been, they have been fully merited. And when did these " attacks". cease? And under what circumstances have they been wholly discontinued? Gentlemen, pray attend to these questions. The " attacks" ceased the moment I set eyes on his letter to the electors of Westminster; which letter he has since been, as I was very sure he would be. brought into great peril. that hour to this have I made any " attack" upon Sir Francis Burdett? Twice, I think it is, that the breach of private confi he has been named by me, in the what I deemed an "attack" on ter of those "attacks:" I think his part; or on the part of the that what has happened in your meddling fools who seem to aim at his destruction: but have I attacked him? Have I ter, the matter of those "atsaid a syllable about his unaccountable absence and silence during the last six most interesting months? Nay, was not the one single occasion when he did step forward in Parliament, eagerly caught at by me as the ground of bestowing the highest praise on his conduct; and did I not, by the republishing of his speech on that occasion, manifestly not only not however great the industry and to my own pecuniary advantage, and manifestly also to my loss, do as much as in me lay to insure to him every particle of praise that was his due? Did this conduct bespeak rancour, malignity, enmity, revenge, as existing in my breast; or did it bespeak just the contrary of all to attempt to give it you. As these !

It is to the first set of " attacks," therefore, that I now request you to turn your attention press the whole in two short for a few minutes; and, while I do not pretend that cool reflection would justify them as 'to their manner, to the utmost "people to support him, and 'extent, I think I shall be able " that when the people stared to produce to you proof unde- he would not move."

way of defence of myself against | niable of the justice of the matown city not many days ago, has made good to the very lettacks."

> Those attacks embraced two points: first, the making use of a junto called the Rump, for insuring to himself and an underling of his own choosing, seats for the City of Westminster; and also for the purpose of excluding from those seats every man not 'devoted' to him, and not wifling to be his underling, talent of such man. If you want any proof of the truth of these allegations; if you want any thing more in this way than that which has passed before your eyes, and which is perceived by every man in the pation, it would be waste of time to this point, the matter is settled by the evidence of facts,

The second point was, to expropositions, "that the Baronet "was a man of talk and not of " do; that he called upon the

Now, Gentlemen, I will not ing, and one of your Members attempt to refer you to the past. I mean to nothing that has not passed within this month. I will not waste your time by carrying you back to 1817, or even to the langour and lassitude and still-life of the last summer. I will confine myself to the space of one single month; and if you do not find within that space proofs in ample justification of my "attacks," in the capacity of historian, you will be reduced to the absolute necessity of acknowledging me to be a prophet. To which latter character, however, I have not the impiety to aspire.

Now, then, observe, her Majesty, who had triumphed over her enemies, was the object of universal congratulation on the part of the people. Numerous addresses were instantly propared and voted. More than a hundred and fifty had, I believe, been actually presented; some of them from two hun-'dred miles distance; some even The city of from Scotland. London had met, had gone up and addressed her Majesty. The city of Westminster did not stir! The borough of Southwark had met and addressed her Majesty. Even the parishes in Westminster itself had met or were meet-lone man; that man not choos-

had presided at one of those meetings, but the City itself did not stir! This City that used to take the lead in every good thing; this great, populous and really public-spirited City remained dumb as a wool-pack, while even the very villages in Somersetshire and Cornwall were sending up addresses to the Queen! Talk of supporting her Majesty, indeed! What support would that persecuted and gallant lady have received from the people of England, towards whom she so graciously expresses her boundless gratitude, if the people of England had, upon this important occasion, waited for the example of Westminster!

Oh! Gentlemen, see what it is to have suffered yourselves to be subjected to the government of a Rump! Thank me for the endeavours I am now making to rescue you from this state of indescribable abasement. Your hearts were good. You felt for her Majesty. You, round your fire-sides, congratulated Queen. But, having submitted yourselves to the government of a Rump; that Rump being notoriously the mere instrument of

ing to step forward; there you; stood a mark for the finger of "that his Majesty's Ministers scorn to the whole kingdom! "ought to be hanged [loud At last, some spirited tradesmen, resolved not to share in meriting his speech he said, that even "if this scorn, signed a requisition, took it to the High Bailiff, and called a meeting, the result of which was, an Address to her Majesty, and a Petition to the King.

passed at this Meeting. Sir Francis Burdett came to it. He was compelled to come. It was absolute and instant perdition not to come. Having come, he was compelled to speak. And now we come to the main point, as to which I shall now produce proof, that in those things stigmatized as "attacks," I was either a correct historian or a prophet.

Bear in mind, if you please, that the "attacks" stated Sir Francis Burdett to be "a man " of TALK and not of DO." Do you remember in the course of those "atlacks." these words: "many talks about impeaching " Castlereagh, but no impeach-" ment?" You must remember, I think these very words. Now, "to be the only malgacture." then, observe, during his speech at this Meeting Sir Francis said, Westminster, was not this protty "all that had transpired upon bold talk? Let us now look #

"the subject, served to prove "plaudits]." In another part of " unwilling agents in the trans-" action, no ministers since the "revolution, had done " thing more loudly calling for " impeachment [applause]." ...

Thus far Sir Francis, Next Let us now see, then, what came Mr. Hobhouse, who spoke thus. "He would only say, " therefore, that unless the peo-" ple of England came forward " to demand, not only the dis-" missal, but the impeachment; " not only the impeachment " but the punishment of those " who had keaped such multi-" farious evils upon them, the " work would be but half done "[loud cheers]. Let not the " people deceive themselves; " let them not believe, that if " they waited till Parliament " meet, two months hence, some " means would not be found of "tricking the people out of "their just demands for the "punishment of those whom " the united voice of the ped-" ple of England pronounced

Now, Gentlemen, Electors of

the do. It appears that some of that this talk meant something! They appear to have thought that when men talked of impeaching and hanging, that they meant, at least, to do something in the way of impeaching; and, thus thinking, some of them stepped on one side and drew up a resolution, which, according to the report in the Morning Chronicle, was in the following words:

" That this Meeting has heard " with peculiar eatisfaction, " the declarations of Sir Francis " Burdett, Bart. and John Cam Hobbeuse, Esq. of the pro-" priety and necessity of im-" peaching his Majesty's Minis-" tors, for their unconstitutional " and illegal proceedings against "the Queen, and also for the " atrocious violation of the con-"stitutional rights of the sub-" ject, which has long charac-"terised their counsels and " measures; and that this Meet-" ing, feeling the greatest con-" Leones in the zeal, persever-" ence, industry, and telents of " their Representatives, do here-" by sequest that Sir Francis " Burdett, Bart. and John Cam " Hobbouse, Beq. will under-" take, in the name and on be-"half of the people of Eng-" land, to move and conduct an " impeachment of the Ministers " of the Crown, and that the " other Members of Parliament |" importance, which the pursons " now present be requested to " with whom this Resolution " support the same."

Could any thing in this world the electors present thought be more proper than this? What could be so natural; what so proper? And, as one would have thought, what so gratifying to these two high spirited members of Parliament! The Resolution was, it appears, moved by Mr. Bannow, of the Strand. The report says, as you will see, that he afterwards. withdrew it. He asserte, most positively, that he did not; and that the members of the Rump, who were in and about the heatings, made a hubbab and evafusion. However, I shall take the report and lay it before you. just as I find it given in the Murning Chronicle; and I am persuaded that you will find in it. the most satisfactory passe, that, in my pretended " studie." I was the most correct of all hietorions, or one of the truck of all the prophete that ever lived in the world.

> " Sir P. Bundury trusted that " the Mosting would not adopt " such a Resolution so this upon " the spur of the moment. The " propriety of impeaching his " Majesty's Ministers was one " thing; the necessity of doing "so was another. There was " another consideration of great " had originated appeared to

".haye overlooked; namely, the propriety of doing the thing reffectually. They had not t' considered the means of the present Meeting to carry the Resolution into effect, or the "Chedhe and powers of the per-S-mine who ivere instructed to " propose such a measure. This was not the time and place was not the time and place for such a Resolution. He " in bosen ner white thould doubt "hie (Sin F. Burdett's) readiness to lend all his assistance to obtain justice for the coun-True, and an inquiry into that '{ lang:/aphine-.ati ninl/daminis-"tration under which the neoo'ble had laboured. He trust-"Jedriche people of Westminster " arould give him credit for his "ing at all times ready to use his best exertions in the pub-"He cause, and, at the same 'taling he let persuaded that "they would not adopt a Resor-"lution of this kind at such a "time" without reflection, and " distribute take tariff proof, liber!" 'y greet and important measure, which it would be utterly out " of his power to carry into ef-· central offt (Me telle

"My Bryache said, he had "mont, the punishment of Mi"not been convinced by the ar"puments of the Honourable "effected in the vinge. They "would recollect that in the "an inquiry into the state of the "an inquiry into the state of the "an inquiry into the state of the nation, only 170 Members" of that Parliament votal even "attempt, they had at least "ance of the people. That same "present Ministers throughout they had less the result be "the whole of the late won"what it might, it would teach "rious proceedings. In an as-

"Ministers an important les-" son. " Mr. Hobnouse said, there " could be no doubt of his Ho-" nourable Colleague's désire to " chain the iron of despotism, " and to co-operate cordially in " any measure which could lead "to such a result; but the question now was, whether "the Resolution which had " been proposed was calculated ", to effect the object is had in "view? If they thought the pas-" sing of such a Resolution was " the best way of effecting that object, undoubtedly he should " feel it his duty to be bound by " their decision, and to eadea-" vour, as far as he was able, " to give effect to it. They had "elected him as shéir sermint, " and as their servant he doldi-".dered himself bound to obey "their instructions. same time he begged them to "consider whether the passing" " of this Resolution was likely ":to:lead ta. the object which "they had in yiew. He an-" tirely concurred with his Ho-"nourable. Colleague, "timt in" " the present istate of Parlies "ment, the punkhment of Mi-"nisters was not likely to be "effected in this range, They' "would recollect that in the " lest Session of Parliament." "Lwhen a motion was made: for" "an inquiry into the state: bf " the nation, only 170 Members" " of that Parliament voted even

" could be little hope that any " endeavour on the part of his Honourable Colleague and " Islanself to bring Ministers to "justice, would be attended "with success.

"Mr. BENBOW withdrew his motion.

" Sir F. BURDETT was glad "the motion had been with-"drawn, for had they passed " such a Resolution under such " circumstances; it would not "only have been utterly in-" effectual, but in every point " of view unadvised and child-" ish. If the people of England, "however, felt as the Electors " of Westminster did on this "subject; and they chose to " petition Parliament to im-" peach Ministers, that mode of "proceeding might by possi-* bility have some practical " effect, but a mere Resolution " passed at a Public Meeting, " however respectable, convened "for another purpose, would "not only be very inexpedient " and ineffectual, but shildish, " and liable to ridioule."

Talk of shuffling, Gentlemen! Did the world ever before see shuffling like this? "Like masand their associates, I will not afterwards!

* sembly so constituted, there objecting to this resolution : but it is quite evident that here is no good reason given, and that this whole is a piece of shulling. which is, perhaps, without & parallel even in the records of the Rump.

'I am unwilling to detain jour a moment longer upon such a suitjeet; but do prav look at the Bus rottet's distinction between this propriety and the necessite of impeaching the Ministers: Necessity means something that is needful, and propriety, in this esso, means finera. Now, could it be needful to impeach the Ministers, and yet not fit to di sil? Outs that which is nucleated. be improper, or can that which is proper, in such a case, be the necessary? However, thet to waste our time upon the stilling of hairs, could, it be either unnechasary or impreper to isepeach men, whe, according to. the Babohet, " sught to balidher-" sd"? If so we must conside ter like man" is an old saying; taking the speeches of bath and never was more apt than members therether, that the way apon the present occasion. Not to go to work, according to being willing to imitate, in the them, was, to home the Minio. most distant degree, the Rump tere first and impeach that

even mention what was alleged . Here we have this Presente. in the side talk upon the hust- again calling upon the "specific ings, as one of the Yeasone for of England" to come forward !. .

"attende;" but here is the carrying on to render your right flameant inconsistency of calling upon the people of England to come forward to demand impeachment, while there 210 several thousands of those people standing before him, demanding that very impeachmont which Mr. Hobhouse had only five : minutes: before called upon them to demand; here is the monstrous inconsistency of thus calling upon the people of England to come forward with this compand, and when they instantly, make the idemand. calling that demand, " inexpe-"dient, ineffectual, childish and "ridiculous"!

-Illinese'l Laurely need not say madia puintrdi! Thus it has been dormered years, and thus it will be, while this great City shall anter itself to be under the reference of miserable that jeined called the Rump, who here, es to alt practical purposes, rendamid. Westminster as much a metida de rouga, de Getton or Ged Baren. The trial about " act upon a verdict which never Wright is a thing of no consecretatio in itself; but, it is of indpestance as it servit to dis- plause), and that one of the cober and lay but to your it most

This is just the old language. [view the wheels and pees and This is precisely what I com-springs and wires by which a plained; of in my first set of set of intrigues are constantly of election in effect a pullity. and to prevent this great and public spirited City from assisting in the smallest degree in the restoration of national frecdom and prosperity.

> Look, too, at the conduct of the Rump upon this occasion. Observe how these men made it an occasion for offering the incense of flattery to their idol; and look at the stupid and impudent trash which Sir Francis Burdott called " the very flatter-"ing manner in which the " worthy gentleman had inteo-"duced his name." This flattering affair was, as is reported in the Chronicle, in the follow-"He (Mr. Fran) ing words. "could not forbear from advert-" ing to the circumstances in " which their long tried friend "Sir F. Burdett was placed for " his active andardent exertions " in defence of liberty and human-"ity. These circumstances were " indeed such, that he was much " afraid that if the people did " not stand forward in due time, " an attempt would be made to could have been obtained but " through the mal-administra-"tion of public justice (apoulightened

"England ever knew niight be "subjected to a severe visita-"tion (cries of "no, no"). That " Ministers would be happy to " place such a man as Sir Fran-" cis Burdett hore de combat, "there could not be the slight-" est doubt. Such men must be "afraid of truth, or any one " likely to speak it with firm-" ness, especially at the present " crisis, when the public mind " was so strongly excited, and when so much public spirit " prevailed throughout the coun-"try. But he hoped and trust-"ed that that spirit which had " saved the Queen from the per-"secution of those Ministers, "would also be exerted to ar-"rest their vindictive purpose " with regard to Sir Francis " Burdett."

This was a flattering manner, was it! The folly of this man, is to be equalled by nothing but his impudence. What! are all the people to come out, then, upon this occasion! And what are they to do? Are they to go to the Court of King's Bench and order the Judges not to pass their sentence! was their ever such impudence! such bloated, such over-grown, such prodigious folly! This man pretends to be alarmed, lest Sir Francis Burdett should be sent to prison. Grant that he really wishes that he should not be so sent: but, look, then, at the presump-

rather, at his unparalleted Hat? pudence ! He known, or he ought to know, that Bir Francis is wholly and entirely in the hands of the Judges. He ought to know that a new trial has been refused, and that the del fendant is to be brought up for judgment. In this state of things what does he do? Why, at # public meeting, surrounded be thousands of persons, call apoid the people to come forward, and arrest what he calls the vindictive purpose of the Ministares while, and in the very mand breath, he accuses of mal ladmid nistration of public justice? those very judges at whose muril cy he must know, unless he bean idiot, as well as a " worthy. " gentleman," Sir Francis Burd dett is now placed. Of all to-? pics in the world this topic ought to have been most corefully avoided upon such an occasion, and under such circumstances; and, if it had been introduced at all, could it have been introduced in such a manner by any human being that did not belong to the little lick-spittle, and, at the same time, pert and impertinent crew. called the Rump, who, at the very moment that they are calltuous stupidity of the man, or, ing upon the whole notion to

lesley sent to people of England to come and

come forward and arrest the fate of men, beyond all measure proceedings against Sir Francis more public spirited and useful Burdett for libel, are bawling than himself, and beyond all ont against me as a libeller of measure less indulged during. Aim, and are putting in motionall the proceedings against them. their wheels and wires in order Many of the persons above mento insure my destruction! This tioned were not only held to Rump have seen scores of pub- bail, but were committed to lic-spirited men sent to the dun- prison long before they were meons. They have seen Mr. brought to trial. From a pri-Knight, Mr. Dewhurst, shut son they were brought into court up in jail for two years. They to defend themselves! Has this have seen Sir Charles Wol- been the fate of Sir Francis! jail. They No! He has been allowed three have seen Mr. Harrison sent terms to endeavour to obviste a to jail for three years and a sentence. Four Judges have sat half They have seen Mr. Hunt listening, first and last, for fifsent to jail for two years and a teen days, to the endeavours of half. They have seen one man his advocates to preve grounds in Cheshire sent to jail for four for a new trial. Patience like years and a half for publishing this has very rarely been shown seditions libels. Not a word of in any court. It has been withcommiseration from the Rump out a parallel, and certainly it towards any of those persons. has reflected great honour upon Nam at a meeting where Mr. those Judges. At last they Hobbonse was one of the lead- come to a solemn Jetermination ers, a tosat to the health of that he shall not have the new. these public spirited sufferers triel. And what then? Why, seas rejected! And, after all this, the Attorney-General gives him this Rumo has the impudence the further indulgence of not. to call upon the whole of the being called up to receive judgment until the next term! rescue by force their idol, who And, with all these striking has also been convicted of a se- facts staring him in the face; ditions libel! All England is to this insolent and despicable ries, because für Francis Bur- Rump, who have never said a dett is likely to share in the word about the imprisonment of

Mr. Hunt, Mr. Harrison, Sir the terrible sentence on the poor man at Chester; this impudent Rump, who so unfeelingly rejected a toast to the health of these and numerous other sufferers, have now the coxcomical effrontery to call upon all England to come forward and "arrest" the arm of the law with regard to Sir F. Bur- the writer. But, what precidett; while I beg you to bear it in mind, they are making use of all their underhand malignant means of annoying and inman whom all England is to rise and rescue!

Jackson, while he was shewmy manuscripts to I had tickled the Rump. Tick- occasion; for there was this I have now performed on it; suppose it had been a criminal and, therefore, for the present, information by the Attomeylo I leave it; reserving to my- General; would it have been self, however, the privilege of shuffling and cowardice in me, to a chip.

I now come to a part of Mr. I Wolseley, or about Scarlett's attacks which was of a very singular nature indeed, namely, that I put my children forward, that I put no infante son forward, in order to shield myself! This is wholly false, because that which areas stated; by my sons was all perfectly. My eldest son not only true. caused the publication; butimes. ous nonsense is this about putting my sons forward to sholter myself! What abominable nonsense is it! In the first place, juring me for having made what this infant child was, when he they call " attacks" on this very first took possession of the public lication, only eighteen years old; and the infant wanted (a) that time) almost an inch and the three quarters of being six feet Rump, was at the same time high. In the next place, there's writing to congratulate, me that was no shelter wested spon ship ling is not enough now. It re- same son, now twenty-two years quires boiling of broiling; one old, avowing himself tobbe the of which operations, I think, proper defendant. But, even returning to the cookery again as Scarlett said it was, for my and again, if it be necessary, son to assume the responsibility? untilit shall have wasted in the If it would have been such in water, or dried over the fire me, what must be the judgment of the public upon persons con-

nected with what has been as the victim, if a victim there the press? I have sent to the father. And what did the At-Stamp-office to see how this torney-General do? Why, he matter stands. But first let me suffered even the son to go observe, that Mr. White, of the unprosecuted, and yet this Scar-Independent Whig, being in lett is to take advantage of his Derebester jail in 1811, and dung-hill, and call me a shuffer continuing to be the proprietor and a coward, because my son of his paper, had an ex-officio comes forward and avows that information laid against him for it was he who wrote and puba thel published in that paper. lished that, with the writing of He brought forward his son which his father is charged, and (who was an infant also, I be- with the publishing of which he lieve,) to swear that he had is also charged, though this fainserted the article without his ther was in America while the futher's knowledge. And what other was only at-Dorchester! did the jury do upon that occasion ! Why, they acquitted Mr. appetiable part of the press. Mr. White. who was never accused Daniel Stewart is one of the proof shuffing and consurdice be- prietors of the Courier. Not long cause he put forward his son; back, his name and that of Mr. or, rether, because that some came forward to offer up himself as the real author, and stand at the Stamp Office; and

called the respectable part of must be, in the stead of his

But, a word or two of the re-Street stood at the Stamp Office; but now the names of Mr. Street and Mr. Mudford,

ask you, Gentlemen, is not this their brother?

stand at the Stamp Office as re- a sen should prefer going to sponsible proprietors of the prison himself, to the seeing of Times newspaper, are TWO his father go to prison; but, I LADIES, whose names it is un- trust that there are very few necessary to mention particular- sons of Englishmen, who would ly. They are, doubtless, the not, if necessary, but their own sisters of Mr. Walter; they persons in such a case in place

if a libel be published in the together, to the smallest chance Courier, Mr. Stewart, evadesper- of danger. I do not blame Mr. sonal responsibility. Do I call Walter; but could any human Mr. Stewart a shuffer and a being blame me for availing mycoward for this? No; but then self of any degree of protection am I a shuffler and a coward to be obtained through the because I shelter myself from means of my son becoming the personal responsibility? This proprietor of the publication inis not the case, for there is no stead of myself! Shall not my personal responsibility in the son feel as strong a disposition question with regard to me; to protect his father, as Mr. but even if there were such, I Walter's sisters feel to protect Mr. Scarlett's Scarlett an abusive calumniator 3 experience may have produced The persons whose names in his mind, astonishment that own a share of that very valu- of that of their father. This able property; and the brother Scarlett called me cruel, for and sisters have a right, agree- what he called putting forward ably to the law, to take into my son in this way! This man view all the circumstances of (who certainly cannot have the their situation, and of public happiness to be a father himmatters; and to so act as shall self), does not imagine, then, I expose themselves, all viewed suppose, that, if a sentence were

passed to cut off a male log in letters, had given such undemay look upon such a thing as to have suffered these latter to the fact.

not zoady and willing, and even were they not to insist upon doing that which this frothy do. What I It was so evident, of exposing my own " infants," six feet high! Such faithful creatures

my family, either of my seem niable proofs, that I stood in would insist that it should not no need of the agency of my he a leg of their father. He own "infents," that I oneht impossible; but I should be a walk about, and grow up as most unhappy wretch, if I were straight as a rush without innot convinced that, it would be terrupting their tranquillity by making them the depositaries of Mowever, this is all waste of my confidence! It was so words. It is such nonsense; "cruel" to put responsibility it is so stupid to talk of shuffling upon these little darlings; and and cowardice in such a case; so monstrously unjust and that every man must say that wicked to take my affairs out of my sens would be the most the hands, my secrets out of upnatural of children were they the bosoms of that matchless pair, Wright and Jackson!

One of the libels, as they are called, was a letter to my son man imputes it as a crime to James at New York. This letme in having suffered them to ter begins with the words, "my dear little James." This I suppose, that I had found such was fine food for the wit of Mr. faithful agents in others, that Scarlett, who heaped upon it was brutal of me to think "my dear little James" at a very great rate. He called him a young libeller; and had always been added, that he wondered that I' about me; Wright and Jack- had not put my wife forward, sen, in bringing out my private too. Men, under certain cir-

cumstances, should say little (" here is in favour of the Queen, about some, unless very loudly "and they are actually precalled for; and that Mr. Seart " paring an Address; as I unlett would have found if I had "denstand, at Philadelphia." had to reply to him instead of "bills by Captain Peck; and without any fee. "have distributed them in "every direction as far as they lett was labouring for several "would go. Except the Con- purposes: first to triumph over "sul and his tribe, every one Mr. Brougham; second, he,

If it were not to shew too. his having to reply to me, much respect to Mr. Scarlett, I But, as to "my dear little would treat him to a twopency. James," it is corious enough post letter, inclosing him this letthat I should, when I came ter of "my dear little James,". home from the Court, find a who, notwithstanding Mr. Scurletter from him, dated at New lette miserable wit, has in this . York on the Tth November, one single instance performed. and containing the following that which amounts to a greater passage: "Year answer to the quantity of merit, then Mr. Scar-. "Attorney-General's opening lett ever possessed, or ever will; "speech has been re-published possess, to the end of his life... "there; and every body says My opinion is, too, that "my " that Mr. Brougham ought to " dear little James" can, at the "have read it to the Lords age of seventeen, write a great. "instead of the speech that he deal better than Mr. Scanlett, "made in the opening of the can, or than he ever will. "My. "Queen's defence. The an- "dear little James" has done. "swer to the Solicitor-General more in the cause of her Majesty, "is also published. I got the than all her lawyers put toge-, "bundle of placards and hand-ther; and he has done this, too.

The truth is, that Mr. Scar-

think that he has established a principle which will run through printer, publisher, and every ·body else *till it comes to the writer? He is very much deceived if he does think this; and, if I be a person whom he wishes to get rid of: if he have set his heart upon that, break heart, for thy malignant wish will never be gratified!

Notwithstanding all that I and the public have seen upon will now enable me to cover this occasion; notwithstanding the Rump and their associates these consequences of my open with confusion, were those resand confiding disposition, that cued from the flames in Long disposition is by no means chang- Island, in consequence only of ed in the smallest degree. I the extraordinary fidelity, zeal, know that rather than act a and courage of my housekeeper,

was, as he thought, labouring treacherous next towards me. for his party; third, he was la- or any one belonging to me. bouring for his patron; fourth, Mr. Benbow-would suffer himand last, though not least, in his self to be out into a thousand estimation, he was labouring for pieces. In estimating the relaa post, which, out of delicacy, tive effects of a confiding and of shall be namcless. In all these a suspicious disposition, the good respects he was labouring in is in a prodigious degree on the vain; and as to his prospects of side of the former; for. though getting me into a prison, they it new and then preduces asare certainly illusory. Does he neyance and affliction, the litter is an ever kindwing worth that leaves you not a moment's peace and happiness during the whole course of your life. looking over the list of the fath?" ful and of the persidious, in whom I have placed confidence, the former is twenty times more" numerous then the latter; and, it is very singular, but not more singular than true, that these books and documents, which

to whom, in my almence, my pable of conducting a complicattrunk, and in her confusion she trust that it will not be suphad forgotten it until it was posed that I went there now nearly too late. Oh! let us not for the silly purpose of making a talk, then, about being sick of figure. I went because it was nethe world, because we new and cessary that I should go to speak then meet with ingratitude and of the Rump and their associates perfidy! A thousand of such in those terms which, perhaps men as have come forward with it would not have been proper my private letters would not for a lawyer to speak. I acweigh a feather in the scale complished fully the purpose against Mrs. Churcher. I have had in view. I begun well derived more pleasure from the the good work of roasting this grateful recollection of this one Rump; and in which work. act of hor's, than I ever can suf- you may depend on it, I never for pain from all the treachery will cease till I have destroyed and perfidy that ever has been or its permicious influence in this ever can be employed against great and public-spirited City. Me.

One word as to the trial, merely as a trial. I had not the vanity to suppose that I was ca-

books and papers were entrust- ed trial. I am not such a coxed. She rushed into the room, comb as to set myself ap as a which was in flames, and lawyer, knowing nothing of the when no man was bold enough profession; and also knowing it to enter it, and dragged out the to be a profession which retrunk to the door, at the mani- quires a life of study. I never feat risk of her life. I had given was in a Court of Justice above her particular charge about the five times in my life; and I

> I am, Gentlemen, Your faithful friend, WM. COBBETT.

PROPOSED DINNER.

about a dinner. In consequence of letters received from several gentlemen in the country, I have determined to put it off to some little time after New Year's Day, because, I find it would be inconvenient for them to come up to London in the Christmas week. Probably, therefore, it will be in the second or third week in January. due notice will be given of the precise day. Some persons appear to have imagined that I propose a sort of Meeting of Delegates. I assure them I mean no such a thing! I mean merely a Meeting of persons to dine together, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of sending forth a declaration of their views and wishes with regard to Reform. The subjets has been a good deal mistified. I wish to see it shortly treated of is a declaration. And though I, by no means pretend to dictate or prescribe to the country, or to any part of it, I am one man, at least, and have a right to offer my opinions. If numbers join me in those opinions. the joint and deliberate expression of the opinions may do good; and, at any rate, it appears to me impossible that it should do harm.

TO THE REPORMERS.

I insert below the proposition Countrymen and Friends,

The time seems to be arrived for us to make to the nation an explicit, a selemn, and a formal Declaration of our views and intentions. It is impossible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state of things can last long. Indeed the very supporters of corruption avow, that a great change of some description must speedily take place. But, while all agree, that there must be a change, very few are found ready to declare what it is that they expect, or, indeed, that they wish.

It is true, that the the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed, by petitions, and by other means, what are our wishes. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been biried under a men of eo-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemous: Besides, the statements in support of ex claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been sent forth, lie scattered here and there, and are his

erhare embodied in one single liamentary Reform, which; inpiece of reasonable bulk. Many deed, is the cause of the kingwho are now going men, were dom. It is now clear to ment base four years ago, when our men, and, I believe, to all men, struggle first began to assume that to change the Ministry a really serious aspect. Such of without changing the nature of us as have long been engaged the Representation in the Comin the struggle, are apt to ima- mons' House, would produce as gine, that, because we clearly possible good. And, yet, is it predecessand the hature of the not indescribable diagrace to this cause, the whole mation must great country that this present clearly; understand it; which, Ministry should remain in newer! though an error natural enough. is still an error.

others that might be stated, it of the Ministers, know, and, appears to me, that we now indeed, acknowledge, that they ought to send forth a Declaration of the description above without the support of the . given; and, if any considerable Reformers; and yet, to have number of you concur with me that support they affect to in opinion, the following is the fear to adopt the means; they means that I shall adopt for affect to fear, that the adoption effecting that purpose.

prevent what I now intend. the government. but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to us to appeal to the nation; and foin me, to dine at some convenient place in London, or some day before, New Year's are not only wholly groundless. Day.

It i8 opinion. that from this meeting, a Declara- serving the fabrick. tion might, at this time, be sent forth with great ad- have in view; and such the vantage to the cause of Par- mode in which I propose to

Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally For these reasons, and many looked towards as the successors could not remain in power of those means would be dea-· Circumstances may arise to gerous to the whole fabric of

> This, therefore, is the time for to shew, as we easily can, that those fears, real or pretended, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of pre-

> Such is the object which I

effect it. I by no means wish to however, the best way will be put myedy forward on this or to publish it without any subon any occasion; but, when we scription, and to sell it very want a thing done, the example cheap indeed to persons who of the American Farmers has may be disposed to hand it taught me that, " ceme hoys!" shout amongst their neighbours; and not "go bous!" is the especially in the country. word.

or town, has any improvement ject, by post (No. 269; Strand): to suggest, as to the manner of but the postage must be paid; accomplishing the object, I shall or, I shall be, as I atready be happy to attend to such sug-should be, exposed to enerexestions. If the meeting take mous plunder. place, I shall hope to see at it many Gentlemen from the Country. We must all be anxious, that what we do, upon this great occasion, may be able in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, it is desirable to fraw together a mass of knowledge and talent weethy of the goodness of our 'caute.' ^ '

If it were thought desirable to circulate the Declaration undeln a hundred thousand might be distributed for a sum which we could certainly raise for such a purpose. Perhaps,

I shall be glad to receive If any Gentleman, in country communications upon the sub-

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EARL GREY.

LETTER IL

On the obstacles to a Change of the Ministry. - On the Speech of the American President .- On the Causes of the present Distressthis Kingdom,-On the means of removing that Distress.

London, Dec. 19,: 1990,

Mt Lond.

the press to avail itself of the gratification; and some another der to give a sort of passport to littles and decorations; a greater its productions, and to obtain number make their happiness of for them a chance of being re-consist in the accumulation of .. ceived with attention. Avail-riches. The path of gratification again addiese your Lardship obtaining the reputation of pos-: mpon matter of lightest import-sessing knowledge, and that transacto the bountry at this mo-species of knowledge especially. 'ment's and which matters, if which is calculated to enable a - by persons in power, will com-presperity, the freedom and the " wand attention in a tone and glory of his country. I have manner not to be resisted never written for temporary · Every one now sees that a great purposes. I have never been change of some kind must take swayed by a desire to avoid

place. I have long been endeavouring to shew that the change ought to be made. Attifirst, not a man joined the in opinion; afterwards: I was joined by a few; I now hear invocations echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other; and I see writers and speakers putting forth as their own, and taking great credit to themselves for those very opinions, for having put forth which, they, for years stigmatized me as fool or rebel. It is a part of the privileges of Some men pursue one path of use of well-known names in or- path. Some are delighted with ing myself of this privilege, I which I have pursued is that of they be not speedily attended to man to contribute towards the

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popular obloquy. The decision inistry, maccompanied with a of to-day, I have always dis-change of the system. Indeed, regarded; and what I have at it is necessary to believe this, in ways desired to have said of me order to take from the opposiwas, " he foresaw these things tion a presumption of complete "when nobody else foresaw worthlessness of character. For, . "them; he inderstood these it is notorious that there is "things when nobod else un- every reason in the world for "derstood them; The evils, the removal of the present Mi-"which have now allen upon nisters, upon the supposition " his country, would never have that a mere change of men . " taken place if his advice had would not be absurd and even "been followed." I am too mischievous. The feeling with well aware of the workings of regard to her Majesty, is wholly , envy in some, and of false pride without a parallel, whether conin others, to expect ever to see sidered as to its ardour or its this acknowledgment in print, extent. In 1814, when Napoor to hear it from the lips; but, leon had been subdued, when a at the same time, I know that twenty-two years war had been men must say it in their hearts; brought to what was regarded a and even in their reluctance to most glorious termination; ... give utterance to their thoughts, when, though for various rea-I find additional gratification; sons, all parties joined in rejoicwhile I know, with as much cer- ing, when the government, the tainty as. I know that this is Tuesday, that the wisdom of these took the load; when the my principles and proposed measures, of fourteen years called forth to join in the shouts; ago, must be acknowledged, when nearly three hundred and that in acts of Parliament thousand pounds of the public too, or, that this country must take its chance on the bo; sterous umphal exhibitions and entersea of revolution.

serve to your Lordship in my the expressions of congratulafirst letter, the people can see tion were nothing in comparino use of a change of the Mi- son to what they have been in

aristocracy, the Church; when army and even the fleet were money was expended in tritainments; even at that time As I had the honour to ob- the demonstrations of joy, and

her Majesty. At that time the cities and towns inhabited in part, at least, by the opulent, and acting under the urgings of the constituted authorities, displayed signs of joy; but now these signs have shewn themselves in the very villages, and that, too, where the principal person has frequently been no more than a common farmer. So far from waiting to be urged by persons in authority, the people have acted in almost every case contrary to the well known wishes of such persons; and, in numerons instances, in open defiance of them.

Now, my Lord, it is not to be believed that those who have thus rejoiced at her Majesty's triumph, must not hold in reprobation the conduct of the Ministers; and that they must not wish to see those Ministers disgraced by being at any rate deprived of their power. They do not, perhaps, think with a certain Member of Parliament. that the Ministers ought to be

consequence of the triumph of thing against the Queen, to whose applications those Ministers turn a deaf ear; that the people do and must wish these Ministers to be dismissed, is a: thing not to be denied.

What, then, can be the cause of their stubborn silence upon the subject of that dismission? You have the cause very satisfactorily explained in the petition of Middlesex, and in that of the Common-Hall of London. and also in that of the City of Westminster. . f. Give, us a " Change of the Ministry,". say the people; but "give us " no change that will not se-" cure to us a reform." In the county of Durham, I perceive. nothing was said about a change in the Ministry; and nothing is proposed to be said, I perceive, in the county of Berks. Why is this; because if the proposition to dismiss the Ministers had been made, some one (the meeting being a public one) would have proposed, as was done at Leeds, to make Reform a condition for the change of hanged, or, at any rate, that Ministry, and would thereby they ought to be hanged while have defeated the purpose of it is improper or unnecessary to those who had brought forward impeach them; but that the the proposition for praying for people, who still suspect that the change, which artually took the Ministers meditate some place in Middlesex, to the utter

confusion of those by whom the it once more worthy of its meeting had been called.

It is manifest, therefore, my Lord, that the only obstacle to the supplanting of the Ministers by their rivals for power, is, that those rivals will make no pledge to procure for the people a Reform 'in the Commons' · House of Parliament. In my last letter to your Lordship, 'thought it unnecessary to go at any length into matter to shew the necessity of this Reform. Neither shall I do this upon this · occasion: but I will endeavour 'to describe, as fully as my space will allow, the present dangers of the country; and if I should 'succeed' in doing justice to that part of my subject, I shall. think. have little difficulty in convincing you, that these dan-'gers' are to be obviated; or, in other and more pointed terms. that a dreadful convulsion is to be prevented solely by that Reform, which would conciliate the people, hush all animosities; imake England once more like England, maké us all join heart and hand with the King, his Ministers and the Parliament, to tescue our country from peril and degradation, and to make abundance of mouths? Is it to

name.

What is the principal cause of that tuin and misery which now pervades the land, and which makes the life of the industrious man hardly worth preserving! What is the principal cause of the discontents which have furnished us with the best possible means of urging on the cause of Reform! This cause is the existence of. a paper system, by the means of which the incomes of the land-owners, and earnings of the industrious, are taken from them in proportions so large as to leave to the farmer, the trader, the journeyman, and the la boirer, so perfect an inadequacy of means, as to deprive the two former classes of the possibility of making suitable provision for their children; and as to produce, with regard to the two latter classes, that monster in civil society, starvation in the midst of abundance.

My lord, is it to be arregant or presumptuous, to differ in opinion with; or to call in question the wisdom of, those who one year ascribed the distresses of the country to a superabundance of food, and the very next year ascribed it to a super-

be presumptuous, my lord, to passing in the United States of assert that there must be something radically wrong in a system under which good harvests as well as bad harvests are an uffliction to a nation? Is it to be presumptuous to discard as unworthy of attention the opinions of men, who declared the distress to have arisen from a sudden transition from war to peace, and who, at the end of six years of peace, have seen nothing but a constant increase of distress, and have then avowed that they have no remedy to administer, and no remedy even to suggest? Is it to be presumptuous to venture to set forward one's opinions in opposition to those of men, who tax one part of the people to furnish another part with the means of emigrating, at the very same time that they pass laws to prevent the importation of food, and, of course, the exportation of manufactures in exchange?

I think it is not to be presumptuous to do this. I have which measures adopted with respect to this cause of the distress; and now, great matter. I took the liberty to call your set down a very short account lordship's attention to what was of my endeavours to prevent the

America -relative to the subject in question; and I shall, by and bye, have to notice the recent speech of the President, and again to avail myself of it in the way of illustration.

But, in justice to myself as well as in justice to the subject. I must first trace the cause from its root to the extremity of the It was in the year branches. 1797 that the first step was taken towards our present state of ruin and misery. It was then that that memorable Order of Council was issued, out of which have grown twelve acts of Parliament, the last of which goes by the name of Mr. Peet's Bill; to which acts we have to ascribe a long train of suffering and a hideous mass of present danger.

The first of these acts suspended cash payments at the Bank; the last of them has enacted, that cash payments shall be resumed; and has provided for the adoption of certain disapproved of the measures preliminary to that have been resumption. Here is the great In my last letter in justice to myself, I will simply

existence of this cause of cala-; was to turn, assumed a more mity and of danger.

my return to England in 1800, belonged, took the matter up. I clearly perceived the dangers of this paper system; and I per- Horner, and obtained a comceived not less clearly that payments in cash could never be resumed, without a destruction of a great part of the debt, or, without producing, first, general ruin and misery; and last, a convulsive revolution. During the years from 1803 to 1810, it was very seldom that a month passed over my head without an endeayour to inculcate these opinions, for the inculcation of which opinions I was repaid, in speech, in print, and in conversation, by every species of abuse, and in certain other ways, by the severest of persecution and punishment short of absolute killing. If ever man was martyr to any thing, I was a martyr to these opinions, which are now put forth as their own by thousands upon thousands of men, who then persecuted me, or who heartily applauded the persecutors.

regular and official form. At a very early period after party to which your lordship on the motion of the late Mr. mittee of enquiry, which committee was called the Bullion Committee, and which Committee reported, that an act ought to be passed to compel the Bank to resume cash payments at the end of two years from that time. The Ministerial party contended that the Bank was able at any time to resume cash payments: but that it would be inexpedient that it should do this until peace.

Thus stood, in 1810, the opinions, declarations, and propositions of the two parties in Par-Each party had its liament. partizans out of doors. than two hundred pamphlets were published on the subject; I stood alone, and, in my work written at that time, entitled Paper against Gold, I asserted, and I think I proved to demonstration, this position: "that " cash payments never could be " resumed, without a large re-I now come to the memorable " duction of the interest of the epoch of 1810, when the discus- "debt, or, without the utter sion upon this grand subject, "ruin of all persons actively upon the decision as to which I " engaged in trade of every dewell knew the fate of England " scription, and in agriculture,"

proposed to adopt, and which the thing as I have myself. other party had said would at once take place in peace without "deed, the country, were, as toany danger; now was that longlooked-for time arrived, and it " the Bank would be able tocame too with the unexpected " pay in specie in two years:

In repayment for this new and good luck of the restoration of . extraordinary effort of mine, 1 the Bourbons, and of the chainhad to receive a fresh and ex- ing of the " arch enemy of our traordinary quantity of the foul- " finances" to a rock! Now, est abuse that ever was poured then, arrived the time for the forth upon mortal man; but, as I cash payments to be resumed," have most satisfactorily experi- or for me to exult in my trienced, abuse, misrepresentation, lumph, and to repay my calum-... calumny, have no effect in en- niaters with soorh! Were eash feebling the body, or in relaxing payments resumed, my lord? the efforts of the mind, espe- Oh! no! my prophecy was fulcially when the latter is sup-filled. An act was passed to ported by a consciousness of it's continue the suspension for a rectitude. I knew I was right: yeur. When that year expired I knew that time was constantly another act was passed to conworking for me and against my tinute it for another year. When calumniators: in that know-that year was expired, and-.. ledge I was gay, while I knew ther act was passed to conthat their bosoms were filled tinue cash payments for two with apprehension, or, at least, years longer! I could hold no were the habitations of uncer-longer! Triumph; would burst forth, whether I would or not,
Peace came; that long-look- and out it came iff the following ed-for peace; that peace which words, which I insert here, howwas to remove every obstacle to ever, not so much in justice to the resumption of cash pay- myself, as in the way of present ments, and upon the arrival of warning to my country, parety. which, even the law positively man in which country I beseech" said, cash payments were to be to pay attention to these words, resumed! Now was the time for I am sure every one of them when that which one party had has full as much interest in the

> "The Parliament, and, in-"this question, divided into two parties: one said, that

X Lord Castlereigh : 84 pression with regard to the imprisonment of Napoleon at St. Helena. - I.

" the other said, that the Bank;" his own vine and his own fig-" was always able to pay, but " tree with no one to make him "that it would not be prudent |" afraid. Now there will be, " to suffer the Bank to pay, till " peace came. I gave it as my " opinion, that peace would not "enable the Bank to pay; or, " at any rate, that her ladyship " would not pay in gold and sil-" ver when peace should come. "Thus far, then, time has " proved me to have been right. "We must now wait for TIME " again; but, happily, we shall " not have to wait long. Peace " is now again come; and come "in a way, too, that seems to "defy even chance to interrupt " another and another Act of, "it's duration. Not only is Na- | " Parliament will convince even " poleon down, but he is in our " hands; he is banished; to a "rock, of which we have the "on the National Debt are paid, " sole command and possession; "he is as completely in the " power of our Government as " if they had him in the Tower " of London. Therefore, this " great obstacle to gold and sil-" ver payments is swept away: " The Capets, or the Bourbons, " as they call themselves, are " restored. Spain has regained "that beloved Ferdinand, in " whose cause we were so zeal-" ous, and he has restored the "Inquisition and the Jesuits. " The Pope, to the great joy of "loyal protestants, is again in " the chair of Saint Peter; has "again resumed his keys and "about. If they do pay in cash " his shepherd's crook. In short, " our government, so far from "dreading any enemy, is in "strict alliance with every "sovereign in Europe.

"Now, then, are come the "for an ignorant pretender all "halcyon days. Now John Bull "the remainder of my life. If

"there can be, no need of ar-" mies or navies. Now, then, " my good neighbours, we shall, " surely, see gold and silver re-" tern. Which of you will bet " any thing on the affirmative of "this proposition? My opinion " is, that we shall not see it re-"turn; that we shall not see " the Bank pay in gold and sil-"ver; that we shall not hear " the Minister say, that the Old " Lady is ready with her cash. "In short, my opinion is, that " the most stupid and credulous, "that, as long as the dividends "so long will they be paid in "Bank Notes, so long will the " law. protecting the Bank " against demands in real money -" remain in full force: for, the " man that needs more than two " more Acts of Parliament to " produce this conviction in his " mind, must be an idiot.

" Let us wait, then, with pa-" tience for two years more; " but, let us keep our eye stea-" dily fixed on the movements " of the Ministry and the Bank. "Let us listen quietly to all " they say, without seeming to " take any notice of what they are "at the end of two years, and " still continue to pay the divi-"dends, or the interest of the "debt, I will frankly acknow-"ledge, that I ought to pass 🛶 " is to sit down in peace under |" they do not pay in cash at the,

"what they ought to pass for I " shall leave my readers to de-" cide.

" As to giving them a longer "tether, that is wholly out of " the question. Twelve years, " is the average length, it is said, " of the life of man. I have al-" ready given them four. I will " allow them two more; but, "as the grey hairs begin to "thicken very fast upon my " head, as my sons and daugh-" ters begin to walk faster than " their father and mother, I cer-" tainly shall not lengthen the " tether; but, at the end of two " years from this first day of the "month of September, 1815, I "shall, if I still hold a pen, and " the Old Lady does not pay " the dividends in cash, assume "it as a notoriously admitted " fact, that she never will and " never can."

I must confess that I did revel a little upon this occasion; but, if I had revelled ten times as much as I did, I should have been fully justified in so doing. laughed at the confusion of my this! enemies, of my stupid and base traducers; but I had a right to and now we come to the present laugh. It was, after all, but a moderate satisfaction for the sarcasms of the Edinburgh Rethe London press.

" end of two years more, then, Act was passed to continue the suspension for another year; however, this Act provided that the Bank might resume! Yes. this Act graciously permitted. the Bank to resume, upon giving due notice of its intention, to the Speaker of the House of Commons. This Act was to expire in July, 1819; but, alas! before that time arrived, another Act was passed continuing the suspension until the first of May, 1893!

> Oh, delusion! Was there ever delusion like this since the world Twenty-six years of begun? putting off, and twelve Acts of Parliament appointing the time of resumption! Call the Reformers a set of deluded people. indeed! Have their leaders ever been deluded themselves. or have they ever attempted to delude others to an extent like

So much for the past, my Lord; and the future. The last of the twelve Acts was what is called Mr. Peel's Bill; and this Bill. viewers and for the revilings of in only four pages, decides the fate of England, if it be perse-Well, my Lord! The two vered in; and it does as much years expired, and this new pro- for the public character of its phecy was fulfilled. No cash rulers whether it be persevered payments came, but another in or not. This Bill is not like

pend the payment of cash at the the distress begun before the time of passing it, and the first of May, 1823. The substance of the provisions are as follow. From 1st February to 1st October, 1820, the Bank is to pay its notes, in sixty ounce pieces of gold, at eighty-one shillings an ounce. From 1st October, 1820, to 1st of May, 1821, it is to pay in sixty ounce pieces at seventynine shillings and sixpence an ounce. From 1st May, 1821, to 1st May, 1823, it is to pay in sixty ounce pieces, at seventyseven shillings and ten-pence halfpenny an ounce. From the 1st May, 1823, it is to pay in specie as it did in former times!

The moment I saw a newspaper account of this Bill, I said, and I put the saying into print, that if this Bill were carried into complete effect, without a reduction of the interest of the debt, I would suffer myself to be broiled alive. l now deliberately repeat the saving. carry this Bill into effect, is even physically impossible; and yet if a stop be put to its progress. where will then be those two Houses of Parliament who passed it by an unanimous vote?

Here is the cause, my Lord. Here is the great cause of the distresses of the country. Here is the cause of the falling off in the means of the land-owner; of the ruin of the farmer and the trader; of the swelling of the poor-rates and the filling of the poor-houses; and of the starvation in the midst of plenty of the

the former Acts, merely to sus-lis to be observed, however, that Bank; but it provides for pay- passing of this Bill. It begun ments in bullion, between the the moment that peace was seen to be certain; and it did so begin because the paper money makers knew that they would be called upon, or that they would be liable to be called upon for cash, when the peace arrived. The renewal of the Suspension Act, from time to time, did not give them sufficient confidence to enable them to keen their paper out in the former quantity, and, therefore, the distress begun long before the passing of Mr. Peel's Bill. But this Bill has insured a regular increase of the distress, until the month of May, 1823; and when that time arrives, if the Bill be not before repealed, it has insured the blowing up of the system, if not a convulsive revolution. It is not necessary for me to explain to your Lerdship the manner in which this Bill operates. Not that I should be afraid of offending you by going in to such matter; because your Lordship would well know that I meant the explanation for others and not for you. It will be sufficient just to state some of the effects of this Bill. fore this Bill arrive at the termination of its provisions, it will cause wheat to sell for four shillings a bushel or less. It will: ruin every man who has borrowed money even to the fourth part of the amount of his property. It will ruin every man who trades, to any considerable extent, on borrowed capital. It will ruin every man who has journeyman and the labourer. It taken a lease of a farm for three,



years to come. It will ruin allished in this country. In my great many thousands of persons last letter to your lordship, I who have annuities, rent charges, ground rents, marriage settlements, and other things to pay. It will disable the government from raising taxes sufficient for point of removal; and that I more than half the demands upon it. It will totally ruin commerce and manufactures. It will convey three-fourths of the estates of the nobility into the hands of fundholders and stockjobbers.

Now, my lord, I was very confident in my predictions in 1810 and in 1815. I am not less confident now. But. I never shall see this Bill carfrom being fulfilled.

of the difficulties which this the revolution. Bill presents to a change of the | Having thus stated the sim-Ministry, give me leave, my ple facts, let me now beseech lord, to draw your attention your lordship's attention for a for a few minutes to the Ame- moment to the manner in which rican President's speech, which the President endeavours to

took occasion to assure you, that, what was called distress in that country was by no means removed, nor, upon the imagined that loans in time of peace would, in that country, as well as in this, be resorted to.

In another part of this number, your lordship will find the whole of the President's speech. or message You will find that the American debt amounts to about a hundred millions of dollars, which requires about six millions of dollars to pay ried into full effect. Oh! no! the interest of it. You will This is one of the things that find, that last year, they made a parliament, which has been a loan of three millions of dolcalled omnipotent, cannot do. lars; and that the whole of the This is one of the things that income (including the three it cannot do, though it passed millions borrowed) was sixthe bill by an unanimous vote. teen millions seven hundred It can do many things that I thousand dollars, while the shall not take the liberty to expenditure was sixteen milmention. It can pass a law to lions eight hundred thousand prevent the people hearing dollars. Here is a deficiency my prophecies; but it of more than three millions of cannot prevent the prophecies dollars upon an expenditure of sixteen millions. How diffe-Gagging Bills, and Dungeon rent is this state of things from Bills, and Banishment Bills, that of 1817! In that year, and even Censorship Bills, it there was a large surplus, and can cause to be carried into the President then announced effect; but to cause to be car- his intention to recommend to ried into effect Mr. Poel's Bill, the Congress to shew its geis beyond the stretch of its nerosity towards the old men power. Before I come to speak who had served in the war of

has just been received and pub- plaister them over; and I think

is out the Whole mepage . hit here is an

you will find, that, when re-1" admitted, have been felt; but, publican rulers do take the "allowing to these their greattrowel in hand, they can plaister as well as the rest of us, The passage which I am about to quote, is rather long; but, if the instruction it gives do not compensate for its length, a man must have very little laughter in him that does not find his trouble of reading repaid by the diversion he will receive.

"In communicating to you a " just view of public affairs, at "the commencement of your "present labours, I do it with "great satisfaction; because, "taking all circumstances into " consideration which claim at-"tention, I see much cause to "rejoice in the felicity of our "situation. In making this re-" mark, I do not wish to be un-" derstood to imply, that an un-"varied prosperity is to be "seen in every interest of this "great community. In the pro-"gress of a nation inhabiting a " territory of such vast extent, "and great variety of climate, "every portion of which is en-"gaged in foreign commerce, "and liable to be affected, in " some degree, by the changes "which occur in the condition "and regulations of foreign " countries, it would be strange, " if the produce of our soil, and " the industry and enterprise of " our fellow citizens, received, " at all times, and in every quar-" ter, an uniform and equal en-" couragement. This would be " more than we have a right to " expect, under circumstances "the most favourable. Pres- "flict, compelled, as we were "sures on certain interests, it is I" finally, to become a party to

"est extent, they detract but " little from the force of the re-" mark already made. In form-"ing a just estimate of our pre-"sent situation, it is proper to "look at the whole; in the out-"line, as well as in the detail, a "free, virtuous, and enlighten-"ed people know well the " great principles and causes on "which their happiness de-"pends; and even those who "suffer most, occasionally, in " their transitory concerns, find "great relief under their suffer-"ings from the blessings which "they otherwise enjoy, and in "the consoling and animating "hope which they administer. "From whence do these pres-" sures come? Not from a Go-" vernment which is founded by, "administered for, and sup-"ported by the people. "trace them to the peculiar "character of the epoch in which we like, and to the ex-" traordinary accurrences which " have signalized it. The con-"vulsions with which several " of the Powers of Europe have "been shaken, and the long and " destructive war in which all "were engaged, with their " sudden transition to, a state " of peace, presenting, in the " first instance, unusual encou-"ragement to our commerce, "and withdrawing it in the " second, even within its wont-" ed limit, could not fail to be " sensibly felt here. The sta-, "tion, too, which we had to " support through this long con-

"suffer heavy losses, and to "in the light of mild and in-"contract considerable debts, "structive admonitions; warn-"distributing the " course of affairs, by augment- " ned in future; teaching us "ing to a vast amount; the cir- "lessons of economy, corres-"cutating medium, and thereby "ponding with the simplicity " elevating, at one time, the "price of every article above a "and best'adapted to their supjust standard, and depressing te it at another below it, had "Ilkewise its due effect.

"sures of which we complain "thereby augmenting daily our "have proceeded, in a great "measure, from these causes. "When, then, we take into strength and vigour to the po-"view the prosperous and "litical; opening a wider range "happy condition of our coun- "and with new encouragement "try, in all the great circum- "to the industry and enterprise "stances which constitute the "of our fellow-citizens at home "felicity of a nation-every in- " and abroad; and more es-"dividual in the full enjoyment "pecially by the multiplied "of all his rights—the union "proofs which it has accumulat"blessed with pleuty, and ra"ed, of the great perfection of "" pidly 'trising to greatness, "our most excellent system of '" inder a national government, "government, the powerful inwhich operates with comwhich operates with c without being felt in any, ex- "ing to us these blessings." "cept by the ample protection You'see, my lord, that though

"it with a principal Power, gard the pressures to which I "and to make great exertions, "have adverted otherwise than ordinary "ing us of dangers to be shun-" and purity of our Institutions, " port; evincing the connec-"tion and dependence which "the various parts of our happy "It is manifest, that the pres- "union have on each other. " social incorporation, and ad-"ding, by its strong ties, new

which it affords, and under the President is aware that he is "it state governments which per- about to announce the existence "form their equal share, ac of distress, he begins by saying "cording to a wise distribution that he has much cause to re-"of power between them, in joice in the felicity of the nation, which is so much like something mess—it is impossible to be-"hold so gratifying; so glorious our king's speeches, that I really "a spectacle, without being thought at first that I was get-" penetrated with the most pro- ting amongst the documents of "found and grateful acknow- St. Stephen's. However, he " ledgements to the Supreme gets on; and out it comes that "Author of all good for such pressures have been felt. I did "manifold and inestimable bles- not know before that pressure "smgs. Deeply impressed with had a plural. Let that pass, "these sentiments. I cannot re- however, and now we come.

" pressures come?" Aye! Aye! I say; whence do they come?— And now hear him, my lord; you will certainly think it is Lord Liverpool, that is speaking. -" Not from the government," oh! no, no, no! Not from the government, to be sure !- " Not "from the government, which is "founded by, administered for, " and supported by the people." Come, come, Mr. President! This is being "a little tricky," as they call it in your country. This is shocking logic. amounts to the full of our doctrine, that the King can do no wrong, and it goes a great deal further, too, for it does not leave the people eyena nominal responsibility in any set of persons But, let us hear whatever. now, whence the "pressures" have come: "we there them to " the peculiar character of the " epoch in which we live, and to " the extraordinary occurrences " which have signalised it. The " convulsions with which se-" veral of the powers of Europe " have been shaken, and the " long and destructive war, in " which all were engaged, with " their sudden transition to a " state of peace." Who would not imagine that it was Lord Castlereagh himself that was speaking? Here is all the old empty stuff, that has long been worn out here, gathered carefully up to deck out a presidential speech on the other side of the Atlantic. By and bye, however, Mr. Monroe comes to some- | not only my advice, but the adthing like common sense, and vice of many most enlightened

after some high compliments to speaks of the vast increase of the the people, to the ticklish point, circulating medium that took namely, "from whence do these place at one time, and of its great subsequent diminution. This is sense; and why could it not have been uttered clearly and simply, and not be attempted to be buried in a heap of nonsense.

> The last part of the above quoted passage is one of the most complete instances that ever came under my view of the art of bewildering. The solemn acknowledgments to God do very little credit to the President's taste; while the whole piece presents a confusion of ideas, a defiance of logic and of grammar, such as I find it impossible to pass over unnoticed. though I have very great respect for the character of Mr. Monroe.

The truth is, that he is a very honest man; much too honest ever to have approved of a funding system; but that he is fairly entangled in it; and that, meaning to be President a second. time, he dares not speak of it in the terms which it merits, for, if he were to do this, that caucus, on whom his re-election depends, would take care that he should never fill the President's chair again.

It is from the government, then, that the "pressures" have come; and it was the government that, by establishing the National Bank in 1816, entailed the curse of paper money upon America. At the conclusion of the war, the whole might have been swept away. That was

men in that country. Instead! of getting rid of the plague at. once, it was rendered permanent. by the establishment of that Bank; and in spite of the President's flowery picture, my opinion is, that that very paper money will finally produce a dissolution of the union. The American farmers will not, I am convinced, suffer themselves to he robbed in order to fill the pockets of stock jobbers. interest of the debt has hitherto. been paid out of the proceeds of the Custom House. The taxes , so raised fall indirectly in part upon the farmers; but if they attempt to go to the Homesteds of the farmers to get the money to pay the interest of that debt, away goes in one instant all security for the existence of the general government. Indeed, the thing will never be attempted. It is unjust in itself, and it will have to meet with an opposition, of which no one not well acquainted with American, farmers, can have the

, smallest idea. 🔆 But, my Lord, the interesting point for us is the proof that we here have of the fatal effects of paying in gold what was borrowed in paper, even in a country like America. They do there actually pay in specie now. There are no internal taxes worth notice. All the taxes of a considerable farm, including road-rates. and poor-rates. school-rates, amount, in a whole times find the means of shewing eight days wages of a common facts which transpire. New, labourer; and yet, in a country my Lord, please to observe, thus situated, with a superabun- that, a few years ago the re-

ease and comfort amongst the common people unknown in any other country; with an orderly, peaceable, sensible population: with all these advantages, and with only a debt of about twenty-eight millions sterling, the change from paper to gold has produced what the President calls "pressures." this unjust, this unnatural, this really wicked compulsion to pay in gold what was borrowed in paper, has produced pressures even in America; and, if the loaning system be persevered iu, instead of resorting to a reduction of the debt, and especially if an attempt be made to make the American farmers pay the interest of that debt, my opinion is, that this accursed system will produce a dissolution of the union.

However, there is another view to take of this matter, and a view which, to us, is of very great importance. Your Lordship has doubtless attended to the curious notion of the promoters of Mr.: Peel's Bill, that commerce would revive, and that the revival of commerce would be one of the means of enabling the Bank to pay in specie without injury to the country. A notion may be so completely absurd, as to set all commentary at defiance. And this is precisely one of that sort. But, though we cannot comment upon the thing, we someyear, to not more than seven or the contrary of its assertion by dance of land; with a degree of venue of the American Custom-

. The stringgle here auticipated is actually M Lis Ein (Man 1037). _ Ed.

1

third more than it does now; the effects of these are open, and I believe that more than visible, they strike all eves. five sixths of it arose out of im- they give offence, the errors are ports from England, Ireland and corrected, and the nation is to "Scotland. The cause of the di- rights again; but the minings, minution has been the di- the sappings, the under-minminution of the imports; and ings of the muck-worm are carthat has arisen principally from ried on unseen and unapprethe rising of the value of money hended, till all is hollow, all is in England; or, in other words, false, all is treacherous to the from the increasing inability in feet: the hour of destruction English merchants to give cre- suddenly comes, and learning, dit to merchants in America; wisdom, patriotism, toyalty and which inability in English mer- valour are all unavailing. "chants has principally arisen "from the drawing in of the pa- vincing your Lordship that the per of the Bank of England, attempts to return to cash pay-"which paper was drawn in pre- ments have been the cause of "paratory to the return to cash the ruin and misery;" and that payments! And, therefore, this those attempts, if they be per-Bill of Mr. Peel, which was to severed in, must increase that "be rendered harmless partly by ruin and misery, you will agree the revival of commerce, con- with me, of course, in opinion, tained within itself the efficient that one of two things must be means of preventing that revi- adopted: the repeal of Mr.

" So happy are we, my Lord, the interest of the debt. 'in heads to guide us in the con- Now, then, which of these "ducting of our affairs; and so shall be adopted? "Shall it be true it is, that it is sheer power, the former ! What tongue or "and not wisdom, by which, in pen can describe the shame, the general, mankind are govern- disgrace, attendant on such re-"Ged! Loan-jobbers and stock peal! Talk of mortification, in-lipabers, and brokers in silver and deed, in restoring her Majesty's In gold are very clever in ma-mane to the Liturgy; talk of "naging their affairs, and in the mortification at pracing that ilmaking of money; but of all the lustrious and gallant tady in a scourges that God, in his wrath, palace! Talk of humiliation in ever permitted to be laid upon bending to the Radicals! What the back of a nation; the se-is any one, or what are all of verest, the most odious and most these compared with the repeal degrading, is, the suffering of of this Bill? This Bill was its affairs to be placed; even in preceded by voluminous the smallest degree, in the ports of Committees of the hands of persons of this descriptive Houses: to those reports tion. Princes and Nobles may were subjoined a detail of the

Thouse amounted to nearly almit hundreds of follies; but

If I have succeeded in con-Peers Bill; or; a reduction of Such

be blunder-headed; may com-levidence of "all the most ex-

dealers, bankers and political the repeal of this Bill. economists, several of whom were also Members of the Parliament. The Bill underwent! the fullest discussion in both! Houses, where it received improvements and additions; and where it finally passed by an unanimous vote of the whole legis-Jature; and was sent forth as a thing to set the question at rost. to tranquillise the minds of the people, and to give to foreign nations an assurance of England's return to cash payments. It was to put an end to all fluc-.tuations in prices, to all uncertainty in pecuniary transactions, who probably owe them, upon to all danger in the making of an average, forty or fifty milcontracts for the future. the Regent came to prorogue the Parliameut, the Speaker addressed him upon the subject of is now due to them. this great work of the session, of which work he spoke in terms and though the catalogue of them of lofty culogium, and tendered hight be greatly augmented, the Bill to the Prince as a signal are nothing at all when comproof of the wisdom, the fore-pared to this; that the repeal of sight, and the providential care of his Parliament!

Why, my Lord, to repeal this Bill would be an act to make every Member of the Parliament ashamed to show his face. It is impossible to conceive how the Members could nit and look at one another during the progress of such repeal; and especially when they reflected that they had recently passed a law for the banishing of any one doing any thing tending to bring either House of Parliament into contempt. But, shame and disgrace would would be the not distant consebe very far indeed from being quence; and the moment they the most serious part of the became only a little in vogue,

perienced morehants, money-| consequences that would attend peal would cause money to fall in value and prices to rise. The injury which would bence arme to those who had recently legt money or let lands, or contracted to receive annuities, is manifest enough. It would lower the value also of avery debt due to tradesmen, manufacturers and merchants. It would rob, for one year, all yearly servants of a considerable portion of their wages. Your Lordship will bear in mind that the merchants of this country are great creditors to foreigners. When lions of money. Let this Bill be repealed, and they will receive about three-fourths of what All these. bowever, though they are evils. this Bill would be an open declaration of national bankruptcy, and a sentence passed upon us of perpetual paper-money .--Away would go not only the hopes but the possibility of a return to cash-payments. Every creature would perceive the rottenness of the system. No man would put by a bank note even for a month. The Bank would not dare to offer bullion at almost any price. A fondness for real money, and an eagerness to get at it, would instantly seize upon every mind; two prices

into dust. In the meanwhile, adopt this measure without a no foreign effort could this na- Reform of the Parliament, tion make; against no power, would be utterly impossible. however puny; and however The number of persons, whose outrageously insolent or unjust, would it dare to raise its arm. It "would be feebleness in every limb and in ward of such a subject would every muscle; and while it was despised abroad, it would contain within itself all the elements of strife, confusion and violent revolution.

This measure, therefore, tho' I really think it will be adopted, in one shape or another, is certain destruction. The other measure, that of reducing the enterest of the debt, is one of greater difficulty in the adoption; but, it would in the end be efficient, and productive of active masses of the people be the best possible consequences. Yet, when men talk of reducing the interest of the debt, few of them, it appears to me, consider sufficiently all the effects and security. There will, in of such a measure, and all the fact, be two great bodies conminor provisions with which it tending one against the other. must be accompanied. To speak If the people join with the of these in the manner in which one, all will be safe, all will it would become me to speak of be right, them, if I professed to be pro- the other, combustion and remulgating a plan, would require volution are the consequences; more time and space than I have and join with that other they

the whole fabric would cramble; the present to observe, that, to interests would be deeply affected by such a measure; the agistricken with tation which the bringing foroccasion, would call forth so much feeling, would occasion such a stir, would excite so much passion, that confusion must instantly succeed, unless the measure were adopted with the sanction of men sent into the Parliament by the great masses of the people. The measure is absolutely necessary. 'This nation cannot be saved from revolution without it; but never can it be adopted unless the great and previously conciliated and tranquillised. This is a measure where particular interests must give way to the general good : If they join with now to spare. It is sufficient for will, unless they be first represented in Parliament to their sa-, sure was unable to discover the disfection.

this measure, accompanied with means of quietly effecting a Rea Reform of the Parliament, form, of securing the people" will have the cordial support of concurrence in a reduction of the the whole nation, an insignifi- debt, and of restoring tranquilicant few only excepted. For lity and prosperity to the counmy own part I should like to try. I had no other object, in and, indeed, I should prefer it; this Bill before the country. that would arise from a change of men. I allow that it is an to take to myself. undertaking of immense difficulty: I have never represented it as an easy matter. I spent nearly a whole year in Long Island, putting together my thoughts upon the subject upon paper, I found the difficulpracticable and destitute

means of doing, I wrote down. Aby Ministry who will adopt in the shape of a single Bill, the see it done by the present as endeavouring to obtain a seat in well as any other Ministers; Parliament, than that of lauing and for this reason, that the failed in that endeavour, and, change would be more marked therefore. I have been unable to as a change of measures, and do that which it was my intenwould take away the confusion tion to do; and for not doing which I certainly have no blame Had that measure heen proposed, I verily believe that the people of this country would now have seen their way through the dismal gloom in which they are enveloped. I have done my duty: When I came to place them If my country owes nothing to me, I, at any rate, owe it noties much greater and more nu-thing. The people have from merous than I had anticipated. me all that I am able to per-Yet I arrived at the conclusion form "out of doors." Within that the measure, all precautions doors they have others to serve being duly taken, was perfectly them; to give them the use of of their industry, their zeal, their every tinge of injustice or harsh-knowledge and their talents. That I might not have There they have not to accuse myself of reproaching Moses and the Prophets, inothers with not doing that deed, but, they have which I myself with all my lei- Peter Moore and Edward El-

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lice! They have Pascoe Gren- portion of the charge of revofell. John Moberly, Alexander lutionary designs, should have When zeal and courage, united with disinterestedness and adeordinary omergency and peril, prevent that overthrow and (with true and trusty Sancho all the while been treating me present, indeed, by the potent hugged to their bosoms the an-Magicians in big wigs and er- dacious stock-jobbers, who have, mined robes, but, always, at at last, actually proposed to diother times, ready to receive the vide their lands; and, indeed, homage due to "England's as I have clearly shewn, to take Glory!". With these to watch the whole of their lands away. over their interests, to devise Most other men in my place, simeans for their relief, to carry those means into execution and to provide for their prosperity and their honour, how can the people of England imagine that they have any want to lament? The wonder is, my lord, that fitted out with such guardians and such guides, the people should ever have experienced injury in any degree, or have wandered one single step from the path of political felicity.

serve, that I, who have been secure. I have, besides, the naobliged to bear a very large tural desire to see my opiniona

Baring, and David Ricardo! been constantly labouring to produce that which is absolutely necessary to prevent revolution. lity, are required, they have, I have no particular interest to for the "well-foughten field," prevent the overthrow of the Messes. Brougham and Denman, Nobles and the confiscation of to "keep together in their chi- their estates; and yet I have valry:" and, in cases of extra- been constantly labouring to they have the Westminster Don that confiscation; and they have at his heels); spoll-bound at as an enemy while they have tuated as I am, treated as I have been, seeing approaching that which I see approaching, would say not a word about the matter, deal like others in unmeaning generalities; let the storm come on, and be ready for a share in the scramble, being, as I am, quite as well qualified for taking part in a scramble as the rest of my neighbours. But, I do not wish to see a scramble. I wish to see my country pre-It is curious enough to ob- served, to be great, happy, and

ed. The remedies, I have long a time of great difficulty to the recommended. I have often government. The load which said, that to my shop the Minis- power has to bear is greater ters, be they who they may, must | than it can bear; and carry on; . come; or the thing must go on at the same time, a conflict to revolution. of this saying; I must naturally prudence, therefore, calls upon wish for; I do wish for it; and the Ministers to give way, if there be any sin in the wish. let it rest upon my head.

measures be adopted, what is it to me who are the men? 'I have often been stricken with wonder, that the Ministers themselves should weit for others to propose to adopt the remedy; seeing that they themselves at all times possess the fallon now into very deep dislarge: but all they want to retrieve themselves in an instant is, to retrace their steps with Queen, and to use the lan-

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prevail and my doctrines adopt-, distress amongst the people t The falfilment with public opinion. Common And what dishonour would there be in giving way! Can Provided that the proper ten or twelve men be dishonoused in yielding to a whole nation?- Can a king be dishomoured in yielding to the prayers of his people; and especially at a time, when that people, after more than twenty years of the most generous sacrifices, are plunged into a power of adoption. They are state of the deepest distress?

Who can behold, without grace with the country at feeling shame for his country, the contest, the strife, the conflict, the war of addresses that is now carrying on in this regard to her Majesty the kingdom! On the one side we see, generally speaking, perguage of conciliation towards sons in authority, and; laments the people. In general, it is a able to relate, the Clergy in sound maxim, that power is to particular; and, on the ether be preserved by the use and side, we see the great mans of exertion of itself; but, con- the people! Here is a division junctures arise when this maxim snough to terrify ruless of the becomes inapplicable; and the stoutest nerves; and yet not present is a conjuncture of that one step is taken to put an end kind. This is a time of great to this usuatural, this ill-hoding

stelfer which proclaims to the it as my decided opinion, tha world that the precept, "to " honour and obey the king, "and all that are put in au-"therity under him:" that this prisonot, so necessary to the preservation of peace and harmony in the community, and heretelere so cheerfully obeyed in England, is, at last, and alahost by sheer force, to be ereset from the minds of the peoble. Yet, again I say, my lord, how is harmony to be pentoned by a mere change of men at the head of the goverament? The cause of her Majorty, was well calculated to excite great faciling; but that feeling would have been of short ducation had it not found constant food in the numerous other grounds of discontent; This is so manifest that no one can design it. It is proclaimed by the friends of the Ministers. and it is acknowledged by our salves. - This clearly shows that a more change of men is not what is wanted. And it admonishes enery men who may sepire-to-the Ministry, that the Heormi el revider jo, acidetana side to undeconfinated; without that tentify, mayin, them, what Before of the Parliaments with antitio hepe for in a change -erg enels; thicky test test pero such test that, which; alone prehank other hand reside since serves serves in election me ? . The not I

England never can again enjoy one day of tranquillity.

I cannot conclude this letter without frankly stating to your Lordship, that viewing the two parties in Parliament in their relative industry and talent, and even in their relative integrity as public men. I can see nothing to make me wish for a change of mere man. If I see no great mass of talent on the side of the Ministers, I look in vain for it on your side, if I except your Lordship, and not more than two other persons. As to general views upon the great subject which has occupied the chief part of this letter, Lifind no difference in the two parties, if I except yourself and my Lord King. As to the eagerness for power and emelument, and disregard of the complaints of the people, can I wish to change, can I wish to displace any set of men, who are likely to be supplanted, in part, at-least, by Mr. Brougham, Sir James Macintosh, Mr. Searlett, and Mr. Abererombie? If I see scramblers on the ministerial side; if

have no hope but in a change | some of them quear, it is very of the system, and if the system hard to say what man's life is be to go on, in God's name, let it come to its natural termination without the tormenting scarifications of a batch of Edinburgh Reviewers!

I remain.

Your Lordship's most obedient, And most humble servant.

WM. COBBETT.

P.S. The going-out of Mr. Canning may have in view nothing more than a repetition of the trick that he played off in 1814! He was not in, when he played that trick.

" PLACARD CONSPIRACY."

of prosecutions upon this subject in the crime of high treason. at the first; and certainly my accessories were liking has not been increased by the progress of the affair. am ready to do justice to the compositor and the messman. motives of the gentlemen with too! Here is a pretty scene whom the inquiry originated; opening to our view! Here is but I not only do not approve a semething which the Governof, but am decidedly hostile to ment and the Atterney General the presecution of a man for high never appear to have thought freezen, for being the author of of. If it he preper to charge a placard! This is a most dan- this offence of Franklin as high gerous precedent; and if prin-treason, mild, indeed, have been fers, and publishers, will swear the proceedings of the Governin the manner that I have heard ment! I have need what is

safe; what man may not have his head cut off, and his carcase cut into quarters! You have only to be in the habit of having things printed by a man, or published by a man, who has motives sufficient to induce him to swear away your life. Let but this precedent be established, and who will dare, not to trust his manuscript in the hands of a printer, but who will dare even to enter a printing office ?

But, if a bill be found against Franklin, or Fletcher, or whatever be his name; if a bill for high treason be found against him, is the printer to escape? I did not much like the idea I have always understood, that, principals. And, pray, was not the printer I an accessory.? Ase, and the

' called the " Treasonable Plan printed and published: these card." It was inflammatory, to have hitherto been thought sufbe sure; but if it were high ficient to do the business; but, tretteon, there is not a week good God! what is to protect 'passes' over our heads the us, if conspiring to do, or to publications of which would eause any of these to be done, That bring some man to the is to become a crime, and a block. The offender is, it ap- crime, too, observe, which may "pears, gone away; and, there- be punished even by banishfore, his life may not be in dan- ment! ger; but, the precedent will be "the same; and if, unfortunately, their enemies, they should take a conviction should take place, care that the blow does not rewriters against the Government | coil upon themselves. Unquesmay begin to look sharply about tionably all this has been well them; and, at any rate, this meant; but I am satisfied that prosecution, by popular subscription, will have made a most terrible scourge to be shook over their backs.

There is another singularity in this strange series of proceedings. There is something about a conspiracy in the printing and publishing of these Placards. The charge of libel has ...generally been thought to be sufficiently comprehensive. We have long been complaining. and justly complaining, of the monstrous extension and capacity of its jaws; but the ingenuity of our friends has now il micevered a mode of giving a i swetch even to those jaws, to quarrel with them for that! Composing, printing and pub- They were inflammatory, and is · lishing; and causing to be it for me to dislike them on that

When people are striking at it is one of the most dangerous steps that ever was taken. If the conviction take place upon the charge of high treason, a charge preferred by the friends of Reform, and the expences borne by public subscription, who in future shall dare to complain of any degree of severity that may be exercised by the Government against the press?

Of the Placards I said, and I say still; that, as far as I have read of them, I have no fault to find. They were calculated to do no good to the Ministry, cortainly; but it is not for me

account? Some of them were theen set on, or employed by calculated to throw imputations on the gentlemen of the Queen's Plate Committee: but could not those gentlemen have followed the example of her Majesty herself? Could they not have imitated her magnanimity? Could they not endure in silence a thousandth part as much as she suffered to pass without a word of complaint? They did not, I think, sufficiently reflect on the possible consequences. I hope they will reflect before it be too late.

However, I seriously object to the presecution of Franklin for High Treases. It appears to me a most monstrous stretch of the law; and I do most earnestly hope that a judge and jury will be found to prevent the horrible precedent from being established. It is a point of importance, too, to ascertain what part the printer is to act here! This is a matter of very serious weight. Here is a great question of morality as well as of law; a question of good faith, a question of fidelity, a question of private confidence; and if all. witnesses and the nature of the these are to be set at nought for evidence. Franklin has, it seems, the sake of arriving at a suspi- absconded. Greater care, therecion (for it seems to amount to fore, is necessary in endea bodir-i

persons in high public author rity; if all these sucred obligations are to be set at nomelitifor: the obtaining of this objecture. must confess that I shail abink!. the object much too dearly nuschased.

I have made these remarks for the purpose of putting all going Hemen connected with the Press upon their guard, and awakening in their minds, before it be too late, a due sense of the dangers to which we are all likely to be exposed by this strange, this wild, and I must say. unnatural proceeding. Again. I give full credit to the motives of the gentlemen, with whom these proceedings originated: but again, I beseech them to consider whether they will persevere until they have establish. ed precedents calculated to refder insecure the life of every man that shall venture to trust himself in the hands of a printer.

Whenever these trials come on it will be necessary for us to pay particular attention to the no more) of Franklin having ing to ascertain the truth of all things I hope that no eagerness to give a blow to persons in authority will make the prescienters everled the mischief they may do to others. them bear in mind the homely old proverb: "sauce for the " goods is sauce for the gan-" der."

TO TRUNK MAKERS.

A GREAT BARGAIN !!!

"Published this day, Remarks " on Lord John Russell's Bill " for the Disfranchisement of " the Borough of Grampound. " By a Member of the last Par-" Hansent, price 2s.; and Lord " John Russell's Letter to Mr. " Wilberforce, and a Petition to " the King; with a Preface, " price 1s. 6d. Printed for J. " Ridgutay, Piceadilly," Extract from M. Chroniele, 19th Dec.

A PEEP AT THE PEERS.

A new and complete edition of the above work is now published, containing more than a hundréd corrections, printed in a new form, the form and size of the Political Register, and is sald at the same price, by W. BENDOW, 269, Strand.

CODBETT'S GRAMMAR.

Just Published, Price 2s. 6d. rected, and dedicated to her Ma- pears to me impossible that it jesty, the Queen, of this work, should do harm:

the charges against him. Above twhich, as its title expresses, is intended for the use of schools, and of young persons in general, and more especially for the use of Soldiers, Sailors, Apprentices and Plough-Boys.

Sold by W. Bensow, 269, Strand.

PROPOSED DINNER.

I insert below the proposition about a dinner. In consequence of letters received from several gentlemen in the country, I have determined to put it off to some little time after New Year's Day, because I find it would be inconvenient for them to comie up to London in the Christmas week. Probably. therefore, it will be in the second or third week in January, due notice will be given of the? precise day. Some persons appear to have imagined that I propose a sort of Meeting of Delegates. I assure mean no such thing! I mean, merely a Meeting of persons to dine together, for the purpose of discussing the propriety of sending forth a declaration of their views and wishes with regard to Reform. The subject has been a good deal mistified. I wish to see it shortly treated of in a declaration. And though I by no means pretend to dictate or prescribe to the country, or to any part of it, I am obs. man, at least, and have a right: to offer my opinion. If numbers join me in those opinions, the joint and deliberate expression of the opinions; may do The fourth edition, carefully cor- good; and, at any rate, it ap-

COUNTRYMEN AND FRIENDS,

The time seems to be arrived for us to make to the nation an explicit, a solemn, and a formal Declaration of our views and intentions. It is impossible for any man in his senses to believe, that the present state tion avow, that a great change effecting that purpose. of some description must speedagree, that there must be a change, very few are found ready to declare what it is that join me, to dine at some convethey expect, or indeed, that ment place in London, on, or they wish.

It is true, that we, the Reformers, have repeatedly expressed by petitions, and by other means, what are our wishes. But, this expression, though sufficiently plain, has been buried under a mass of co-temporary matter, and our views have been disfigured by the misrepresentations of the agents of our malignant and powerful enemies. Besides, the statements in support of our claims, the several writings in which our principles and designs have been sent forth, lie scattered here and there, and are no where embodied in one single piece of reasonable bulk. Many who are now young men, were boys four years ago when our struggle first began to assume us as have long been engaged in the struggle, are apt to imagine, that, because we clearly

TO THE REFORMERS. | clearly understand it; which, though an error natural enough, is till an error.

For these reasons, and many others that might be stated, it appears to me, that we now ought to send forth a Declaration of the description above given; and, if any considerable number of you concur with me of things can last long. Indeed in opinion, the following is the the very supporters of corrup- means that I shall adopt for

Circumstances may arise to ily take place. But, while all prevent what I now intend; but, at present, my intention is to invite all who may choose to some day before New Year's

Day.

It is my opinion, that from Declarathis a . meeting, might at this time, be tion sent forth with great advantage to the cause of Parliamentary Reform, which, indeed, is the cause of the kingdom. It is now clear to most men, and, I believe, to all men. that to change the Ministry without changing the nature of the Representation in the Commons' House, would produce no possible good. And, yet, is it not indescribable disgrace to this great country that this present Ministry should remain in power! Those, who, from their rank and talent, might be naturally looked towards as the successors of the Ministers, know, and, a really serious aspect. Such of indeed, acknowledge, that they could not remain in power without the support of the Reformers; and yet, to have understand the nature of the that support they affect to cause, the whole nation must fear to adopt the means; they of those means would be dan-cheap indeed to persons who gerous to the whole fabrick of my be disposed to hand it

the government.

.. This, therefore, is the time for us to appeal to the nation; and to shew, as we easily can, that those fears, real or pretended, are not only wholly groundless, but that to reform the Parliament is the only means of preserving the fabrick.

Such is the object which I have in view; and such the mode in which I propose to effect it. I by no means wish to put myself forward on this or on any occasion; but, when we want a thing done, the example of the American Farmers has taught me that, "come boys!" and not " go boys!" is the word.

If any Gentleman, in country or town, has any improvement to suggest, as to the manner of accomplishing the object, I shall be happy to attend to such suggestions. If the meeting take place, I shall hope to see at it from the Gentlemen many Country. We must all be anxions, that what we do, upon in the manner as well as sound in the matter; and, therefore, a mass of knowledge and talent worthy of the goodness of our cause.

to circulate the Declaration think themselves bonoured in widely, a hundred thousand the charge. I hope that there might be distributed for a sum will be a grand brewing of cauhowever, the best way will be shillings towards it. to publish it without any sub-lticulars in my next,

affect to fear, that the adoption scription, and to sell it very about amongst their neighbours, especially in the country.

> I shall be glad to receive communications upon the subject, by post (No. 260; Strand): but the postage must be paid; or, I shall be, as I already should be exposed to enormous plunder.

> > WM, COBBETT.

TO THE PEOPLE OF BOTLEY.

Though the Parson took away the keys of the Church to prevent you from ringing in honone of the Queen's triumph, you are, I understand, to have a Christmas Gambol on account of a lady. Whether you will be allowed to ring the bells, upon that occasion, I know not. will, doubtless, be a subject of great rejoiding; and, if the Papa accept of my offer, I shall certainly be down to stand godthis great occasion, may be able father. I have already got a whistle and a rattle for the baby, as I dare say it will be very It is desirable to draw together fond of clack and clatter. I shall send those play-things to be deposited with the Church-wardens, who, considering all the: If it were thought desirable circumstances, will, doubtless. which we could certainly raise dle for all the gossips in the for such a purpose. Perhaps, village, and I will subscribe ten

AMERICAN PRESIDENT'S MES-SAGE TO CONGRESS.

Washington, Nav. 14, 1890.

We cannot insert this document without observing, that it is the very worst piece of writing that, in the shape of a publicpaper, ever met our sight.]

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives !

In communicating to you a just view of public affairs, at the commencement of your present labours, I do it with great satisfaction: because, taking all circumetances into consideration which claim attention, I see much cause to rejoice in the felicity of our situation. In making this remark, I do not wish to be understood to imply, that an unvaried prosperity is to be seen in every interest of this great commanity. In the progress of a nation inhabiting a territory of such vast extent, and great variety of climate, every portion of which is engaged in foreign commerce, and liable to be affected, in some degree, by the changes which occur in the condition and regulations of foreign countries, it would be strange. if the produce of our soil, and the industry and enterprise of our fellow citizens, received, at all times, and in every quarter, an uniform and equal encouragement. This would be more than we have a right to expect, under circumstances the most Pressures on cerfavourable. tain interests, it is admitted, have been felt; but allowing to detract but little from the force the

forming a just estimate of our present situation, it is proper to look at the whole; in the outline, as well as in the detail, a free, virtuous, and enlightened people know well the. great principles and causes on which their happiness depends: and even those who suffer mest. occasionally, in their transitory concerns, find great relief under their sufferings from the blessings which they otherwise enjoy, and in the consoling and animating hope which they administer. From whence these pressures come? Not from a Government which is founded by, administered for, and supported by the people. We trace them to the peculiar character of the epoch in which we live, and to the extraordinary occurrences which have nignalized The convulsions with which. several of the Powers of Europe have been shaken, and the long and destructive war in which all were engaged, with their sudden transition to a state of peace, presenting, in the first instance, unusual encouragement to our commerce, and withdrawing it in the second, even within its wonted limit, could not fail to be sensibly felt here... The station, too, which we had to support through this long conflict, compelled, as we were. finally, to become a party to it. with a principal Power, and to make great exertions, heavy losses, and to contract considerable debts, disturbing: the ordinary course of affairs, by these their greatest extend they augmenting to a vast amount, circulating medium, and of the remark already made. In thereby elevating, at one time,

the price of every article above parts of our happy Union have a just standard, and depressing it at another below it, had likewise its due effect.

It is manifest, that the pressures of which we complain have proceeded, in a great measure, from these causes. When, then; we take into view the prosperous and happy condition of our country, in all the great circumstances which constitute the felicity of a nation-every individual in the full enforment of all his rights—the Union blessed with plenty, and rapidly rising to greatness, under a national government, which operates with complete effect in every part, without being felt in any, except by the ample protection which it affords, and under state governments which perform their equal share, according to a wise distribution of power between them, in promoting the public happiness --it is impossible to behold so gratifying, so glorious a spectacle, without being penetrated with the most profound and grateful acknowledgments to the Sapreme Author of all good for such manifold and inestimable blessings. Deeply impressed with these sentiments, I cannot regard the pressures to which I have adverted otherwise than in the light of mild and instructive admonitions: warning us of dangers to be shunned in future; teaching us lessons of economy, corresponding with the simplicity and purity of our Institutions, and best adapted to their support; evincing the connection and dependence which the various last, the Minister Plenipotentiary

on each other, thereby augmenting daily our social incorporation, and adding, by its strong ties, new strength and vigour to the political; opening a wider range, and with new encouragement to the industry and enterprise of our fellowcitizens at home and abroad: and more especially by multiplied proofs which it has accumulated of the great perfection of our most excellent system of government. powerful instrument, in hands of an all-merciful Crea: tor, in securing to us these blessings.

Happy as our situation is, it does not exempt us from solicitude and eare for the future. On the contrary, as the blessings which we enjoy are great, proportionably great should be our vigilance, zeal, and activity to preserve them. Foreign wars may again expose us to new wrongs, which would impose on us new duties, for which we ought to be prepared. The state of Europe is unsettled, and how long peace may be preserved is altogether uncertain; in addition to which, we have interests of our own to adjust, which will require particular at-A correct view of our relations with each Power willenable you to form a just idea of existing difficulties, and of the measures of precaution best adapted to them.

Respecting our relations with Spain, nothing explicit can now be communicated. On the adjournment of Congress in May

was instructed to inform the Government of Spain, that if his Catholic Majesty should then ratify the Treaty, this Government would accept the ratification, so far as to submit to the decision of the Senate the question whether such ratification should be received in exchange for that of the United States heretofore given. By letters from the Minister of the United States to the Secretary of State. it appears that a communication. in conformity with his instructions, had been made to the Government of Spain, and that the Cortes had the subject under The result of the consideration. deliberations of that bedy, which is daily expected, will be made known to Congress as soon as it is received. The friendly sentiment which was expressed on the part of the United States. in the Message of the 9th of May last, is still entertained for Spain. Among the causes of regret, however, which are inseparable from the delay attending this transaction, it is proper to state, that satisfactory information has been received that measures have been recently adopted by designing persons to convert reception of foreign goods, from whence to smuggle them into the United States. By opening a port within the limits of Florida, immediately on our bounmisauderstood.

of the United States at Madrid | fraudulent and pernicious practices, and place the relations of the two countries on a very amicable and permanent basis.

The commercial relations between the United States and the British colonies in the West Indies, and on this Continent, have undergone no change; the British Government still preferring to leave that commerce under the restriction heretofore imposed on it, on each side. It is satisfactory to recollect, that the restraints resorted to by the United States were defensive only, intended to prevent a monopoly under the British regulations, in favour of Great Britain; as it likewise is, to know that the experiment is advancing ina spirit of amity between the parties. The question depending between the United States and Great Britain, respecting the construction of the first Article of the Treaty of Ghent, has been referred, by both Governments, to the decision of the Emperor of Russia, who has accepted the umpirage. An attempt has been made with the Govern- . ment of France, to regulate, by Treaty, the commerce between the two countries, on the principle of reciprocity and equality. certain parts of the province of By the last communication from East Florida into depots for the the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, to whom full power had been given, we learn that the negociation had been commenced there, but: serious difficulties having occur-' dary, where there was no settle-| red, the French Government had: ment, the object could not be resolved to transfer it to the Unit-An early ac- ed States, for which purpose commodation of differences will, the Minister Plenipotentiary of it is hoped, prevent all such France had been ordered to re-

pair to this city, and whose having had the means of previarrival might soon be expected. It is hoped that this important interest may be arranged on just conditions, and in a manner equally satisfactory to both parties. It is submitted to Congress to decide, until such arrangement is made, how far it may be proper, on the principle of the Act of the last Session. which augmented the tonnage duty on French vessels, to adopt other measures for carrying more completely into effect the policy of that Act.

The Act referred to, which imposed new tonnage on French vessels, having been in force from and after the 1st day of July, it has happened that several vessels of that nation which had been dispatched from France before its existence was known. have entered the ports of the United States, and been subject to its operation, without the previous notice which the general spirit of our laws gives to individuals in similar cases. The object of that law having been merely to countervail the inequalities which existed to the disadvantage of the United States in their commercial intercourse with France, it is submitted also to the consideration of Congress, whether, in the spirit of amity and conciliation which it is no less the inclination than the policy of the United States to preserve in their intercourse with other powers, it may not be proper to extend relief to the indi-

ously knowing the existence of the additional duty.

The contest between Spain and the Colonies, according to the most authentic information. is maintained by the latter with improved success. The unfortunate divisions which were known to exist some time since at Buenos Ayres, it is understood, still prevail. in no part of South America has Spain made any impression on the Colonies, while, in many parts, particularly in Venezuela and New Granada, the Colonies have gained strength and acquired reputation, both for the management of the war, in which they have been successful, and for the order of the internal administration. change in the Government of Spain, by the re-establishment of the Constitution of 1812, is an event which promises to be favourable to the Revolution. -Under the authority of the Cortes, the Congress of Angostura was invited to open a negociation for the settlement of differences between the parties. to which it was replied, that they would willingly open the negociation, provided the acknowledgment of their independence was made its batis. but not otherwise. Of forther proceedings between them we are uninformed,

No facts are known to this Government to warrant the belief that any of the powers of viduals interested in those cases, Europe will take part in the by exempting from the operation | contest; whence it may be inof the law all those vessels which ferred, considering all circumhave entered our ports without stances which must have weight

in producing the result, that an at that date, and as afterwards adjustment will finally take liquidated, to one hundred and place, on the basis proposed by fifty-eight, millions seven hanthe Colonies. To promote that result, by friendly counsels, with forty-nine dollars. On the 30th other powers, including Spain herself, has been the uniform policy of this Government. In looking to the interior concerns of our country, you will, I am persuaded, derive much satisfaction from a view of the several ments, sixty-six millions eight objects to which, in the discharge of your official duties, your attention will be drawn. Among these, none holds a more expenses of the Government of important place than the Public the United States were like-Revenue, from the direct operation of the power by which it is raised on the people, and by its influence in giving effect to every other power of the Government. The Revenue depends on the tions; extensive fortifications resources of the country, and the have been commenced, and are facility by which the amount re- in a train of execution; perquired is raised, is a strong proof manent arsenals and magazines of the extent of the resources, and of the efficiency of the Go-A few prominent vernment. facts will place this great interest in a just light before you.

On the 30th of Sept. 1815. the funded and floating debt of were much exhausted during the United States was estimated the war, have been replenished. at 119,635,558 dollars. If to this sum be added the amount a proportion of the public debt, of 5 per cent. stock subscribed to the Bank of the United tensive and important opera-States, the amount of Mississippi Stock, and of the Stock which estimate may be formed of the was issued subsequently to that great extent of our national date, the balances ascertained resources. The demonstration to be due to certain States, for is the more complete and gramilitary services, and to indi-tifying, when it is recollected viduals for supplies furnished, that the direct tax and excise and services rendered, during were repealed soon after the the late war, the public debt termination of the late war. may be estimated as amounting, and that the revenue applied to

dred and thirteen thousand of September, 1820, it amounted to ninety-one millions nine hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and eightythree dollars having been reduced in that interval, by payhundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and sixty-Eve dollars. During this term, the wise defrayed, in every branch of the civil, military, and naval establishments; the public edifices in this city, have been rebuilt, with considerable addihave been erected in various parts of the union; our navv has been considerably augmented, and the ordnance, munitions of war, and stores, of the army and navy, which

By the discharge of so large and the execution of such extions in so short a time, a just

these purposes has been de-the purchasers of these lands. : rived almost wholly from other in consideration of the unfa-- metces.

. The receipts in the Treasury from every source, to the 30th able indulgence. It is known of September last, have amount- that the purchases were made ed to sixteen millions seven when the price of every article hundred and ninety-four thou--sand one hundred and seven and that the instalments are -dollars and sixty-six cents; becoming due at a period of whilst the public expenditure, great depression. It is preto the same period, amounted to sumed that some plan may be -sixteen millions eight hundred devised, by the wisdom of and seventy-one thousand five Congress, compatible with the handred and thirty-four dollars and seventy-two cents, leaving in the Treasury on that purchasers. day a sum estimated at one million nine hundred and fifty the mand dollars. For the pro- season, in examining the coast bable receipts of the following and its various bays, and other year I refer you to the state-inlets; in the collection of mament which will be transmitted from the Treasury.

The sum of three millions of dollars, authorized to be raised by loan, by an act of the last Session of Congress, has been obtained upon terms advanta- kland, and at the Rigalets, leadgeousto the Government, indicating not onby an increased rials to a considerable amount confidence to the faith of the have been collected, and all the nation, but the existence of a necessary preparations made for large amount of capital, seeking that mode of investment, at a rate of interest not ex- mouth of James' River, and at -ecciting five per centum per the Riprap, on the opposite SRAUM.

is now due to the Treasury, for been collected; and at the Old the sale of public lands, twenty- Paint some progress has been two millions nine hundred and made in the construction of the minety-six thousand five hun-fortification, which is, on a very dred and forty-five dollars, extensive scale. The work at In bringing this subject to view, Fort Washington, on this river, disconsider it my duty to submit will be completed early in the .to Congress, whether it may next spring; and that on the ends be advisable to extend to Penepatch in the Delaware, in

vourable change which has occurred since the sales, a reasonhad risen to its greatest height, public interest, which would great relief to these afford

Considerable progress has been made, during the present terials, and in the construction of fortifications for the defence of the Union, at several of the positions at which it has been decided to erect such works. At Mobile Point and Dauphin ing to Lake Ponchartrain, matethe commencement of the works. At Old Point Comfort at the shore, in the Chesapeake Bay, It is proper to add, that there | materials to a vast amount have the course of the next season, into the estimate the saving of Fort Damond at the Narrows, in the harbour of New York, will be finished this year. The works at Boston, New York, Baltimore Norfolk Charles ton, and Niagara, have been in part repaired : and the coast of North Carolina, extending south to Cape Fear, has been examined. 88 have likewise other parts of the coast eastward of Boston. Great exertions have been made to nush forward these works with the utmost dispatch possible; but when their extent is considered. with the important purposes for which they are intended, the defence of the whole coast-and in consequence, of the whole interior-and that they are to last for ages, it will be manifest that a well-digested plan, founded on military principles, connecting the whole together, combining security with economy, could not be prepared without repeated examinations of the most exposed and difficult parts, and that it would also take considerable time to collect the materials at the several points where they would be required. From all the light that has been shed on this subject, I am satisfied that every favourable anticipation which has been formed of this great undertaking, will be verified;

the lives of so many of our citizens, the protection of our towns and other property, or the tendency of such works to prevent

Our military positions have been maintained at Belle Point. on the Arkansas, at Conneil Bluff, on the Missouri, at St. Peter's, on the Mississippi, and at Green Bay, on the Unper Lakes. Commodious barracks have already been erected at most of these posts, with such works as were necessary for their defence. Progress has also been made in opening communications between them, and in raising supplies at each for the support of the troops, by their own labour, particularly those most remote.

With the Indians peace has been preserved; and a progress made in carrying into effect the act of Congress, making an appropriation for their civilization. with the prospect of favourable results. As connected equally with both these objects, our trade with those tribes is thought to merit the attention of Congress. In their original state. game is their sustenance, and war their occupation: and, if they find no employment from civilized powers, they destroy each other. Left to themselves. and that, when completed, it their extirpation is inevitable. will afford very great, if not By a judicious regulation of our complete, protection to our At- trade with them, we supply lantic frontier, in the event of their wants, administer to their another war: - a protection suf- comforts, and gradually, as the ficient to counterbalance, in a game retires, draw them to us. single campaign, with an enemy By maintaining posts far in the powerful at sea; the expense of interior, we acquire a more thoall these works, without taking rough and direct control over

adently believed that a com- our squadron in the Mediterplete change in their manners ranean. It has been found can never be accomplished. By equally necessary to employ such posts, aided by a proper some of our vessels, for the preregulation of our trade with tection of our commerce, in the them, and a judicious civil admi- Indian Sea, the Pacific, and nistration over them, to be pro- along the Atlantic count. The vided for by law, we shall, it is interests which we have depresumed, be enabled not only pending in those quarters, which to protect our own settlements have been much improved of from their savage incursions, late, are of great extent, and and preserve peace among the of high importance to the maseveral tribes, but accomplish tion, as well as to the parties also the great surpose of their concerned, and would undoubtcivilization.

Considerable progress has also been made in the construction of our ships of war, some of which have been launched in the course of the present year.

Our peace with the powers on the coast of Barbary has been preserved, but we owe it

them; without which it is con-labogether to the presence of edly suffer, if such protection was not extended to them. In execution of the law of the last Session, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, some of our public ships have also been employed on the coast of Africa. where several captures have already been made of vessels engaged in that diagraceful truffic. JAMES MONROE.

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COBBETT's WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER

LONDON, SATURDAY, Dac. 80, 1980. [Price, 6d. OB. 37. -- No. 24.]

TO THE REPORMERS.

On the WHIG-MANIFESTO. just issued from their Head-Quarters at Edinburgh; and on the precautions which ought to be taken by us in order to defeat the objects of that faction.

London, Dec. 30, 1920.

BROTHER REFORMERS,

an exposition of the designs of situation and their interests; of persons; relating to any met- along in the road of ruin. ter with regard to which he or they are about to act. Of this a Tory. There is no such thing: a chest.

scorehing sun of Demarara., Those were called Tories who. remained attached to the Liouse of Stuart: and those were called Whigs who were opposed to the systemation of that The things exist nemore, to which those words were applicable; and, therefore, they are now the mere. watch-words of faction, made. use of to mistify the minds of The Whigs have issued their the people; to amuse them. Manifesto. A Manifesto is a with sounds; to draw them off: paper, or writing, containing from taking a true view of their any one person, or of any body and, in short, still to coax them;

No man new calls himself. nature is the paper which I am as Toryism; but, since there are now about to lay before you, men to call themselves WHIGS. and upon which I shall after- we, in order to save time in dewards make some comments, scribing, are compelled to call Let me first observe, however, them what they call themselves. that the words Whig and Tory This being the case, let us, are now made use of merely as then, inquire a little, what the They are in no wise Whigs, those who had some applicable to the present times claim to the title, did for this and circumstances, any more nation in their time: they made than the words frost and snow the Bank of England; they would be applicable under the created the national debt; they

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passed the riot act; they (hav-|sweet in the sound of the word ing been elected for three years) WHIG. And, if I look at the passed an act to enable themselves to sit for seven; they passed an act to deprive the people of triennial parliaments: and they established a system of Excise! If these be blessings, then let the name of Whig be pronounced with blessings upon it. But, if these be the greatest curses with which England was ever affected: if these have been the great cause of all the evils which we now have to deplore; then let us not, at any rate, look upon a thing to be good merely because it is proposed to us by persons calling themselves Whigs. If we look back into the records of grasping, who shall we find enual to the Whigs? At, and soon after, the glorious Revolution, the Whigs divided amongst them no very inconsiderable part of the lands of the whole king-In the reign of Queen Anne, a Bill was brought in to take these lands away again. Most lustify did the Whigs clamour against this Bill. It finally was not passed, and the Whigs kept the enormous grants that they had obtained.

to my ears, at least, so very land, belong and did belong to

Whigs of the present day, what do I find to make me in love with the name? Are there no Borough-mongers amongst the Whigs? Or, are there any so great in that way as men who call themselves Whigs? While, therefore, we make use of the word Whigs, let us not forget that it is a mere name of a faction; and that there is nothing belonging to it, which entitles it to the love or respect or confidence of the people. Bearing this in our mind, we shall come upon plain ground, and with a clear conscience, to a combat with a Whig Manifesto.

With respect to this Manifesto, also, a few words, in the way of preface, are necessary. It has been issued in the shape of and address and petition to the Edinburgh, the place King. where it was issued, is the station of a set of men, who are the authors of what is called the Edinburgh Review, the whole of whom, or nearly the whole, are lawyers at the Scotch Bar; and Mr. Brougham, the late Mr. Hornen (who was a member of the House of Com-There is nothing, therefore, mons), and some others in Eng-

the same body. Upon the pre-1 unroofing the buildings, the tesent occasion, a Mr. Moncreiev. a lawyer, was the chairman, the thing was moved by Mr. JEFFREY, and seconded by Mr. HORNER, both of them of the same body. Now observe, this band of men have been constantly writing and publishing on the side of the Whigs, ever since the year 1803. When the Whigs came into place in 1806, they brought in Messrs. BROUGHAM and HORNER; that is to say, they brought them into Parliament, and Mr. HORNER they put into place. If the Whigs had remained in power, the whole of the band would have been quartered upon us; and this was amongst the reasons for my doing my heat to get the Whigs out of power. At the very time when PERCEVAL, making use of the then Princess of Wales, worked out the Whigs. I was in daily expectation of seeing a BERWICK smack come to London laden with Statesmen from the office of the Edinburgh. Review; and, all that we have felt is mercy compared to what we should have felt, if that smack had arrived safe, and seen its cargo deposited in the build-Now by ings at Whitehall.

pants of those buildings may possibly be removed; but, if the Edinburgh cargo had once got possession, nothing short of a second deluge, or a general conflagration, could have ousted them from their abodes.

This is, too, an extremely ignorant set of men, How. clever they may be in what is called classical literature; in ebemistry, or in other matters, of which I know nothing, I cannot tell, but, as far as their writings have related to political institutions, and to questions of national economy, though their pens have been continually in movement, in no one single instance have I observed them to be right. Any one that has the time, may look back to their Review of the latter part of 1815, and the early part of 1816, for instances of the most profound ignorance that ever disgraced the human mind, They have, in short, all along, been preaching upon paper precisely that which Mr. HORNER. Mr. BROUGHAM, Mr. TIERNEY, Lord GRENVILLE, and others of the Whigs, have been preaching in speech. Mr. PERL's Bill. which is now drawing the blood pulling out the windows and out of the fingers' ends of the

people, was much more the the principles and conduct of work of these men than it was these latter with the principles of the Ministry; and as to the and conduct of the Ministers subject of Reform of the Parlia- whom they wish to remove: ment, this whole band have al- and to settle in our minds the ways been amongst its most point, whether evil instead of determined and most spiteful good, would not be likely to enemics; and for this simple arise to us from his Majesty's reason, that they have always listening to this prayer which been in hopes of getting into has been sent him from Edinpower through the means of burgh. You will please to bear Whig Borough-mongers; while in mind, that it is of the greatthey well knew that a real Re- est importance to the cause of form of the Parliament would Reform, that Reformers should Ileave them little chance of gra- not be drawn in to take part in tifying their ambition.

forth, it seems, from a room, struggle is merely for power They did not dare to meet the and emolument. These genpeople in the open air. If they tlemen reviewers profess to be had met the people fairly, they actuated by no views of selfcould inot have carried this interest, in calling for the dismanifesto even in Edinburgh, mission of the Ministers; but It is the manifesto, therefore, of it is for us to be very cautious this faction. The people have how we believe them in such a nothing to do with it; in this case as this; and to abstain light the King will doubtless from every thing which shall consider it; and will, accord- give them the smallest degree ingly, treat it with contempt; of encouragement in their eabut it becomes us to examine it terprizes, until we arrive at a rather minutely; to enquire conviction that those enterinto the truth or falsehood of prizes tend to the producing of Its statements: to see whether a Reform. This is the point. the offences imputed to the Their silence upon this subject Ministers have not been amply amounts to a declaration of of this manifesto. To compare which men cannot be silent if

the struggles of one faction Their present manifesto came against another, when that participated in by the patrons hostility. It is a matter upon they mean well; but, as you!" to impair, in any degree, the will presently see, this manifesto is worse than silent; for that, it almost openly countenances the accusations which have been preferred against us by the Ministers themselves. With these preliminary remarks, we may now proceed to a regular examination of this document, the paragraphs of which I have numbered, for the sake of rendering repetition less necessary, and for securing facility in the work of reference.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

" The humble Address and Pe-" tition of the undersigned In-" habitants of Edinburgh.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

1. " We. your Majesty's most " loval and dutiful subjects, the "undersigned Inhabitants of " Edinburgh, convened by pub-"lic advertisement, beg leave " to approach your Majesty's "Throne with the assurances " of our sincere and unalterable " attachment to your Majesty's " person and government, and " to the principles of that happy "Constitution which placed " your illustrious family on the |" intercepted. "Throne of these realms; and " also to express our determi-" nation to repel and resist, to "the utmost of our power, any "restore the independence of attempt that may be made to "the European community, and "invade that Constitution, or "which had been brought to a

" respect that is due to all and. " each of its branches.

2. "Under the influence of. "these sentiments, and cen-" sidering the circumstances in. "which this country is now. " placed, we feel it to be our. " indispensable duty, most re-. " specifully to represent to your. "Majesty, that it is our firm. " conviction and belief, that. " your Majesty's present Mi-" nisters have entirely lost the. " confidence of the great body. " of your people, and by a. " series of injudicious and re-" prehensible measures bave de-" servedly become the objects " of such general distrust and " aversion, as to be no longer. " capable of conducting the "affairs of the nation with.

3. "That they baxe, for. "many years, persisted in a "course of most improvident "and wasteful expense, and, " in times of unexampled dis-" tress, have obstinately re-" jected every proposition for. " effective

" economy. 4. "That they have, in like " manner, pursued an ignorant " and illiberal system of policy, " as to the laws and regulations " of trade, by which the pa-"tional distresses have been " aggravated, or the megns of "relieving them withheld or

5. "That, at the close of a " war, the professed object of " which was to vindicate and

"successful termination chiefly "stigators of those disorders "by the distinguished valour " for which others have been "of our free British sol- "exposed to prosecution and diery, they lent themselves " to a policy inconsistent with "the best principles of national] "liberty, and so conducted differentiation desired desire "independent States, as not "only to tarnish the honour of "this country, to persuade "the nation in the eyes of the "world, but to bring such sus-"picion" on our good faith as " must be productive of great "practical embarrassments in our foreign relations, both " political and commercial.

6. " That they have mani-"tested, at all times, an unconstitutional and distempered aversion to all popular rights "and privileges, and have, on many occasions, imposed un-" necessary restrictions on their "Exercise and enjoyment.

" 7! "That, in order to effect Mithis object, and to maintain, diffipossible, their own power "and influence in the country, "they have ascribed the dis-" contents, which arose chiefly "from their own misgovern-"ment, to a prevalence of a spifft of disloyalty and disin affection which has had no "hathral'or extensive existence " altiong the people."

. 8. "That they have struck an alarming blow at the mote rais of the people, and have invaded the private security " of every class of your Majes-"ty's subjects, by employing, dedictaging, and protecting an unprecedented number of "lic meetings was at once the " spies and informers, who are " surest pledge of the modeproved, in many cases, to "ration of the measures to be " have been themselves the in- " adopted, and the best means

" punishment.

9. "That, in pursuance of " the same objects, they have " taken advantage of the peace-"ful and loyal dispositions "which prevail generally in "many well-meaning persons " of the truth of their calum-" nious misrepresentations, and " have thus excited among them "grievous and groundless alarms, while, at the same " time, the severe measures and " reproachful language, which " were consequently adopted, " have occasioned much fear "and irritation among those " who were the objects of their "calumnies, and disposed the " less instructed among them "to listen more readily to the "seductions of THE FEW " wicked and designing per-" sons who were hostile to our "free Constitution, or who expected to make profit of a "season of tumult and dis-" order.

10. "That, with a view to " deter persons of rank and con-" dition from concurring in the "reasonable complaints of the people, they have advised " the adoption of the most " harsh and insulting measures "towards individuals of the "highest station, the most " uncuestioned loyalty, and the " most approved public ser-" vices, whose presence at pub" of repressing any tendency," quired, more than at any other " to excess or intemperance that " time; the vigilant and warrs-"might otherwise have been

" apprehended. 11. "That, by these and "other means, they have dif-"fused a spirit of discord "through the body of our po-" pulation, and ultimately pro-"duced a most alarming dis-"union between those classes of the community, without "whose cordial co-operation " there can no longer be peace " and prosperity for the country. 12. "That, by the late pro-" ceedings against her Majesty " the Queen, of which they " have been the avowed and " responsible advisers, they " have not only manifested "such an utter disregard for " the sense and wishes of the " nation, the dignity of the " Crown, the honour and interests of the House of Brunsthe peace and "wick, and " safety of the country, as to " have subjected them to ge-" neral contempt and repro-" bation, but have, at the same " time, displayed such a signal " incapacity and indecision, as " must be alone sufficient to "demonstrate their unfitness " for administering the affairs "of a distressed and divided

13. " That they have finally "advised the Prorogation of "Parliament at a period when " the agitated state of the pub-"lic mind, the recent, issue of " the extraordinary discussions " above alluded to, and the un-" usual pressure of business oc-" casioned by the long depend-

" people.

" mitted attention of the Great " Council of the Nation.

14. " We consider it, there-" fore, to be a duty irresistibly " imposed upon us, in this con-" iuncture of affairs, most hum-" bly, but most earnestly, to en-" treat of your Majesty, that "your Majesty may be gra-"ciously pleased forthwith to " remove from your Majesty's " Presence and Councils those " individuals by whose sugges-" tions your Majesty, and the "great body of your Majesty's " subjects, have been involved " in so many calamities.—And "your Petitioners will ever " pray, &c."

Taking these paragraphs in the order in which they he before us, and beginning with the first, I am almost tempted to say that these Lord Chief Justices in the Court of Criticism are not less incapable, as writers, than they are feeble, confused, and ignorant as politicians. casting your eye over this paragraph, you will perceive that the words. "the assurances," taken together with the test of the sentence, amount to something very little short of nonsense; and you will be very mach puzzied, I believe, to make out the sense of the words, " also to express?" "ence of these discussions, re- which you will find in the second member of this sentence.) to impair the respect due to the It may be a very "happy cen-" atitution;" but how do these gentlemen make it out, that the King's family was "placed" on the Throne by this Constitution? Surely the Constitution had some existence before the House Throne! Or, if it had not, we have no Constitution other than and rises up another. So much than "gree, the respect due to all "and each of its branches." resist and revel, and not to renel the people. thing very much like an attempt through what channel has it

King himself; and because no persons were pointed out as being engaged in making the attempts which the Petitioners express their determination most manfully to repel.

In the second paragraph, we of Brunswick came to the find that the Petitioners have not only a firm conviction of a certain thing, but, also, a firm that which puts down one family belief. Writers less privileged Edinburgh Reviewers. for the nonsense and absurdity would have transposed these of this first paragraph; and I two substantives; seeing, that do not very slearly see the fit-belief awaits for proof to make ness of expressing, upon this it amount to conviction; and, eccasion, so strong a determi- that, therefore, conviction is benation " to repel and resist" lief confirmed by proof. Howattempts to invade the Consti- ever, were I to stop to quarrel to impair, in any de- with a want of grammar, or a want of logic, I should waste a great deal more time than I To resist, is to stand up against have to throw away. Let us an attack: to repel, is to drive come, therefore, to the subthe assailant back. The resist-stance. The King is told, in ance comes first, and is follow- this second naragraph, that his ed by the repulsion: therefore, Ministers have entirely lost the these critics should have said to confidence of the great body of How do these and resist. But, I am not, as I Edinburgh Reviewers . know mid before, aware of the pro- this? How have they arrived priety of expressing, upon such at the conviction or belief of it? en cocasion, such a determina- What reason have they to suption; seeing, that the main purpose it, even? Whence have pert of the Petition was some- they derived their knowledge.

reached them? Have they seen [Council of the Nation' still any official communication to this effect? If they have, why do they talk of belief and conviction? Why not refer to the document at once? They go further than this, however: they . assert that " the Ministers have " become objects of general dis-" trust and aversion," and are no longer capable of conducting the affairs of the country with "safety or advantage." . These two last are very strange words to be put together in this way. But where have the gentlemen found any thing to justify these assertions? Now. mark me well, my friends, in the 18th paragraph these same Petitioners call the Parliament " the Great Council of the Na-" tion :" and they find fault of it's being prorogued, because it's vigilance was so necessary under the present circumstances. Well! Now then, gentlemen Reviewers and Petitioners, have you learnt from this great Council of the Nation; have you , learnt from this enlightened and vigilant assembly, that this as-. sembly has withdrawn it's confidence from the Ministers, and TON for docking Mr. CROAKER that it beholds them with dis- in the amount of 890 pounds atrust and aversion? No: you year. I remember a motion for know well that "the Great getting rid of the salary of the

give their confidence to the Ministers; you know well, that, in that Great Council, they have a decided majority; and, while you assert that the Ministers have lost the confidence of the great body of the people, you see the Ministers supported by a great majority of the Parliament; and yet you affect to lament, and you actually complain, that this very Parliament has been prorogued! Such is the inconsistency, and such must ever be the inconsistency of selfishness and insincerity.

The third paragraph accuses the Ministers of profuse expenditure, and of having obstinately rejected every proposition for effective retrenchment or economy. These two last words have long been placed in the slang-dictionary. As used by the opposition, they mean nothing. -But, to come to the point, will these gentlemen tell me of any proposition for effective retrenchment that has ever been made to the Ministers by the Whig party? I remember. indeed, a motion of Lord MIL-

third Secretary of State, whose repel! However, to pass over as necessary as those of the Lord Chancellor, or one of the Judges. But I remember no motion of all the high and mighty Whies Lord Milton for putting a stop to the payment of 2,500 pounds a proposition for effective rea-vear to the Executors of BURKE; and I remember that they proposed to lessen the inthe very first Bill (or at least, terest of that Debt, which inthe second) which the Whig Ministry passed, was to enable Lord Grenville to hold his sinecure of 4,000 pounds a vear as Auditor of the Exchequer, and to held the place of first Lord of the Treasury, at the same time: those offices being, until then, legally incompatible, in the same person! But, I remember still more (and the pension list will tell the story), that the Whigs granted several pensions to foreigners, and I know that these were granted in direct, Sagrant, daring violation of the law; and of that very law, too, which really did place his Majesty's family upon the Throne. And yet, oh! shocking inconsistency, these very persons, who complain of the wasteful expenditure of the present Ministers, profess to call this violated resisted such propositions. law, that Constitution, the invaders of which they express such loose and general terms as their determination to resist and to elude every thing narrower

office and functions are almost particular instances of wastefulness, let me again ask these gentlemen what man amongst ever tendered to the Ministers trenchment. At no time have terest forms more than threefifths of the expenditure. At no time have they proposed to take from all the other branches put together, more than one million of money. I shall suppose, however, that their loose talk, taken for propositions. might embrace the sum of five millions. Would this afford relief? Would even this do any thing towards relieving the nation? It is notorious that it would not. It is notorious that such a reduction could be attended with very little benefit, while loans are annually contracted to double the amount. It is, therefore, not true that propositions for effective retrenchment have been made to the Ministers, and, of course, it cannot be true that they have

The fourth paragraph is in

than mere conjecture. From soldiery, but by British money: the words which close it, we by that system of paper coin; may presume, however, that it would, if it had dured, speak of the Corn Bill. It was not bold enough to do this in plain words; for it is notorious that the Corn Bill was a measure of the Whige; that the Ministers resisted it and repelled it during one Session of Parliament; and that they were compelled to yield to it during the next Session! This fourth paragraph, therefore, is the offspring of a sad want of memory, joined to that sickly taste, which induces men to seek, in the number, that which they cannot find in the strength of their items of accusation.

The Afth paragraph is worthy of remark only for the very silly phrase of " free British soldiery," and for the flagrant falsehood, that the independence of Barope was restored at all; and especially that it was restored "chiefly by that soldiery;" when it is notorious, as an historical fact; and when the dismal truth is written in our rum and starvation, that it was ragraphs, we find a parcel of brought about " chiefly," or, at words, which amount to a charge least, that France was subdued against the Ministers of having chiefly; that the Bourbons, the a dislike to see the existence of Pope, and the Inquisition were popular rights and privileges, restored, chiefly, not by British and of having imposed unneces-

that system of anticipation: that system of entailment of ruin, beggary, and feebleness. the effects of which system we now so sorely feel; and which system, let it never be forgotten, was upheld and carried on by "that Great Council of the " Nation," to call for a Reform in which, is to merit, from these Reviewers, the appellations of designing and wickedness. The rest of this fifth paragraph is mere loose accusation, conveyed in equivocal expressions; and its amount is neither more nor less than talking for talk sake. Both parties in the Parliament approved of the war against Napoleon; both parties exulted in the termination of the war: both parties rejoiced at the restoration of the Bourbons; and what right have these who approved of this act of force against the people of France to complain of any act of force towards any other people!

In the sixth and seventh pa-

sary restrictions on their exer-| burgh Reviewers will force these cise and enjoyment; we find, observations from us, while their also, that the Ministers are here accused of having ascribed to disloyalty in the people, discontents, which arose chiefly from their own mis-government. would lead us very far, indeed, if we were to follow the Whigs through all the transactions of 1817 and 1819. But, since the Edinburgh Reviewers chuse to allude, in their tenth paragraph, to Lord FITZWILLIAM, and since Mr. JEFFREY, in his speech, named that nobleman, in particular, as a person to be placed in contrast with the present Ministers, it may not be amiss to observe that Lord FITZWILLIAM was one of the Committee in the House of Lords, who proposed the Dungeon Bill of 1817. who voted for that Bill, and for the Gagging Bill also; that his son. Lord MILTON, was one of the Committee, in the House of Commons, who proposed both Dungeon Bill and Gagging Bill; that this Lord himself voted for the Gagging Bill; that certain Members of the Lower House, very intimately connected with Lord FITZWILLIAM, not only voted for both Bills, but really

main object is to get a change of the Ministry, it is perfectly right that they should have the benefit of such observations. But, is it not monstrous for the Whigs to accese the Ministers of imposing these restrictions on the exercise of popular privileges, when it is well known to every one that the Whigs, in virulence of language towards those who were the objects of these restrictions, have far surpassed even the most virulent of the Ministers? Arch imposter, wretched ecribbler, blasphemous demagogue, deluded wretches, designing knaves, inflammatory villains, bankrupt in character and in fortune: these are amongst the phrases that came soglibly from the lips of the gentle, the just, the manly, the liberty-loving Whigs. To reproach the Ministers, therefore, with the measures here alluded to, without, at the same time, reprobating the conduct of the Whigs, is an act of the greatest. injustice. And base indeed, as well as foolish, is the man that would pray to his Majesty to make any change which should seemed to wish for Bills still do no more than put one set of more harsh. Since the Edin-these men in the places of the

ed with this subject, which, to make somebody commit treathough I have cursorily noticed son? When articles are pubit before, is deserving of more lished reprobating in the separticular attention; namely, verest terms, the punishment of that Sir James Mackintosh, certain felonies, can any one during the debate on the Ba- deny that this has not a tendency nishment Bill, proposed a clause which would have made a terrible addition to the dangers created by that Bill. He proposed to make it sedition, and to bring the offender within the scope of the Bill, if such offender wrote or published any thing " tending to excite his Majesty's " subjects to do any act, which, " if done, would, by the existing "law, be treason or felonv." This proposition was rejected, not by the Whigs, but by the Ministers themselves. Now, if this clause had made part of the Bill, every proprietor of a newspaper would, every day of his life, have been rendered liable to banishment! There is scarcely a Morning Chronicle that ismight be so twisted as to be in-The word tendency is quite suf- criminal code.

other. There is a fact connect-| say, that this has not a tendency to make men commit felony? In short, if the Ministers had consented to pass the Act in this form there must have been an end of the press altogether. If I say that it is cruel to hang a poor starving wretch for stealing victuals, or for stealing a sheep, which I have said a hundred times, and according to which saving I have always acted, never having even looked after any of the stealers of my sheep; if I say this, my words have certainly a tendency to cause these acts to be deemed not very criminal, and have therefore a tendency to cause felony to be committed. But am I to be banished for this? if I am. Sir James Mackintosh ought to sues from the press which does be banished also, instead of renot contain something, which ceiving the nauseous adulation of fools, for what are called his terpreted to have this tendency. humane endeavours to soften the It is in this ficient. When the report of a work of softening that we disspeech is published, the speaker cover the true spirit of the of which plainly compares the Whigs. Sir James Mackintosh King to Nero, is it possible to was at the head of a committee

and, in its very first sentence, that report says, that the Committee have not thought proper to meddle with offences like that of sedition, or others committed against the State. So that all the long train of new penalties and new punishments, with regard to the press, enacted with in the last thirty years, though they must have been seen by Sir James Mackintosh, were. doubtless, regarded as not being at all too severe! This is in the true spirit of the Whigs, who are always running about to ameliorate the condition thieves, pick-pockets, housebreakers, highwaymen, strumpets, and bawds; but who never think of taking off punishment, even to the weight of a feather, against political offenders. During the last session of Parliament, they could see the jails full of these; they could hear of their manifold sufferings and the sufferings of their wives and children; but the only object that could warm their humanity into action was Sir Manassah Lopez, for whose pardon they could sue with all the tenderness of philanthropy and with all the ardor of friend- seeing this infant of his overlaid

of the House of Commons, who | ship! In some of their publicamade a report upon this subject; tions they have now declared, that, if they get into place, they will empty the jails of these political offenders. Let those that choose believe them. I do not. Indeed the man is an idiot who can believe them. If I am to judge from their past language, they would be far more bitter towards the friends of Reform than the Ministers themselves have been. To carry on the present system they must make use of the present means. The thing would be the same in substance; only it might be rendered more odious by the brutality of it's manner. Having mentioned Sir James Mackintock by name, I will just add a word or two relating to him, in the way of biography. He was, at the beginning of the French Revolution, a loud eulogist in favour of that change. unfortunately became an author. He wrote a book, in answer to Burke; but, just afterwards, out came another answer to Burke, called the Rights of Man, which sent Mackintosh's book to the Trunk-maker's! No feelings are so tender as those of a dull author. Mackintosh was string to the soul at

in this way by PAINE, of whom! he became, henceforth, a mortal enemy, and, for Paine's sake, an enemy of Reform. He has, accordingly, merited the friendship and confidence of the borough-whigs, and sits in Parliament in one of the snug seats of the Borough of Knaresborough. This man's speeches far surpass in bitterness against the Reformers, any thing ever uttered by the Ministers, or, even by the most virulent of their partizans.

The eighth paragraph treats of spies and informers, a subject which the Edinburgh Reviewers have, indeed, treated with great caution, but which they might as well, all circumstances considered, not have treated of at all. They seem to have been aware that they were treading upon tender ground; and well they might; for they could hardly have forgotten the memorable declaration of Mr. Brougham, which, that I may escape the charge of garbling, I will here insert, at full length, as I find it reported in the Parliamentary Debates; and, my friends. I request you to give it your particular attention.

"Government for employing "and Ings rendered the em-

"Edwards as a spy, or for act-" ing on his information; or for " withholding him as a witness; " or for abstaining from pro-" secuting him. For those four " things he did not blame them. " As long as such men as This-" tlewood and the others existed. "Government were in his opi-" nion not only justified in em-" ploying persons to watch their "proceedings, but would be "highly culpable if they ne-" glected to do so. The ne-" cessity for the employment of " spies was lamentable; but so " was the employment of the " executioner of the law. As long " as crimes continued to be per-" petrated, so long must they " continue to be punished. Both " occupations were odious; but " in his opinion no man was " entitled to blame Government " for employing the odious in-" former who was not prepared " to blame them equally for em-" ploying the odious execu-" lioner. There was, however, " one limitation to this doctrine. " He who employed spies took " upon himself a most difficult, "delicate, and responsible of-" fice. He was deeply answer-" able to the country and to the " administration of justice, if he " did not take the greatest care " to select such men as would " only give information, and not " instigate to the commission of " crime. The existence of such " wretches as Thistlewood and " Ings rendered the employment " of spies necessary; but let it " be at the same time remem-"bered, that the existence of "He by no means blamed " such wretches as Thistlewood

"crime equally unnecessary .--"Having explained himself so far, the House would perhaps "permit him to add, that al-"though he did not blame Go-"vernment either for having " employed Edwards as a spy-" for having acted on his infor-" mation-for having with-" drawn him as a witness-or, " for having abstained from " prosecuting him—yet, if it did 1 "appear from the evidence now "adduced that that individual " went beyond his commission "as an informer, that he em-"ployed himself as an insti-"gator, and that he incited "others to the perpetration of " a separate and grave offence, " not comprehended in the acts "which had been the recent " subject of criminal investiga-"tion, justice would not be " satisfied unless he was brought " to trial for such new and seri-" ous offence, or unless very " ample grounds were stated to " the House for waiving such " a proceeding."

It is not worth while to bestow much time upon this .-" Such men as Thistlewood and Ings" must always be presumed to be in existence. No one will deny that; and, therefore, according to Mr. BROUGHAM, who is both a Whig and an Edinburgh Reviewer, spies and informers ought always to be employed. The attempt to confound the spy with the executioner of the come into the thick of that

"ployment of instigators to law, and even, by implication, with the judge, is so offensive to common sense as to be unworthy of serious exposure. However, to do justice to these petitioners, I ought to observe. that they do not, by any means, propounce an unqualified condemnation of a spy system.-They complain merely of the employment of "an unprecedented number of spies and informers!" Thus, you see, it is not of the establishment itself. that they complain: they only complain that the establishment is too high! Hence we are to conclude, of course, that they would keep up the establishment by all means, only upon a reduced scale! A reduction of the standing army of spies and informers: and really I should not be at all astonished to meet with this item in their next string of propositions for " economical reform!" Doubtless a reduction to any amount, of this establishment, would be a benefit; but, I take it, that such benefit is not sufficient to make us join in a clamourousdemand to the King to turn out his Ministers, and to put the Whigs in their place.

In the ninth paragraph we

"triumpliant Whigism," which is all the old sum of accusation was said to prevail at Edinburgh against the Reformers. Here it upon this occasion. There is a is without the deduction of a little of incomprehensibility, (not to accuse such grave gentlemen of shocking nonsense) in this paragraph; it being, in my mind, very difficult to see how a "peaceful and loyal "disposition" should tend to make people readily listen to " calumnious representations." This appears to be a new discovery in morals. If the Edinburgh Reviewers had said that folly, that timidity, that selfishness had rendered people ready to listen to such misrepresentations, there have been sense in the assertion: but, as the thing now stands, it lieve has had an existence in well merits the contempt of his Majesty; because it is a downright insult offered to his understanding. However, in the tail of this paragraph we have Whigism in its full swing. Here is the old charge, so often preferred by the Ministers; namely, " that the less instructed of the people have listened to the " seductions of the few wicked " and designing persons, who " were hostile to our free con-

single fraction; without the omission of one jot of the falsehood or the malevolence. Herb we are again asserted to be a few; and again as seeking for profit from tumult and disorder. This, however, is no more, or rather it is less than we have been accused of by Lord John Russell, and that, too, under his own hand, and with his own name signed to the accusation. He accuses us of a design to put those at the top who are now at the bottom; and of putting those at the bottom that are now at the top; a design which I benone of our minds; and which is a phantom conjured up, probably by Lord John's consciousness, that he himself would be likely to derive little advantage from being placed fairly on the race course of talent. But, my friends, not to waste words upon petulence and importinence like this; does not this part of the petition give full sanction to the measures of the Ministers against the Reformers? And does it not "stitution, or who expected to tend to shew his Majesty that ir make profit of a season of the petitioners have in view "tumult and disorder." Here nothing but the possession of

power and emolument? And, charge amounts to, and upon what are we to get; what is the what it is grounded. It is said great mass of the people to get by the introduction into office of a set of men, who, even before they enter office, hold the very language of those who would become their predecessors? They have the audacity here to accuse us of seeking plunder in a season of tumult and disorder. this false or is it true? If false how can we sufficiently express our contempt of these place-hunters? If true, what ground have they to find fault with the measures of the Ministera? For, can any measures be too severe towards us, if we be reasonable, that those millions actually seeking to plunge the nation into tumult and disorder, with a view of making profit of such a state of things? This petition, therefore, which affects fence of the country; is it not to find fault with the measures reasonable that these menshould of the Ministers, contains, if have a voice in the choosing of those petitioners be not the those who are to form one of forlest of calumniators, the best the three branches, who make of enlogiums on those very measures.

The tenth paragraph alludes to the dismission of Lord Fitz- life? Is this not reasonable? william from his office of Lord If this be denied them, is not Lieutenant. as I observed before, mention complaint; and if it be matter this particularly in his speech, of reasonable complaint, has And, now let us see, what the Lord Fitzwilliam, or has any

that this dismission took place, on the part of the Ministers, in order to deter persons of rank and condition from "concurring "in the reasonable complaints " of the people." Now, then, what are the complaints of the people? They have all been summed up in this one phrase: the want of a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament. Here are all the complaints. If the Ministers were to bring in a Bill to give this Reform, would there then be any complaint at all? Is it not of men, arrived at full age, paying their full share of the taxes. and called upon to come forth in arms and fight for the dethe laws, imposing taxes upon them, and calling them forth in arms to render services and risk Mr. Jeffrey did, that denial matter of reasonable

size, " concurred" in that complaint? My friends, you know well that the contrary is the case, and you must perceive clearly enough, that, in the dismission of Lord Fitzwilliam. there was nothing for the people to complain of, any more than there was in the dismission of the Duke of Norfolk from this very office, only because that Noble Duke gave, as a toast at a dinner, " the sovereignty of " the people!" Let the Whigs chew this. Let them furbish up their memories; and when the keen-set Mr. Jeffrey is going a Borough-hunting again, lethim, before he bursts into full cryon the I ask, are the Whigs ready to " approved public services" of Lord Fitzwilliam, reflect that Lord Fitzwilliam was one of the Ministry who thus dismissed the Duke of Norfolk! In short, there was nothing in this dismission of Lord Fitzwilliam which was unjust or improper, according to Lord Fitzwilliam's own principles and practice. was merely a matter of party policy and power. It was legal; and it was in no wise interesting to the people.

Whig Lord, or any Whig of any | produced disunion. It is very certain that discord prevails; that there is disunion between the privileged classes and tho non-privileged. It is also very true that concord and co-operation between these classes, are necessary to the peace and prosperity of the country; that these things are so, nobody can deny; but I deny most pesitively that the discord and disunion bave arisen from any causes not created by the Whigs as much as by the Ministry. The cause of the discord is, that the people have not what they deem their share in the choosing of Members of Parliament. And again give them that share? and Mr. Canning very truly said at Liverpool, that the Whigs would be the last to consent to the giving of such share. The Ministers merely carry on the system. It is a system which has two great branches, funding and boroughs; and have the Whigs ever proposed to change this system? By no means; and they do not propose it now. They like the system; and mercly want to take the manage-. The eleventh paragraph ac- ment of it out of the hands of cuses the Ministers of having others; and, while this is the diffused a spirit of discord, and case, is it not impudence unpar-

ralleled for them to accuse the considered as a matter of mere Ministers of diffusing discord and policy: and the petitioners of preventing the restoration of complain, that the policy of the peace and prosperity.

In the twelfth paragraph comes the charge with respect to the prosecution of her Malesty the Queen. The proceedings that have been carried on accurately characterised; but we perceive that, even here, to oust the Ministers is the thing chieffy at heart. They are acensed of "incapacity" and "in-Becision." as discovered in this affair. This is just the tone of the Whigs (with the exception of Lord Grey and one or two others) in Parliament. Accord: ing to these gentlemen, it was not the thing itself that was so very bad as the manner of dofrie it. Mr. Jeffrey, in his speech, said, "that he would " not enter upon the question of a Queen." He had not had leithe mass of poffution and obscenity which had occupied the attention of the House of Lords! trust unit aversion, and also Very strange, indeed: Not a objects of general contempt and word does he say in defence of reproducion! This is very much the Queen, and hol a word like blowing hot and cold with does the petition say in her de- the same mouth. Mr. Brougham, Tence. The proceedings are who recently took upon inmest

Ministers in this case was bad: that they discovered great incopacity and indecision; and that, therefore, they are unfit " to administer the affairs of a distressed and divided people." against her Majesty are pretty Now, surely, this last assertion must be a great mistake; for, if what the petitioners have before said of the Ministers be true, these latter are the fittest in the world to manage the affairs of a distressed and divided people. To retrieve such a people's affairs, the Ministers may be unfit: to change distress and distinion into prosperity and concord, they may be unfit; but surely they must be the fittest men in the world for corrying on affairs in such a state. But how is it we here find a divided people, when the " guilt or innocence of the belitioners had before told us that the Ministers had fost the sure, he said, to wade through confidence of the great both of the people; that they had become objects of general dis-

to catechise, me for what he pose. However, as this renecollect inconsistency, may, I sition of the complaint again think, bring his brother review-.ers into his "Dame.Schools?" and give them a short lecture upon the same subject. Howcover, athie is only another inatance of the great difficulty of being consistent in words and intingere in professions. M'the -thoughts be sincere and true. the words will flow alone with -consistency; but when men inmentics they go, it is semething ment, to misseulous if you find lagrobment between the beginanime and the end of their statements and representations.

.. The thirteenth suragraph esmalain of the properation of the parliament, which these patitioners call the great open- give it as one's opinion, that it eil of the estion. " dependence" is used here precise good which this bedy imstead of the word duration, could have effected if it had toand critics by trade might mained smembled; and, it would have known a great deal better require faith more than sufficient than so do this, which savours to remove mountains to believe too much of affectation to be re- that it would have affected one linhed by men of plain and thing in opposition to the Minissound understandings. But, to seve! For what purpose, then, the substance. This paragraph would the Edinburgh Reviewers metely repeats the complaint have had the parliament remain dentained in the late public let- assembled? But, what a mostor of Land Polkestone. The mi- strong aboundity is this upon the restantileness of which com- very bee of \$1 Is it ast noteplaint I vid. I think, charly us- thou that the great council of

calls our attention to the great subject, it shall have bestowed upon it a few additional remarks. By their calling the parliament, the great 'council of the nation, we are to conclude. of course, that, in complaining of its promogation they would have us to understand that it might have done some good if it had remained assembled. Doubtless, a body to attempt to being which into contempt may subject the offender to hanishment for life; doubtless, such a body can hardly sit for a single hear without doing good of some kind or another. But, it is not to be seditious, I presume, to The word would be difficult to discover the

-the nation was prorogued be- ing interference of the parliaseause it wished to be pro- ment; its carrying on what the round? Is it not notorious that Reviewers call public business, -it would not have been pro- really takes from the Ministers langued, if there had not been a all responsibility. This is the decided majority for the prero- worst part of the "public bega-"ightion? No more is notettany "near," and, at last, it is a mass . 16 the said upon this puling pla- of measures proceedings from remeraph; but I cannot help no- Committees of the parliament ldicing the mention of spressure ruther than from the Ministers 1" of public business." This is shemtalren: I endeadouted durthe missimble cant of hunters of ling one session, to keep sometor office; of would be states, thing dikn an account of the dismen and financiers: " Public tribution, of the time of the " indeed ! .: What has House of Communa a anti-twith :a Parliament to do with public all decreament be it spoken. business! The public business think that motesthan turn thinds rought to be carried on in the of it, westapent in quastions, and apphic offices and by the public envillings; and a caspings, about : officers, to be sure, and not by Exchaquer Bills and Bank. Asdegiclatures. It is one of the counts! and other matters, the ignest evils of the country, that warm mention of awhich ought the House of Commons meddle neverto have staken place. The with things which they ought we consequence of all this is, that a wer to meddle, with; and make a Minister's attention must he ocsession six months long, when supied by trifles; he must hen taix weeks ought amply to suffice. shreish clark instead of a states-The sessions have grown longer man; she must edusider what a and longer; the man of speeches figures as measure, will can in a has gove on augmenting; triffes debate mither than whether it be now occupy so; much of the time, wisn or unwise in itselfa tof all that really if there were a good governments in this, world, a allinistry, they must region their government, administered by places; for they never could estimates assembly it the worst; and the total which the pro- and the next warmin a govern--area men undergo; but, the ment, whose public husiness is desiration it is, that this present opening as by Committees, This

overy young lord limit the new zagut in entem the 'Heuse of Contracts, has long been disgusting to me : and therefore I am not at all surprised to meet with it in a petition from the Edinbergh Reviewers. · Bicame from Change Affey, and R' will take di'i departure with the full and chire execution with My. Prior to The Party

We now thank Gud! come to the last paragraph! This parestaph contains the brower of the petition. Which prayer is, 'What' his' Majesty Will be gradiously bleased "to dismiss his Ministers. Now Penerally speaking; this is a subject with regard to which the people engint mot to petition. "It is for 'the King to choose his own Ministers: and it is for the Beosie to choose men to represent them in the parliament. We the Ministers do wrong, it is for matliameent / to proceed against them. Not by hongenit : 'our at least, not in the trave of " if Bairland's Glory." Blancing them when it is weither mover wer newsauries inspeach taken. It is for the philiansent to proceed against them: by mpeathment; or by

phrase, "public business" which to remove them. If the parliament will do neither of these! one of two things must been namely. the Ministers have done nothing for which they ought to the removed a or still parliament must be a best pur." liament. The Bdinblergh Me-" viewers smay choose belwhen' these. They will not the for for forming the Pastiathent Hotel over, and they fament that sie was not kept assembled. "They think "it, "therefore, wood; and look apon it withe represented tive of the people. This being the case, how impertinent and how imbudent hi it for these Reviewers to come forward MRT ask of the Ring the distributed of his Ministers? They say the parliament is good; they call it the Great Council of the nation they do not wish to see it telorimed it and yet they iten forward to do that, which? if it were proper to be done w all, such an excellent body & men; such faithful representatives of the people, would betainly do! Let these secondsighted gentlemen chew the end over this a little. Let them lay aside, for a moment, their deep and dark philosophy. Let them, if they can, get clear of the lime twigs which I have way of Mineles to the Hotel here hung about their wings.

themselves as well as they can, words himself as well as tolet us see how the matter wards us, to make to him such stends with regard to our request. But then, the grands solses. Wa, whom these gready docirnete place-bunters "-micked and designing per-" musi intent on withing profit "of tumult and disorders" thing short of a sense of imperior with the sense of t by these Whire, know how to right duty on our part. It bedistinguish between petitioning and insulting our Sovereign. We recognize, in his rights. that of freely shoosing his own Ministers, and of retaining them in his service, as long an he pleases, unless in cases of a very peculiar nature. We can perseive, that his authority would be a more shadow, and his, life the life of a alave if he were to have Ministers forced upon him, or forced from him. We can perseive that, of all possible raquests, on our part, the most usplement to him must be that of requesting him to dismiss servants of his own choice, persons so closely connected in all important transactions with himself. We can perceive that this is a step that we ought not to take without due consideration. teithout lpng forbearance; and, after all, bever without reluc- become pur nagan, in whin the tangen and paig, Lot, sprouse with his Mainte, to pur

Leaving 'them to extricate atances may render it a duty toof the request ought to be so clear and so strang; the justice and negacity of it so manifest, that it, shall be, insecible for him to trace the request to any ing proper, with all thus circomstances and arrecantions, to make the request; care being taken to avoid even the pessibility of his ascribing the request to an indulgence of factionness or insolence, the next question is, through what channel are we to make it? Why, certainly, through our frithful nepresentatines; through the men that we have chosen to notificant us. Now have we such men at preseat? the Edinburgh Beviewest any that we have s and the Parliament have persel a law is hanish me if we dony the fact! Well, then, what are weste de? Not petition at talk upon this subject; nut make, the mornet at all; not pray his Majetty. 10 make any change of his/invants, but, if we sind the Parliament so constituted seasons 40

pleased to order his servants to member the story of the times bring forward a proposition for who went a hunting with the altering the mode of constituting that Parliament; or, in other words, to propose a Reform in the Commone Hause. Thus reason to long as we will. to this point we always some. The Whice may same and eavil as long as they please. They may blind-fold us, and twirl us about: but never will then make us budge beyond the boundaries of this circle.

Thus have I, with patience, little less than that of Job. gone through this long-winded and fourth, I will that instant tear ill-written petition, the authors "him to pieces!" Thus it was of which have no other chiese that the tiger preferred his fair. in view than that of getting and just claim; and I should be into place, and securing for a shocking hypocrite if l'affectthemselves and their families ed to expect greater moderation benous and emolyments. Mrs from an Edinburgh Reviewer. JEFFREY, in his speech, seemed to unticipate this charge, and, in every part of the kingdom; therefore, abserved, that " for listen not to these greedy " his own part, he solounly don hunters after place. This is " clared, that he would not as- their rame; the sount is he work "capt place or emaltment, in most strong; they take it breach e milich he hed not a fair and high, and are making a fac "just elaim." Ahil sayest them busist. Filliam them not extend se ! Indeed! Buty then, you are cheer them not, said these with

his Majorty to be graciously case, without doubt! You rewolf, the fex, and the deg. The tiggr was the cold Judge , and you remember how incide he distributed the finite of the chase! They divided the sun mai in the first place into force emitteen! " This," says he, lawing his paw upon one mentant " I take as my share as a con " partner, the second I take in my quality of King of the " Forest, the third I take because " my name is tiger, and if any " one of you dare to touch the

My good friends, Reformers, to be the sole judge, of count, neither view and weeks then of the fairness and justice of will seem be as finit, and station. your claim! You would be a about them, the nontempt of all very upright judge in such a heholdess.

- Be assuide that they dere not and Solicitor General are Whies. dains about the Quent? If they sould sell her indeed, they adobt and they would but when once their hope of place be blacked, they will seem show as they showed us upon her atrivat, that they care no score as ther than thevil care ofer a stano de a Stanie. "Recollect last will other wastevier six long menths; how they shunned her ai ippettilénce and lamine; were adf attendants. Recollege, that Queen's cause, the Bill never personal till fine people, at the Kandio prehom silere those pury miledato without these inselent serve wis a great point, the Residueter stigmative he wicked and describing men seeking to be the cause of great anneyance side srest of sumult and desi to list Mulesty. adible; secolibet; shut, it was mandail the propple with these take stace is this. That, the amounts, that the White with- differt their own selfen willthis was deal chart chart ; seed wine seed parties ob move them in mireble dwelling to aslowhether their projects owing to the wint he were dead or aliver The op support on the part of the estable of her Majesty; thereis people; that het Majesty will' forest indicated to: the Whige disobverulianthere is no gellance Mainething, reaver and except to be placed apost them's find' the speech of Lord Grey, who, that, after a pricat dealed wee." with theserve, is neither rimes and thartest she will bet at this could be been an imperimental to make trianquillity in midne of the tremendous system some foreign land. There are, of finding; the Queen's law- to be sure, numerous circum-

Remember the conduct of Mr. Brougham: remember the eretocols: remember the miserable defence which they made for her Majesty; remembet how nitiful how childish their conduct, compared with the steady. strenuous, and most able exertions of the Kings Astorney and Solicitor-General? My real opimion in that, if these two latter had had the management of the would have gone to a teeind reading and this you will obwant of securing williels will still

What I imagine as likely to aget manuato their head had Willes will endersome to make reseased heff Majusty from ther and instrument of the will be vers. or, at least, her Attorney stances which may arise, and

against which the keenest sper, husin , steady, to our minimines: 1 : entation cannot provide, But butnitione; suffect them; the holo this is what I contemplate as pro-shaken for the sake of a manners... bake, and this, in justice to her, they triumple of the present... Majesty, as well as is: the secrement to suit and the property of this faction, and our children to suit and the secrement of this faction, and our children to suit and the secrement of the sec eappointly, he determination is an indeed on much that I of its, leaders to see every things out it. Nous faithfulfriended: 1 de destroyed rether, than grive une trans and will compare to well to list on the manufacture of the state a : hopen the hit is unnecessary which appear to have the interior

to caution you against, giving est of the Queen and the country the smallest rountenance to per thy very much at heart stronged titions for the mere, dismission recommendations, to the people of the mere, dismission recommendation of the mere discount them the same the same the same the same than have shown wise at once foolish management suther and predicts w and mischievous. I think that, in the past affect Majority one on the contrary, such petitions in that House: to sinuse our aplet i sed o telepose series telepose in the print of the company of the same all, gue, might; for, and, l.; her suppolatly through satisfit chans you to mark this well, and to dome I may he above direction the dies oppose such petitions, is theibachers, is union to an all appearance of it upon the moin in our union is the property of the p to acknowledge that we mant Debody on more sinously meraly, a change of ment meraly wish to see them things encomed a change of the King's servants, aplished then Lide; but flamefor,

and no change at all of the system of the system in the interior tem; and while such acknows Commons 101 the Lards 105 to ledgment would be a complete the King even upon this subject. abandonment of our cause, it apless the petition include is would render ourselves con- prayer for a Referm of the Partol temptible, and our sufferings liament. Nay, I will frenkly, unworthy of commiseration. To declare that, unless accompanied secure our final triumph, we with a Reform of the Parliament,

tion of the rights of the people. this. They would have done well to listen to my advice; but, at ally rate, let the Reformers any petition, but to oppose every wait for evenist. petition ishish shift not inand people will both triumph.

forward and call for petitions for Reform! This is the way to put out the Ministers. This is the way to unite the people.

ed any of the proposed objects imoral force. Let steir a Lord of such petitions. I know too only give notice, that he wiff well what the Whigs have in bring in a Bill for a Reform of view. They wish to play off the Commons House, and be the Queen against the Minis- may send, if he will to the Housetere: but not to make the Queen's of Commons the politions of the cause conductive to the restora- whole body of the people in fivour of her Majesty's rights, to-I told them from the beginning gether with the rights of the that they would not succeed in people. But while no one will take a step so very easy to be taken, the Reformers (who are sufficiently united already) will take care, not only not to join in remain glum and rulky and will

It is possible (and I have more clade a prober for Reform. Let than once Minted at the thing) them take care of this, and all that the Queen may become diswill be right in the end: Queen gusted at perceiving that the Whigs have got about her The Whigh, not daring to merely for the purpose of makspeak out upon the subject, ing her the instrument of their amule themselves with indirect ambition. A man of gready and appeals to the Reformers. They unsparing ambition, having been call upon them for union; for a follod in his projects of satisfiting conditionation of their moral pow- that ambition by liveping her of ors against the Ministers. But, getting her saft of the educates: for what! For what, I want to having next endeavoured to seknow! The whole thing would complish the same wildin object be settled in an instant, if only by making use of her population as one single Wing Lord, with half an instrument in the hands of 1999. a dozen Boroughs would step party, and having now found himself foiled here also, and having arrived at the conviction that even the Queen's popularity will give a passport to no one who is not an advocate for Reform: auch This is the way to combine their ambition may now, sgain, per-

haps, have returned to his primi- | first, the advertisement for a tive means, and may once more subscription to carry on these be hard at work to effect what prosecutions; second, Mr. O' the interview at St. Omer's and Bryen's advertisement, the Lundon Protocols failed to ing an account of the naw bring about: but let him work ture of the prosecution against away; I know enough to con-him, and requesting informavince me that the wisdom of her tion respecting the witnesses-Majesty will make her deaf to whose names are indered on all councils tending to her dis- the bill of indictment; the honour as well as to her ruin in third is a letter of Mr. Charles. all other respects. triguer will, at last, find himself communication from Mr. O'Bryfoiled and defeated; and the en. All these are taken from people of England, if they stea- the Morning Chronicle. dily resist every thing tending to inveigle them into the the little squabbling contained. schemes of the Whigs, will see accomplished that Reform, for which they have been so long contending. All that they have to do is, to give countenance to nothing, whether address, petition, or remonstrance, which does not include a prayer for Reform.

" PLACARD CONSPIRACY."

This subject was mentioned in the last Register; and, perhaps, enough was said there to induce the reader to believe, that the prosecutions which had been commenced for Treason and Conspiracy, cannot, if they be persevered in, be unattended with great danger to every man who meddles with the press. The matter is, howso deeply interesting, that it seems necessary to direct the reader's attention to some of the publications which be spared, it must be by the have taken place relating to it, recommendation of the Minis-Therefore, hereunto are sub- try; that very Ministry, to disjoined four documents, which grace whom, has necessarily appear in the public papers: been the main object of these

Such in-Pearson; and the fourth is a

It is not for me to enter into: in these communications: But I again call the attention of the public, and particularly that of every one connected with the press, to the danger of the precedents, which must be established if this presecution should unfortunately succeed. The presecution for High Freeson is monstrous; but, as the alleged Truitor has absonuted. we are likely to have the bee. nefit of the precedent (if we have it at all) without the cutting off of heads, or the quartering of bodies. High Treesen, in the publishing of a placard, is, at any rate, a novelty; and, I dare say, that, having been discovered by Reformers, it will be bailed as something extremely valuable by Borough-mongers and their satelites. Printer, compositors. pressmen, bill-stickers; all these: are traitors, teo; and, if they

upon the Treason part of the every principle of law, and of project to be too wild and justice; may not this be intermonstrous to be suffered to preted as exciting unlawful opmake its appearance before a position to the Government?, Judge and a Jury. Indeed, the And yet, such is the language advertisement for a subscription of every paper that is opposed speaks only of a Gonapiracy; to the Government; or rather. and, now, let ma take a look at to the Ministry. So that, if a the nature and probable con- conviction take place upon this sequences of such a prose-charge, the jailors all over the oution.

of the 9th instant, the adverat a less to imagine upon what grounds such a charge could substance of the charge, taken, as appears, from the words of the Bill of Indictment. The charge consists of two parts, first, " conspiring to bring the "measures of his Majesty's "Government into hatred and "contempt, and to excite un-" tereful opposition to it." Now, let any one look at this charge, and he will at once see that every opposition newspaper is guilty of it every day that it comes from the press. Does the Times, does the Morning Chronicle, ever miss a single day to describe the measures of the Government as being "hateful and contemptible" I Are there any terms of batred and contempt which they do succe? With regard to exciting unlawful opposition, the those acts atrocious, detestable, hundred and thirteen times, at tyrannical; and to accuse the least, every year. I'll make:

proceedings: However, I look | Ministers of setting at defearce kingdom, should have timely . Until I saw, in the Chronicle notice to clean out the dungeons, and get them, well. tisement of Mr. O'Bryen, I was aired for the reception of tenants!

The second part of the charge. rest: In that advertisement is is of a still more dangerous tencontained a statement of the dency. It leaves us not a single, loop-hole to creep out at. It is, this: " intending to cause it to, " be believed, that the receiv-" ers, of the Queen's plate sub-" scription are hostile .to his " Majesty's person and govern-" ment." Did ever mortal men hear of a charge like this before! What! am I to be indicted; am I to be laid by the heels; am I to be put, intera dungeon; because I may have intended to cause it to be believed that a certain man is hostile to his Majesty's person and government? Why, is there a day passes over our beads 5 do. we ever look into a newspaper without seeing the Ministers, themselves accused of being enemics to their master and to not bestow upon those mea- his kingly government? Have not I said that they were this sort. of enemics; have not I said phrase is not so very equivocal; this, at least, once a-week for, but, still, to reprobate the acts seventeen years. Does not the. of the government; to call Morning Chronicle say it five,

any bet that the Times news-|single inch. If a conviction paper has said it above five thousand times since her Majesty arrived in England. It is said in almost every address presented to the Queen; and if the charge before us be a charge which ought to be prosecuted, the writers of those addresses, the movers of them, the seconders, the signers, the bearers, the presenters, the printers and publishers, may, every mother's son of them, be prosecuted as conspirators! Here is a goodly company of culprits! Nay, all those that have marched up with the addresses are conspirators also; and thus, at last, we get into downright farce. But, though it may be a farce with the drawers of such a bill of indictment, a verdict upon such a bill would be no farce to us who hold a pen in our bands.

Suppose me to put a manuscript into the hands of a printer, after reading it in his presence to three or four friends, Suppose another friend to talk to the printer about it in terms of approbation; and to urge him to make dispatch in getting it out. Suppose a prosecution for conspiracy to take place upon the subject of this manuscript when it becomes print; and suppose the printer (than which nothing is more likely) to turn evidence against his employer; lam soused into jail, with all my friends along with me! Therefore, this is as pretty a scourge as ever a set of friends of liberty prepared for the backs ance they cannot get on one all confidence between man and

take place upon these charges... who will dare set his foot in a printing-office; who will dare to correct a proof-sheet for a friend; who will dare to look even at the manuscript of a friend; nay, who will dare to speak in approbation of it?

We have long been talking about a censorship. Let this prosecution succeed, and there will be no need of censorships : for no, man will dare to write and publish any thing in disapprobation of the conduct of any person in power. When I consider who the Members of the Queen's Plate Committee are. and when I see Major Cart-WRIGHT's name and that of Mr. NORTHMORE in the Subscription List, I cannot doubt of the rectitude of their intentions: but, at the same time, I must expressing conviction that they have proceeded upon erroneous information; and I cannot refrain from expressing my hope that they will take care to stop in time before they have secured the tenantcy of a dungeon to every man of us.

There is one thing more. Mr. O'BRYEN complains of breach of private confidence, in the communication of his narrative to Mr. PEARSON. If he approve of the employment of Spies, he has no right to make this complaint; but I, who disapprove of the employment of spies, must say that I never wish to see the cause of Reform tarnished by practices, which no honest man can ever think of adopting. of those, without whose assist- and which strike at the root of

man. No. no! Let such practices be resorted to by such as are capable of seeking revenge by means which shall not expose themselves to the fair chances of open hostility. Let such mean wretches empt out their purses into the hands of base betrayers of private confidence and promulgators of private papers; but les not us, who seek, by fair and honourable means. the restoration of our rights, tarnish our cause by resorting to similar practices. O'BRYEN slashes away at the Radicals. He makes a liberal use of all the cant of corruption. We can answer him. We can easily put him down by fact and argument. If we cannot, we never shall do it by the assistance of perfidious printers, or that of any wretch capable of promulgating a private paper, the parties to such a promulgation being much more worthy of the name of conspirators, than any persons, be they who they may, who aid and assist in "bringing the " measures of the government " into hatred and contempt," or in " intending to cause it to be " believed" that any set of men are "hostile to his Majesty's "person and Government." These things are alleged to have been done by printing and publishing; whereas, the other practices are carried on in a base, malignant, and covert manner. One would think, that the public had seen enough. · lately, of this latter species of conspiracy, to make them hold in abhorrence every thing resembling it.

Subscription Advertisement.

The Placard Conspiracy. The Treasurers of the Fund for the Prosecution of Mr. Franklin. alias Fletcher, & Denis O'Bryon. Esq. for a Conspiracy, annex a List of the Subscriptions which they have received, and beg to inform the public, that the amount of the expences already incurred in the pursuit of Franklin, and the law charges of the prosecutions for high treason and that for the Conspiracy, amount to 2591, 17s. 4d., leaving a deficiency of 165l. 14s.—The Tressurers hope that a sufficient sum will now be subscribed to carry on these important proceedations with vigour and effect. attention of Englishmen was; perhaps, hardly ever directed to a subject so important to the honour of the nation, to the rights and liberties of the pedple, and the tranquillity of the State.

His Grace the Duke of Red- ford - £25 His Grace the Duke of Lein-	ø	Ó
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Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurers, Peter Moore, Esq. M.P. 73, Gloucester-place, Portman-square ; Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. 38. York-place; and by Dr. Gilchrist, 15, Arlingtonstreet, Piccadilly; and at Mr. Hume's bankers, Mesrs. Ransom and Co. bankers, Pall-mall.

Mr. O'Bryen's Advertisement.

'I' th' olden time,' the Tribunals of Law in this country were not approached through newspapering.—Such appealings would (in times, too, not long passed) have excited prejudice against, if not brought understand) before the Grand now the approved habit of indictment for conspiracy was Radicalism to break its mind to found against myself. Though regular precursorship of a newspaper article. Antique errors, luxurys.

Previously to the late Term. I retained Messrs. Scarlett, Gurney, and Bolland, with a view to the legal redress of my countless wrongs. Until the 15th ult. the duration of divers ailments disabled me from attending to any duty beside my health. In the interval since that period, my utmost power, with a pen in my hand, has hardly accomplished an object. in my estimation, more important than the logal punishment of all my non-parliamentary persecutors. Unavoidably, therefore, I lost the last term. My visilent adversaries, aware that a prosecution for conspiracy was among my legal contemplations. auticipated my taste, and briskly furnished me with one, at their hands. On the 37th ult. the last day but one of Term, at five in the evening, just (as I punishment upon a suitor. It is Jury were discharged, a Bill of Courts and Juries through the bailed by nine o'clock on that evening, I am told that the incident gave vent to some fine however, are commonly obsti-lying in certain quarters, where nate. Though suffering from genius happily supplies the this novelty, I continue so con- place of fact.—The civility to tumacious as not to yield to me of Mr. Pearson, on the what I deem a bad example- night alluded to, I really should however sanctioned by im- gravely eulogise, only that I punity. I scarcely ever see any fear my encomium may not sid thing in print, touching my-him, in the division of the self, which is not either 'a lie booty, upon the quickly expectdirect, or a misrepresentation ed arrival of the political milwhilst I (trusting to time and to lennium, when Spencean Phitruth for all rectifications) re- lanthropy and Radical Reform, main studiously silent leaving like twin angels, shall dispense she telless and believers of their beatitudes over the face of falsehood to their common this land which never is, but Falways to be blest."

said (by me I mann), regarding the truth or falsebood of this charge. No objection, bowever, can lie against stating the substance of it. That substance is, that I am a person " of evil " and seditious disposition, dis-" affected to his Majesty's per-" son and government, conspir-" ing to bring the measures of " his government into hatred "and contempt, and exciting " unlawful opposition to the " Governments of his late and " present Majesty." So far as to the King. As to the Queen, I am charged as " a vilifier and " defamer of the Trustees and "Receivers, of her Majesty's "Plate Subscription, by intending to cause it to be believed "that the Receivers of the said " Plate Subscription are hostile " to his Majesty's person and " government, to the great disgrace and scandal of the said ".Trustees and Receivers."-From all which it appears that the worthy persons, malicionaly nick-named Radicals; are -not only loyal to his present, but pious, to. his late, Majesty; and, at, the same time, not so entirely absorbed by the Queen's virtues, as not to afford their protection as not to afford their protection it * Probably the bositive sweater to to the King and ins Government made in the second with the control of the second second in the second sec ment, from my seditious, treasonous, disaffection.

In support of this indictment seph Hume, Esq. (with whom y to me. have never yet exchanged and referenced these documents, word) and of my friend Mr. Hor event of room, waste stand Pearson (whose face I never by over to the dextowedky when held until, on the 10th of land the whole will be inserted;) ...

Pendente lite, nothing can be October, he accompanied Vicary to this house, in search of Mr. Fletcher, under the name of Franklin), with these two exceptions. I know no more of this corps of 13 swearers, than of so many of the inmates of Noah's ark. But though entire strangers to me, these persons must be known to others; and, of this advertisement, the main purpose is to supplicate, from truth tellers, some real information respecting the character and credibility of the undernamed.

It may be guessed, that this my present use of the Liberty of the Press, can be neither prodigal, at first, nor often repested. Genuine intelligence, therefore, will be doubly **valu**able, by being speedy.

DENIS O'BRYEN.

21, Craven-street, Strand. Dec. 8, 1820. :

The following are the 18 names :---

Joseph Rume, Esq. John Hockley Ann Jones John Hafris Charles Pearson * Afthur Scale William Turner . Martha, Shoar . Joseph Martin Richard Wild. James Brown

after remaining two hours at the Pareign-office in the dead of the night.

t. Probably the conjecturalismental. with the exception of the two made wis at Bow-stiest, and affect first of the said 13, viz. of Jo- wards; cancelled; all aith balladwa

QUEEN'S ANSWERS.

Preparing for publication, a complete Collection of all the · Addresses that have been presented to her Majesty the Queen, with her Majesty's Answers to the same, carefully corrected from the originals, with a Preface, by Robert Fellowes, A.M. Oxon. Printed for T, and J. Allman: Booksellers to her Majesty, Princes-street, Hanoversouare.

Many of the Addresses, that will appear in this Callection. have never yet been printed; and of her Majest Answers. which have been published in the Newspapers, the majority have been marked with numer one typographical errors, very injurious either to the diction,

or to the sense. -

most gracious Majesty's An- towns, they get it irregularly, swers to such municious Ad- and, in cases, where they are dresses have made on public situated in small towns or vitopinida, and the wivid excite- lages, where there is no retailer - ment which they have occasion- of the Register, they cannot get ed in the public mind in all parts it at any expence or in employof the country; will long render ing any trouble. They comthem an object of curiesity, plain, that, in Ireland it is next ·The first year of the present to impossible to get the Register reign will not be among the unstamped, until it be some one of the memorable features impediments, and send the thein that memorable year. To the gister home to people's doors . present reader they cannot be by the mail and the post-mun. destitute of interest; and to the But, it is also true, that there in a a valuable document.

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will be printed, those Gentlemen, who wish to posseds copies, are requested to forward their names, either directly or through the medium of their Bookseller, to her Majesty's Publishers.

TO THE READER.

AND TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The present is the last Number of the 37th volume of the REGISTER.—The Title-page and Index to it will be contained in the next Number.

STAMPED REGISTER-Many persons in the country have expressed a desire to see a return to the stamp, in order to remove the great difficulties. which they experience in getting the Register. They complain. The impression which her that, in all cases, out of great least memorable in our National weeks old .- This is all weeks Annals; and the present Ad-true, and it is true, that the dresses and Answers will form stamp would remove all these fature Historian they will form great deal of difference; to many persons, between sixpence and a It is calculated that this com- shilling and a holfpenous which plete Collection of the Addresses latter was the price of the and Answers will not make less stamped Register, and sunder than two large volumes, octavo; which price it could not well and as only a limited number the sold. It is, however, possi-

ble, that it may be practicable work will be resumed when the to publish it in both forms at one and the same time. But the thing requires preparation. --- At present it is intended to hegin this mode of proceeding with the first Number in February. The experiment is, at bruary. any rate, worth trying .- Those gentlemen, in Ireland, or in places where it is difficult to . get the unstamped Register, will please to bear in mind, that orders for it must reach their necemen in London before the first of February. The newsmen are the persons to apply to in this case, as in the case of the necespapere, the channel and the mode of doing the business being the same. WM. COBBETT.

The New Edition of PEEP AT PEERS is printed in form of the Register, so as to be bound up with it. This work . the Authors have now made norw . complete. The Anthors deserve, in my opinion, the thanks of the whole country. Their work is one of the most valuable pospession of the nation.—The Authors inform me, that their other work, the "LINKS OF THE LOWER HOUSE," is in the press. They say it will be out in ten days, and in the some form as their other work.

Cobbett's Parhamentary Debates.—This work, which began with the last Session, contains, up to the prorogation, sition valuence; the first ends with the proceedings up to the ly in Scotland. esdjournment in July, and the last ends with the close of the Session, and contains the Trial of the Queen complete or The I week.

Parliament again meets, and will be continued with great care and punctuality.-It needs only to be looked at to ascertain how far preferable it is to any other work of the kind.

Cobbett's English Gremmar. a new edition, made, as it is believed, perfectly correct. Wholesale and retail by W. Benbow.

Cobbett's Year's Residence in America.—Three parts, price 10s. bound neatly in boards.-The agricultural part of this work would be useful, at this time, to those who may wish to preserve turning and cabbanes till Spring.—It teaches how to get crops of cattle food: but. which is nearly as important, it teaches how to preserve them.

To Correspondenia.—W. G. is informed, that neither I, nor any one whom I am connected with, has any thing to do with a work, called the "RADICAL MAGAZINE," which, it appears, is coming out shortly.--If the work be a good one, it will receive our approbation: but we desire distinctly, to disclaim all share in the merits of other people's labours.

DINNER

The REFORM DINNER, mentioned in the three last Registers, is proposed to be held on Wednesday, the 17th of January.—It is high time for us to insue something in answer to the swilings of the greedy, insolent and malignant Whigs, who are very busy in putting forth their calumnies, aspecial-

The Address of the Fernale Reform-ers of Coventry has been received, and will, with the answer; by inverted next

END OF VOLUME THIRTY-SEVEN.



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